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WESTMINSTER EDUCATIONAL SERIES

HISTORY OF ENGLAND

HISTORY OF ENGLAND

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO
THE DEATH OF KING EDWARD VII

FOR USE IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS
AND TRAINING COLLEGES

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LONDON: ANDREW MELROSE
3 YORK STREET, COVENT GARDEN

1911

PREFACE

THIS book was planned and partly written before the Board of Education issued its Circular on "The Teaching of History in Secondary Schools," but many of the recommendations contained in that document had been anticipated and others have been adopted. Periods, "the history of which is merely a record of bad government," as, *e.g.*, the reign of Edward II., are not treated in any great detail, but a full account is given of great movements and important reigns. At the beginning of the Tudor period the narrative expands, and the evolution of modern problems is carefully traced. *An attempt has been made to present the outlines of the chief movements in Foreign History and to show their influence on the history of England.* Much stress has been laid on Colonial History. The arrangement of the book makes it easy for teachers to omit those sections to which they do not attach importance, or to supplement the text by their own notes.

The requirements of examinations have been kept in mind, and it is hoped that this book may be found useful to pupils preparing the outlines of English History for the Oxford and Cambridge Joint Board, the Oxford Local, the Cambridge Local, the Central Welsh Board, and similar examinations, and also to candidates revising their English History for Pass examinations at the Universities.

The writers of this book have freely consulted that valuable work, *The Political History of England*, as well as the older authorities. It would have been impossible for them to avoid obligation to the various text-books (*e.g.*, Gardiner's, Tout's, and Hassall's) which they have used in the course of their work as teachers. Special mention, however, must be made of *The Elements of Constitutional History* by Professor Montague, whose kindness one of the writers of this book gratefully acknowledges. Thanks are also due to Professor G. H. Leonard of Bristol University for valuable advice and suggestions, and also to Mr. K. H. Vickers for reading a portion of the book in manuscript.

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HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

CHAPTER I.

THE EARLY INHABITANTS OF BRITAIN.

THE English first came to the country we now call England in the fifth century after Christ. Long before that time, however, other races occupied the land. In far-distant ages we find traces of (*A*) the existence of Palæolithic man. Countless years later “waves” of different peoples reached the island. The first “wave”—known as (*B*) Neolithic man—was displaced by (*C*) the Celts, who came to this country in two “waves.” (*D*) Geography explains why these different invaders found their final settling places.

(*A*) PALÆOLITHIC MAN.

HOW many millenniums ago Palæolithic man, or the “Old Stone-worker,” lived, it is impossible to say. But in certain caves in Devonshire—at Brixham, and at Kent’s Cavern near Torquay—under stalagmite floors which took 12,000 or perhaps even 100,000 years to form, remains of Palæolithic man and his roughly hewn implements of bone and flint have been found. Of the use of metals Palæolithic man knew nothing, but, strangely enough, he has left fragments of bone and stone displaying sketches of the animals of the period—such as a fish, a seal, a red-deer, a horse,

a cave bear, a mammoth or woolly elephant, and a reindeer. Palæolithic man has been described as "the artistic hunter of the reindeer period." At this period the Straits of Dover did not exist; England was joined to the continent. Then followed the Great Ice Age, when the Arctic zone invaded the larger part of the Temperate zone; for thousands of years our land was covered with ice, and all higher organic life perished.

(B) NEOLITHIC MAN.

We do not know at what date the ice deluge subsided, and Neolithic man, or the "New Stone-worker," appeared. Like Palæolithic man, his infinitely remote predecessor, Neolithic man worked in stone and knew nothing of metals. But Neolithic man made stone implements more shapely and better adapted to their purpose than those of his predecessor. He bred cattle, knew something of agriculture, weaving and pottery, and built dwellings on the sides of lakes. It was Neolithic man who reared the great circles of stone at Stonehenge and Avebury (near Calne, in Wiltshire). How he was able to move and place in position the enormous blocks of stone which compose these mysterious circles we cannot tell. Neolithic man is supposed to be of the same race as the Basques or Iberians, who still live in the Pyrenees and speak a language akin to that of the Finns. Though conquered by another race, Neolithic man was not exterminated. Small dark men believed to be his descendants are still found among the Welsh and Irish. We shall see soon why these descendants are only found in the extreme west of our country.

(C) THE CELTS.

The Celts came to these islands in two successive "waves." First came the Gaels, or Goidels, who used bronze weapons and overcame the Neolithic men, who possessed only stone weapons. Then came the Cymri, or Brythons, who perhaps already used iron weapons, and drove the Gaels into Ireland and the Highlands of Scotland, where Gaelic is still spoken. In the time of the Romans our land was called Britannia, after the Brythons, or Cymri, and its inhabitants were known as Britons, but the tongue of

the Cymri is now only spoken in Wales, *i.e.* in the west of the island. This fact shows that the Brythons, who had driven the Goidels before them, were themselves, later on, driven into the west.

(D) HOW GEOGRAPHY EXPLAINS THEIR MOVEMENTS.

A glance at the map of Great Britain shows that the country is roughly divided into a hilly region and a flat region by a line drawn from the mouth of the Tees to the mouth of the Severn and thence to the south coast. The country to the north and west of that line is hilly, the country to the south and east is flat. The map also shows that the shortest route from the continent to this country is across the Straits of Dover, and that the Straits of Dover are situated off the farthest corner of the flat land. Foreign invaders, therefore, would swoop down on the flat land and drive the inhabitants off towards the barren hill land. In this way the men of the Neolithic period were either enslaved or driven by the Goidels into the Welsh mountains, while the Goidels were driven away by the Brythons into the Highlands of Scotland or across the sea into Ireland. The Brythons themselves, as we shall see, were finally driven towards the west by a stronger race—the English.

Just as the different races in England travelled westwards, so other races on the continent of Europe were constantly moving to the west. That the English did not reach England earlier than they did is due to the fact that right across the path of the Teutons, the race to which the English belonged, the might of Rome, for four hundred years, stretched an unbreakable barrier.

CHAPTER II.

ROMAN BRITAIN.

WE learn something about (*A*) the life and character of the Britons from the writings of Julius Cæsar, a great Roman general, who (*B*) invaded Britain in the years 55 and 54 B.C. But (*C*) the conquest of Britain only began under Claudius in 43 A.D., and was completed, so far as it was ever completed, by Agricola, who left the island in 84 A.D. Thenceforward till the beginning of the fifth century almost the whole of England and Wales formed a Roman province. (*D*) This long Roman occupation had important results.

(*A*) CÆSAR'S ACCOUNT OF BRITAIN.

THE great Roman general, Julius Cæsar, was also a man of letters interested in the spread of knowledge, and in his book, the *Commentaries*, he describes the inhabitants of Britain. The Britons, he says, were warlike and skilled in the use of war-chariots. The people of Cantium (Kent) differed little in dress and habitation from their kinsmen in Gaul, with whom they must have had many dealings, but the people of the interior were less civilised and clothed themselves in skins. The inland tribes also did not sow corn, but lived on flesh and milk. All the Britons wore their hair long, but shaved their faces except the upper lip, and dyed their skins with woad to make themselves appear terrible in battle. They did not eat the hare, the goose, and the fowl, but kept them as pets. For money they used bronze and iron bars. The land contained tin and many kinds of trees.

We know that the Britons worshipped nature, and that great influence was possessed by their priests, the Druids, who are said to have

offered human sacrifices. The bravery of the Britons was displayed in the resistance they offered to Cæsar and his Roman legions.

(B) CÆSAR'S INVASIONS OF BRITAIN.

Julius Cæsar was a general of the great Roman Republic, which had extended its empire over nearly all the countries bordering on the Mediterranean. But though the power of Rome was mighty, its government had become corrupt, and, like two great men of later days, Cromwell in England and Napoleon in France, Cæsar was destined to restore order in the State by means of a strong army prepared to do his bidding. Under his nephew Augustus the republic became an empire (30 B.C.). Perhaps, therefore, it was partly with the intention of increasing his own reputation that Cæsar, who had already conquered Gaul, led his army across into Britain, though he undoubtedly wished to punish the Britons for assisting the Gauls in their wars with the Romans. Cæsar's first expedition in 55 B.C. took place too late in the year to meet with success, and by his second expedition in 54 B.C. he merely forced the chieftains who ruled near the Thames to submit to him, and to consent to pay a small tribute. After this, for nearly a hundred years, the Romans left the Britons to themselves.

(C) THE ROMAN CONQUEST OF BRITAIN.

The real Roman conquest of Britain was begun by Aulus Plautius (43-47 A.D.), the general of the Roman Emperor Claudius. Aulus Plautius and Ostorius Scapula (47-52 A.D.) conquered the country south of the Humber, but the country west of the Severn remained unsubdued until Suetonius Paulinus (59-62 A.D.) reduced the isle of Anglesey in 61 A.D. This general with great difficulty defeated the famous "warrior-queen" Boadicca, who roused the people of the east of England to revolt (61 A.D.). Julius Agricola (78-85 A.D.) extended the Roman dominion to the Forth and Clyde, which he linked together with a chain of forts. He thus completed the conquest of Britain, which had taken about forty years to accomplish. For some centuries afterwards all Britain south of a stone wall which the Emperor Hadrian built between the Tyne and the Solway was Roman (122 A.D.). Farther north, in the days of

(D) EFFECTS OF THE LONG ROMAN OCCUPATION.

The Roman legions were withdrawn from Britain in the year 407, because the Empire was no longer able to hold back the barbarian invaders who were pressing on Italy through the north of Europe. The Romans had been masters of Britain for a period as long as that which divides us from the Spanish Armada. So long an occupation necessarily produced important results, the most durable of which were material improvements.

(a) *The Roman roads.*—The Roman occupation of Britain was mainly a military occupation. Rapid communication was therefore necessary between the great military centres or camps (*castra*), which were established at various strategic points throughout the country, and round which towns grew up. This end was secured by the making of a network of paved Roman roads. Straight as an arrow these wonderful roads ran from point to point, climbing, not turning, the hills, for the hills were useful observation points whence to mark the doings of a foe. Curiously enough, the chief railway routes of the present day roughly follow the direction of the old Roman roads. Thus *Watling Street*, which ran from London to Chester with an extension into Lancashire, roughly corresponds to the line of the London and North-Western Railway. *Ermine Street* from London to Doncaster, and thence through Lincoln (Lindum) to York (Eburacum), follows to some extent the route of the Great Northern Railway. Bristol and Exeter (*Isca Dumnoniorum*) were reached by roads bearing no special names, but roughly corresponding to the lines of the Great Western and South-Western Railways. The *Fosse Way*, running from Exeter to Lincoln, has no single modern railroad equivalent.

The most visible marks of the Roman occupation extant to-day are the remains of these Roman roads. But the Roman occupation has also left its traces on our language. The word *street* is derived from *stratum*, a road, and the termination “*cester*,” meaning *castra*, a camp, is found in many place-names, such as Colchester, Doncaster, Gloucester, and Manchester.

(b) *Other material improvements* were made by the Romans.—The mines were worked, and agriculture was improved to such an extent that Britain was called “the granary of the north.” The *Pax*

Romana, or the peace established by Rome, brought Britain prosperity.

(c) *Religion*.—During the fourth century the Roman Emperor Constantine (306–337) embraced Christianity. This emperor was actually crowned in Britain at Eburacum (York). Thenceforward Christianity became the religion of the Roman Empire, and therefore of the Roman colony of Britain. Christianity, however, existed in Britain in the third century, and possibly during the second century. Nevertheless, surprisingly few Christian inscriptions of Roman date have been found in Britain, though many inscriptions to heathen deities have been discovered. These include inscriptions to Celtic deities made by Roman soldiers anxious to propitiate the native gods of the country, and also inscriptions showing the prevalence of “Mithraism” or sun-worship, an Oriental cult which rapidly spread through the Roman Empire in the second and third centuries. During the Roman occupation, Britain produced not only several rival emperors to the emperors at Rome, but also an opponent of the orthodox Roman religion. This was Pelagius, a famous heretic, who opposed St. Augustine, and whose heresy seems to prove the existence in England of the religion which he attacked.

Whether the Christian religion obtained a strong hold over the rural population in Britain is doubtful; at any rate the remains of churches built in Roman times are not numerous. But it is certain that, after the Roman occupation, Christianity was blotted out by the heathen English in the districts they conquered, though it continued to exist in unconquered Wales. The Welsh Church is directly descended from the British Church of Roman times.

(d) *Prevalence of Roman civilisation*.—The Roman sojourners in Britain built themselves elaborate Roman houses, and even founded an inland watering-place on the Roman model at Bath (*Aquæ Sulis*). But it is difficult to estimate how far Roman civilisation affected the Britons. Probably the landowners, the officials, and the upper classes became thoroughly Latinised, though the rural population was less affected. It is noteworthy that, although Latin took the place of the native tongue in the other Roman provinces, such as Gaul and Spain, the Celtic tongue continued to be spoken by the mass of the people in Britain.

(e) *Prevalence of the ordinary Roman methods of government*.—It

is certain that the Roman organisation of town government was not so widespread in Britain as it was in Gaul. In Gaul we find many *coloniæ* and *municipia* or towns governed on the Italian model. Many towns in England (*e.g.* London) appear not to have been governed on the Italian model at all. Colchester, Lincoln, Gloucester, and York were the only *coloniæ* in Britain; and Verulamium (St. Albans) was probably the only *municipium*. On the whole, we are forced to the conclusion that the Roman occupation of Britain was, in the main, a military one. Britain was perhaps too far away from Italy to feel the full effects of Roman civilisation.

CHAPTER III.

THE COMING OF THE ENGLISH.

(*N.B.*—In this chapter the dates given by Green have been, for the most part, retained.)

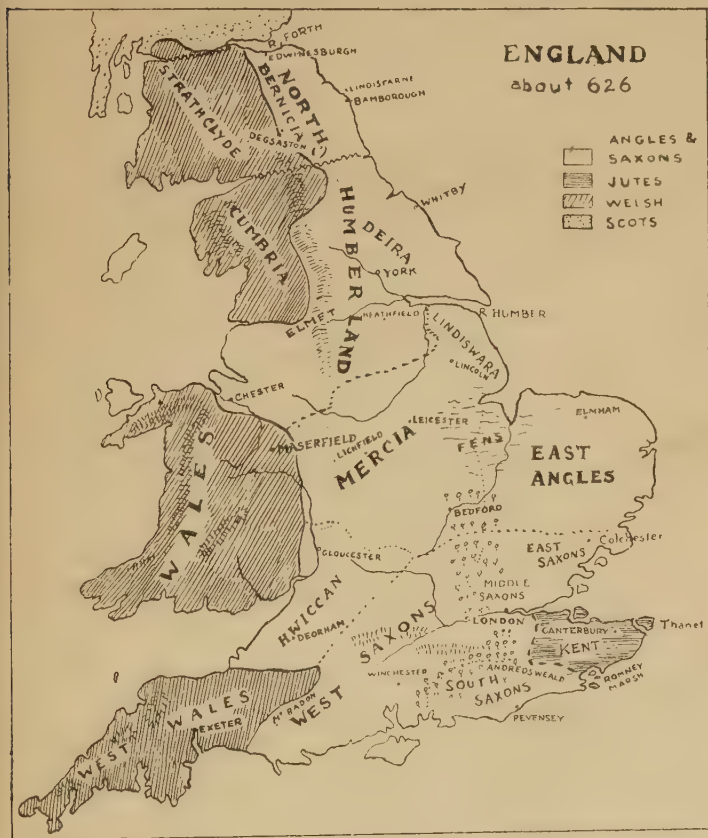
TOWARDS the end of the Roman occupation of Britain (*A*) the Picts and the Scots in the north, and pirates called Saxons in the south-east, began to harass the land. After the withdrawal of the Romans (*B*) the Jutes, Angles, and Saxons, the ancestors of the English, attacked and gradually conquered the greater part of Britain, but (*C*) geographical difficulties placed a check on their conquests. It is impossible to decide what was the exact (*D*) nature of the English conquest, but the invasion led to the destruction, for a time, of the Christian religion, and to the introduction of the (*E*) institutions of the English in place of the old Roman and Celtic institutions.

(*A*) THE PICTS AND SCOTS AND THE SAXONS ATTACK ROMAN BRITAIN.

WHILE the Romans were masters of Britain they had been forced to defend their province from the attacks of barbarians. Beyond the Forth and Clyde dwelt the Picts, who were probably descended from the Goidels driven north by the Brythons. These Picts, crossing the Roman walls, raided the north of the province, while Scots from Ireland harassed and even made settlements on its western shores.

About the middle of the fourth century, pirates from the north of Germany, whom the Romans called Saxons, began to attack the

south-eastern seaboard of Britain. To meet the danger in this quarter the Romans created an official named the Count of the Saxon Shore. The Saxon Shore extended from the Wash to Southampton Water, and was that part of the island nearest the



continent. Now was beginning that movement to the west of the peoples formerly held back by the iron arms of Rome. The Franks, the Goths, the Vandals, the Burgundians pressed on towards the Roman frontiers; while the Saxons, perhaps caught by the spirit of migration, perhaps owing to pressure from the Huns, sailed away

from their own barren shores and swooped down on Britain. A Roman poet depicts these fierce barbarians: "Foes are they, fierce beyond other foes, and cunning as they are fierce: the sea is their school of war, and the storm their friend; they are sea-wolves that live on the pillage of the world."¹

(B) INVASIONS OF JUTES, ANGLES, AND SAXONS.

When the Roman legions were withdrawn from Britain, and the Britons were left to their own resources, the fierce barbarians, who had been with difficulty held at bay by the Romans, gradually won the day. For forty years the Britons, in spite of internal divisions, held out against their foes, and then the English conquest began. In 449, or perhaps 441, a party of Jutes led by Hengist and Horsa landed at Ebbsfleet in Kent, and, after assisting the Britons to repel the Picts and Scots, resolved to conquer Kent for themselves. This was the first step in the conquest of Britain. Ultimately three tribes,—the Jutes, the Angles, and the Saxons,—who came from the lands bordering on the North Sea between the mouths of the Elbe and the Weser, all attacked Britain. To understand how these tribes settled in Britain we must examine our map of Britain after the English conquest.

(a) *Jutes*.—The first footing in this country was obtained by the Jutes, who conquered Kent (455-473). We see at once that Kent is the part of Britain nearest to the continent. The Jutes, however, could not extend their frontier beyond Kent, for a great forest called the Andredsweald checked their advance to the west, while the fortifications of London barred their progress to the north.

Another party of Jutes conquered the Isle of Wight and the district round Southampton Water (530).

(b) *Saxons*.—The Saxons made most of their conquests on the south and south-east coasts. Between 477 and 491 the South Saxons conquered Sussex, which was cut off from Kent on the east by Romney Marsh and on the north by the Andredsweald. Pevensey, the chief town in this region, was only captured after desperate fighting (491). We read that the Saxon leaders "Ælle and Cissa

¹ Green, *Short History of the English People*.

beset Anderida (Pevensey) and slew all that dwelt therein; nor was there for that reason one Briton left alive."

Meanwhile another band of Saxons, passing to the north of Kent, descended on the districts north of the Thames and captured Colchester. They founded the East Saxon kingdom of Essex (480-500), but their advance northwards was checked by forests, of which Epping Forest and Hainault Forest are survivals.

Another body of Saxons sailed up the Thames and established the kingdom of Surrey to the north of Kent.

Farther west yet another band of Saxons—the West Saxons—pushed up Southampton Water and settled in Wessex (the land of the West Saxons, 495-577). Here they found a breach between the forests of Dorset and the Andredsweald, and were soon in touch with open country, Roman roads, and the river valleys of the Thames, the Avon, and the Severn, which led right into the heart of Britain. Much fighting, therefore, fell to the lot of the West Saxons, who gradually drove their foes across the Severn into Wales or down into Cornwall and Devon (West Wales). But in 520 their advance was checked for a time by a victory which the Celtic king, Arthur, gained over them at Badon (perhaps Badbury-upon-Frome in Dorset). In 577, however, the West Saxons won the great battle of Deorham, near Bristol, and by that year Buckinghamshire, Bedfordshire, Wiltshire, Berkshire, Gloucestershire, and Somersetshire formed part of Wessex. The settlements of the Jutes in the Isle of Wight and of the Saxons in Surrey were absorbed by the West Saxons.

(c) *Angles* (500-580).—While the Saxons were founding their kingdoms of Sussex and Essex, the Angles, coming "many and oft," took possession of the last unconquered portion of the Saxon Shore. In the district between Essex and the Wash they founded the settlement of the north folk (Norfolk) and the settlement of the south folk (Suffolk), which coalesced into the kingdom of East Anglia. The advance of the East Anglians was checked on the west by the Fens, but on the south Essex lay open to attack and was ultimately absorbed by them.

Another section of Angles settled in the land lying on the east coast between the Humber and the Forth. This settlement therefore ran right into the south-east of the land we now call Scotland. The

Pennine chain formed its western boundary, and it consisted of two divisions—Bernicia between the Forth and the Tees, and Deira between the Tees and the Humber. All the eastern seaboard of England had now been seized.

The last bodies of invaders were those Angles who passed into the interior of the land by the rivers which flow into the Wash or the Humber. They gradually took possession of the middle of the island, and founded the central kingdom of Mercia (547–580).

(C) GEOGRAPHY OF THE REST OF BRITAIN.

A glance at the map shows us that the land in the mountainous west of Britain still belonged to the Celts. Cornwall and Devon and part of Somerset formed West Wales, which was not subdued till the ninth century. North of the Bristol Channel was North Wales (the Wales of to-day, but with boundaries stretching farther to the east), which the Saxons never conquered. Farther north was another Welsh district, Cumbria, or the land of the Cymri, which was shut off from the Angles on the east by the Pennines and extended from the Mersey to the Clyde. This district did not become English till the close of the seventh century. These Welsh territories, however, became split into three isolated portions; for the West Saxons won a great victory over the Welsh at Deorham in 577, and in 613 the Angles won a great battle at Chester. Scotland, at this time, did not stretch farther south than the Forth and the Clyde and was divided into two portions, for the Picts had been driven into the eastern half of the Highlands by the Scots, who came over from Ireland and established themselves in the Western Highlands.

In the Celtic states tribal differences made for disunion and weakness, but the English tribes soon began to unite and by union to gather strength.

(D) NATURE OF THE ENGLISH CONQUEST.

Some historians believe that the English either massacred all the Celts in the districts they conquered or drove them right away from these districts into Wales or into Brittany in the north of France.

This view finds support from the following facts. (1) A new language and a new religion arose in the conquered districts of England, whereas in Gaul and in other Roman provinces where a large subject population survived the barbarian conquest the Christian religion was not destroyed, and the language of Roman times, and not that of the conquerors, continued to be spoken. (2) The laws and customs of the English are said to be developed entirely from the German laws and customs which the English brought with them into this country. It is undoubtedly a fact that Christianity disappeared in the conquered districts of Britain, though it survived in Wales. It is also true that the early stages of the English conquest were marked by great slaughter, as *e.g.* at Anderida. But it is difficult to believe in the extirpation or expulsion of a whole people, and even in the east and south-east of Britain, where the struggle between Celt and Saxon was fiercest, it is probable that Celtic women were kept by the conquerors as slaves. At any rate, we find in the early English language Celtic words of domestic import such as “rasher” and “rug.”

Again, as the English spread farther westwards, the greater would be the tendency not to slaughter but to blend with the conquered Celts. Thus Warwickshire, for example, and the districts bordering on the Severn, were probably peopled with a mixed population of English and Celts, and it has been asserted that the genius of Shakspeare, who was born in Warwickshire in the sixteenth century, was due to the fact that in him the best features of the Celtic imagination and the best features of the English intellect were blended.

As for the evidence of early English institutions, though they are undoubtedly in the main of German origin, yet they also undoubtedly bear traces of Roman and Celtic elements, and this fact is difficult to explain if we hold that all the Celts were exterminated or expelled by the English. Again, the evidence derived from the measurement of skulls points to a considerable survival of Celts among the Saxon invaders. It is quite possible, therefore, that the term Anglo-Celt would be a truer designation of the English race than the term Anglo-Saxon.

(E) THE INSTITUTIONS OF THE ENGLISH.

(a) *The king*.—While they still dwelt in Germany the Angles and Saxons at ordinary times had no kings. In time of war, however, an assembly of all the freemen of the tribe elected a leader. But when the German tribes came to England they found it necessary, owing to the long and fierce resistance which they encountered, to elect permanent national leaders. “War begat the king.”

(b) *Relations of classes*.—Before they came to England the Angles and Saxons were divided into two classes—freemen and slaves. The slaves for the most part were engaged in agriculture. The freemen consisted of two classes—noble and not-noble. All freemen were entitled to bear arms and to come to the national assembly, where all important questions were debated and elections to public offices decided. When they came to England the Angles and Saxons preserved this German division of classes, but a number of the conquered Britons became slaves, and the proportion of unfree men (*thrals*) to freemen was increased. Probably also much greater inequality marked the possessions of the freemen. In England the nobles were called *eorls* and the lesser freemen *ceorls*. The kings also possessed bands of personal followers called *gesiths*, who ranked next to the nobles.

(c) *Division of the land*.—Before they came to England the German tribes had made considerable changes in their method of land tenure. In the time of Cæsar (about 50 B.C.) no *individual* possessed fixed or definite landed property, but the chiefs of the people every year made a new allotment of the land, not to individuals but to families or kindreds. Every year these families or kindreds changed to fresh grounds. But in the time of the Roman writer Tacitus, who wrote about one hundred and fifty years later than Cæsar, the kindreds had proceeded to the permanent possession of land, and the people of each neighbourhood (*vicus*) now divided the land among themselves in shares proportionate to their rank. When the Angles and Saxons came to England the land they seized was probably distributed as follows. Kings and other leaders received large estates according to their rank, but the rest of the land was distributed not to individuals but to groups of individuals. The land allotted to each group was divided into two or three great unenclosed

fields. Each member of the group received a portion of the land comprising these fields, but, in order that no man might get an undue proportion of good land or an undue proportion of poor land, every man's share was made up of a number of detached strips in each field. The members of the group helped one another to cultivate the strips. The waste land of the village could be used by all its members. Each individual possessed land subject to the right or custom of the folk or people to whom he belonged. All land held in this way was called *folk-land*. The king, of course, possessed certain rights (such as the profits of administering justice) over all the folk-land. These rights he sometimes in later times granted away by charter or book to individuals or monasteries. *Book-land* is land over which the king has granted away his rights.

But we must not conclude that these village communities were established in all parts of England. As the conquerors went farther west these settlements of groups of free landowners probably became fewer. The villages in the west of England generally fell into the possession of some great man, who, perhaps, simply took the place of the large landowner of Roman times.

CHAPTER IV.

THE CONVERSION OF THE ENGLISH TO CHRISTIANITY AND THE STRUGGLE FOR SUPREMACY.

WHEN the English came to Britain they were heathens. (*A*) The conversion of the English to Christianity was begun by Augustine in 597, and was furthered or retarded by political considerations. Much of the work was done by Celtic missionaries, but at the Synod of Whitby in 664 the Roman form of Christianity gained the victory over the Celtic. In (*B*) the struggle for supremacy between the tribes settled in England, different kingdoms gained the mastery at different times, but in the end Wessex, under the leadership of the able King Egbert (802-839), won the overlordship of England.

(*A*) THE CONVERSION OF THE ENGLISH.

WE have seen that for three centuries Britain had been a Roman province. Then came the heathen English and conquered the land, and for a century and a half Europe practically lost sight of the island. The wildest legends grew up about this forgotten spot. It was the place to which the souls of the dead were carried. Fishermen who lived on the shores of the channel opposite to Britain were called forth by a muffled voice at dead of night, and, pushing off their boats from the land, felt them forthwith weighed down by invisible passengers. Arrived at Britain, they disembarked their ghostly freight. Then their boat was lightened, and was not sunk deeper than her keel.

It was not till the year 597, nearly two hundred years after the recall

of the Roman legions, that England came into contact with Rome once more. A well-known story tells how Gregory the Great, while still a young man, stood one day in the Roman forum and noticed some beautiful, fair-haired boys standing there for sale. When he was told that the boys were Angles and pagans—"Not Angles," said he, "but angels." And hearing that the boys came from Deira, and that the name of their king was Ælla, playing on the names, he cried, "Plucked from God's ire—Alleluia shall be sung there."

Gregory never forgot the scene in the forum. When he became Pope he sent the Roman abbot Augustine, with forty monks, to convert the English. They landed in Kent in the year 597.

(a) *The conversion of Kent.*—Ethelbert (565–616), the king of Kent, had taken to wife a Christian lady named Bertha, daughter of Charibert, king of Paris. Perhaps this was the reason why the success of the missionaries in Kent was at first easy and rapid. It was not long before the king allowed himself to be baptized, and his people followed his example. Canterbury, the capital of Kent, became a centre of Latin influence, and Augustine was the first Archbishop of Canterbury. The old Celtic Christians of Wales refused to join with Augustine in preaching the Word of the Lord to the English nation. The Celtic Christians believed that a true follower of Christ should be meek and lowly of heart, and considered Augustine proud and discourteous because he did not rise from his chair to receive them when they met him in council.

At this time the king of Kent was the foremost prince in England, but the supremacy of Kent did not outlive Ethelbert, for the foundation of its power was too narrow.

(b) *The conversion of Northumbria.*—The wide-spreading kingdom of Northumbria was destined to be a much greater state than Kent, and it was to Northumbria that the Christian religion next spread. Northumberland had already risen to prominence when Edwin, its king (617–633), married Ethelbert's daughter, who took with her to the north a monk named Paulinus (625). Edwin and his people found comfort in a religion that told men what lay beyond this short life on earth, the brief span of which one of Edwin's counsellors compared to a sparrow's flight through the hall "when one is sitting at meat in winter-time."

(c) *Conflict between Northumbria and Mercia.*—But the ascendancy of Northumbria and the propagation of Christianity produced a great reaction. Edwin was called upon to face the hostility of the central kingdom of Mercia, which remained heathen, and which at this time was under the vigorous rule of a king named Penda. Supported against Northumbria by Cadwallon, a Christian Welsh king, Penda, the champion of paganism, slew Edwin at the battle of Hatfield¹ (633). Edwin's widow and Paulinus fled to Kent, and the first conversion of Northumbria, to a great extent, failed.

The contest between Mercia and Northumbria continued as long as Penda lived, and Oswald, the successor of Edwin, was slain by Penda at Maserfield² in 642, but Penda himself was at last slain by Oswald's brother, Oswy, on the banks of the Winwaed³ (655). With the death of Penda paganism ceased to be of political importance, for Christianity was re-introduced into Northumbria, and Mercia was converted by St. Chad, the patron saint of Lichfield. In the meantime, a certain Birinus, sent by Pope Honorius, had won Wessex to the faith of Christ (635), and King Sigebert the Learned, assisted by an ecclesiastic from Burgundy named Felix, had established Christianity on a permanent basis in East Anglia.

(d) *The second conversion of Northumbria.*—The second and enduring conversion of Northumbria was carried out by Irish missionaries, who came not from Ireland but from Scotland. The Irish Celts, like the Celts of Wales, had remained Christians, and some monks from Ireland had built a monastery on Iona, off the west of Scotland. Later on they built famous houses at Holy Island and Whitby. The first English poet, Caedmon, was trained at Whitby by these Irish monks, and it was Aidan, Colman, and other Irish missionaries who carried out the second conversion of Northumbria and converted Mercia. Thus the greater part of England was converted to Christianity partly by missionaries sent from Rome, partly by missionaries holding the Irish form of Christianity and supported by the Northumbrian kings.

(e) *The struggle between the Celtic and Roman forms of Christianity.*—The Celtic and the Roman Churches differed on

¹ On the border of Yorkshire, not near London.

² Probably Oswestry.

³ Possibly the Went, a stream in the West Riding of Yorkshire.

certain matters, such as the shape of the tonsure and the date of Easter. A conflict therefore soon arose between the two Churches, and Oswy held a synod at *Whitby* (664), to choose which form of Christianity he would follow. With the instinct of a statesman, Oswy decided in favour of the Roman teachers. This decision was of the highest political importance, for the following reasons:—

(I.) The English people were no longer in danger of being divided by two different forms of religion. They were now all in communion with Rome, and separated from the Celtic churches.

(II.) England was brought into contact with the religion and civilisation of Western Europe. Priests and pilgrims were followed by European merchants and traders, and out of this varied intercourse new ideas of civilisation arose which left their mark on English political institutions. Monasteries were built, and the monks encouraged agriculture and handicrafts. Markets sprang up outside the gates of the monasteries, while their walls sheltered scholars, like the first English historian *Bede*, who tells us in his *Ecclesiastical History* the story of the hundred and forty years which followed Augustine's landing in Kent. As the result of the synod of Whitby nearly all the Irish missionaries quitted England; and in 668 the Pope made *Theodore of Tarsus* Archbishop of Canterbury, and ordered him to divide England into dioceses and to govern and organise the English Church.

(B) THE STRUGGLE FOR SUPREMACY.

Thus England was united for ecclesiastical purposes many generations before it was united for political or legal purposes. The Church disregarded political divisions. It possessed one head—the Archbishop of Canterbury; it held annual assemblies, and its laws and usages were uniform even in districts ruled by different kings. But, in tracing the history of the conversion of the English, we have seen that there was a constant struggle for supremacy between the different English peoples. For a short time *Kent* was predominant, though far too small and isolated to maintain its leadership. In the seventh century, *Northumbria* was, on the whole, supreme, in spite of the struggle with Penda of Mercia, for it possessed three able kings, —Edwin (617–633), Oswald (635–642), and Oswy (654–671).

But Northumbria was too straggling and too much cut off from the rest of England to be strong. Below the Humber great fens and forests made communication with the south of England difficult. North and west of Northumbria dwelt the Celts, and it was a victory of the Celts of Strathclyde over the Northumbrian king Egfrid at Nechtansmere¹ which brought the supremacy of Northumbria to an end (685).

In the eighth century *Mercia* became predominant. The period of Mercian supremacy is distinguished by the reign of King Offa (757-796). Offa won for Mercia the land between the Severn and the Wye, and his name is preserved in Offa's Dyke, which stretched from the mouth of the Dee to the mouth of the Wye. The supremacy of Mercia did not last, owing to the drawbacks of its geographical position. Though centrally situated, it was exposed to attack by Northumbria on the north and by Wessex on the south. It possessed no natural frontiers, and pirates could pierce into the heart of the country by the rivers.

In the ninth century the supremacy passed to *Wessex*, mainly owing to the achievements of a great king named Egbert (802-839). Possibly Egbert was led to attempt the unification of England because he had spent some years at the court of Charles the Great at Aachen, and had seen the way in which Charles was uniting a great part of Europe into the Holy Roman Empire. Egbert's task was probably rendered easier by civil strife in Mercia, and by the political exhaustion of Northumbria. At all events, after conquering the Welsh of Cornwall, he defeated Beornwulf, King of Mercia, at Ellandun² (825), and deprived Mercia of her dependent kingdoms—Essex, East Anglia, and Kent. Torn by civil war, Mercia herself submitted to Egbert in 828. In the following year Northumbria yielded without a blow, and all England was united under one overlord. Egbert made his power felt in Wales, and would probably have conquered Cumberland and Strathclyde had there not appeared on the scene a new and more terrible foe—the Dane or Northman.

The ability of Egbert had won the overlordship of England for Wessex. He was succeeded by a line of rulers who maintained the West Saxon supremacy because they were the only English

¹ Dunnichen, near Forfar.

² Probably in the north of Wiltshire, near Swindon.

princes who could make headway against the Danes. The rulers of Wessex were supported by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the head of the English Church, and Wessex possessed geographical advantages over her rivals. Her territories were compact and easy to defend, while the valleys of the Thames, the Avon, and the Severn gave her free access into her rivals' territories.

CHAPTER V.

THE DANES.

THE supremacy of Wessex might have gone the way of the Northumbrian and Mercian supremacies but for the appearance in England of new and terrible foes—(*A*) the Danes or Northmen. The invasions of the Danes in the end consolidated the overlordship of Wessex. The Danes at first came on (*B*) plundering raids, and afterwards to form (*C*) settlements. But Alfred, the great King of Wessex, not only preserved his own land from conquest; he even added to the territories under the direct sway of Wessex. The districts in which the Danes settled were known as (*D*) the Danelaw, and the invasions of the Danes had (*E*) very important results. (*F*) Alfred's achievements were not only military in character; his reign is remarkable for many peaceful reforms. By his services to his country Alfred earned the title of (*G*) "the Great."

(*A*) THE DANES.

THE Northmen or Danes were Scandinavian pirates who hailed from Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. The first recorded visit of the Danes to England took place about the year 790. They came at first merely to plunder, but later on their raids were followed by settlements. From 1013 to 1042 a line of Danish kings ruled in England, while, as late as 1066, King Harold was called upon to face an invasion of the Northmen. England was therefore in danger from the Danes for the space of three centuries—a period of time as long as the interval which separates us from the close of Elizabeth's reign. In studying the Danish invasions it is important to bear in

mind three facts—(1) Like the Jutes, Angles, and Saxons of earlier times, the Danes were ferocious heathen pirates. They took much booty from Christian churches and from the monasteries. (2) They were nearly akin to the English people in race, tongue, and national character. (3) The seaboard not only of England, but of nearly every country in Europe, was exposed to their attacks. Thus, in course of time, they established (on the eastern shores of the Baltic) a settlement which was the foundation of modern Russia, and in the tenth century they settled round the mouth of the Seine in a district which came to be known as Normandy, or the land of the Northmen. France and Germany suffered nearly as much as England from the raids of the Northmen, who also attacked the coasts of Spain and even penetrated to the Mediterranean.

(B) PLUNDERING RAIDS (790–851).

Before the full weight of their harassing attacks fell on England the Danes had already made settlements in Orkney and Shetland, on the northern and western coasts of Scotland (Caithness and Sutherland), in the Hebrides and even in the Isle of Man. Then they reached Ireland, and later on established colonies on the Irish coast in the neighbourhood of Dublin, Limerick, and Waterford. In 838 “a mighty fleet” came to Cornwall to fight in alliance with the West Welsh against King Egbert of Wessex, so that Egbert went forth and fought with them at *Hengestdune* (838), “and there he put to flight both Welshmen and Danes.” But although the attack on the western extremity of Wessex was repulsed, other bands of Northmen began to come direct to its south-eastern borders. They attacked London and Canterbury and the land lying around the mouth of the Thames. In 851, however, they were met at Ockley by Ethelwulf, the son and successor of Egbert, who, says the Chronicle, “made the greatest slaughter among the heathen army that we have heard of till this present day, and there gained the victory.”

(C) RAIDS FOLLOWED BY SETTLEMENT (851–897).

In the reign of King Ethelwulf (839–858) the attacks of the Danes began to grow serious. In 851, says the Chronicle, “the

heathen men for the first time remained over winter in Thanet." Now begins the second period of the Danish invasions—the period of settlement. Thanet virtually lay in the territory of Wessex, but in the long-run Wessex alone among the English states proved strong enough to prevent the Danes from settling within her borders. During the reigns of Ethelwulf's sons, Ethelbald (858–860), Ethelbert (860–866), Ethelred (866–871), and Alfred (871–900?), the Danes replaced raiding by regular campaigns with a view to conquest. In 866 they made themselves masters of East Anglia, and in the following years they conquered York and overran the south of Northumbria. In 870 Mercia paid tribute to the Danes, and the Danish leader Guthrum assumed the crown of East Anglia. By 874 the conquest of Mercia was completed. Thus in the space of a few years all the country outside Wessex was subdued by the Danes.

Now we must turn to the history of the struggle between Wessex and the Danes. In the year 871, when Ethelred was King of Wessex, the Danes came to "the royal town which is called Reading," and then took up a position on the broad ridge of *Ashdown*, amid the Berkshire Downs. Here it was that Alfred, the brother of Ethelred, first distinguished himself. The Danes held the higher ground, but Alfred charged up the slope "like a wild boar," and led the men of Wessex to victory. All Alfred's valour was needed to save Wessex from the Danes. He came to the throne in 871, the year of battles, a year in which the West Saxons fought no less than nine pitched fights with the foe. But the fierce resistance which they encountered caused the Danes to withdraw for a time from Wessex, and to occupy themselves in completing the conquest of Mercia, and in strengthening their hold over the north. In the year 878, however, the most critical of Alfred's wars with the Danes took place. Following the raven standard of their leader Guthrum, the Danes, "early in the year, while it was yet winter," swooped down on Wessex and drove Alfred from his "royal villa" of Chippenham in Wiltshire. Alfred was forced to seek refuge amid the swamps of Athelney in Somerset, and for a brief space the Danes were masters of the strong kingdom of Wessex as well as of the rest of England. But their triumph was shortlived. At Whitsuntide Alfred, supported by the men of Somerset, Wilts, and Hants, who

were "fain of their recovered king," fell upon the Danes at Edington in Wilts, and won a great victory. The Danes fled to Chippenham, where they made their submission, swearing "with mighty oaths" to depart from Wessex, and "the army promised that their king Guthrum should receive the rite of baptism" (*Treaty of Wedmore or Chippenham*, 878). Alfred's great victory not only rendered Wessex secure, but possibly gave him the southern and western parts of Mercia. If this was the case the boundary between Alfred's dominions and those of the Danes was a line which, roughly speaking, ran from a little east of Reading up to Chester. London and Essex remained as yet in the hands of the Danes, but, possibly in 886, after further fighting in which Alfred proved victorious, Guthrum was forced to give up London to Alfred, and to agree to a new boundary between Alfred's lands and the Danish territory. The frontier laid down in *Alfred and Guthrum's peace* stretched "up on the Thames and then up on the Lea, and along the Lea unto its source, then right to Bedford, and then up on the Ouse unto Watling Street." Thus Alfred extended the territories of Wessex and began the process, which his sons and grandsons completed, of reconquering England from the Danes. The government of Mercia west of Watling Street Alfred left in the hands of the Mercian ealdorman Ethelred, to whom he gave his daughter Ethelfled in marriage.

(D) THE DANISH SETTLEMENTS, OR THE DANELAW
(stretching from the Thames to the Tees).

North and east of the boundary line laid down in Alfred and Guthrum's peace the Danes were now in possession. The district which they occupied was known as the *Danelaw*, because the Danish law was observed in it. We can trace three distinct divisions of the Danelaw.

(1) *Danish Northumbria in the north*.—That part of Northumbria lying south of the Tees was divided among the Danes. This district still preserves the mark of the Danish occupation in numerous place-names possessing terminations such as "by" and "thorpe," which are of Danish origin. Danish Northumbria was organised as a definite kingdom with its centre at York, and for administrative purposes was divided into three trithings or ridings. Bernicia, or

that part of Northumbria north of the Tees, seems to have remained independent and was ruled by an English ealdorman, but it was, of course, completely cut off from what was left of the English kingdom.

(2) *Danish Mercia in the centre.*—South of Northumbria in Danish Mercia lay a district known as the *Five Boroughs*, comprising the towns of Derby, Leicester, Lincoln, Nottingham, and Stamford, and the territories adjoining them. The Five Boroughs were not ruled by a king, but formed a confederacy which united for purposes of offence and defence.

(3) *East Anglia in the east.*—Guthrum ruled East Anglia as a separate kingdom, and occupied the districts immediately adjoining it to the south and west.

(E) RESULTS OF THE DANISH INVASIONS.

(1) The Danes of the Danelaw settled down among the conquered people and rapidly became assimilated to them. They adopted the English tongue, which was not unlike their own, and followed Guthrum's example in accepting Christianity. The Danes possessed to a remarkable degree the faculty of assimilating themselves to the nations among whom they settled. Thus the Normans who settled in France adopted the French language and French ideas.

(2) The introduction of fresh Teutonic blood into the conquered districts was advantageous, for the Danes were warlike and vigorous."

(3) By introducing their own law into the conquered districts the Danes perhaps kept alive the old German notions of freedom which were fading away in other parts of England. At the same time, as we shall see later, the Danish invasions elsewhere tended to restrict personal freedom and to assist the growth of feudalism.

(4) It is true that the somewhat shadowy supremacy of Wessex over all England was for a time destroyed by the establishment of the Danelaw; yet Alfred, in his struggle with the Danes, acquired the *direct* rule over larger territories than his predecessors had possessed, for he incorporated with his own kingdom, Kent, Sussex, part of Essex, and the greater part of Mercia. By making Wessex a strong state Alfred prepared the way for the thorough reconquest of the

Danelaw by his successors. Thus the Danish invasions tended both to destroy and to strengthen the unity of England.

(F) ALFRED'S REFORMS.

(a) *Military*.—Hitherto we have followed the military achievements of Alfred, and, indeed, his first and greatest service to his country was that of preserving it in safety from the attacks of the Danes. In the years which followed the treaty of 886 Alfred did all in his power to improve the military efficiency of Wessex. The Danish inroads had been facilitated by the lack of fortresses in the invaded districts. The old Roman fortified towns had long since fallen into decay; for the Jutes, Angles, and Saxons “abhorred walled towns as the graves of freedom,” and loved a country life. Alfred now set about building fortresses, a work which his son Edward the Elder continued. Alfred sought also to increase the number of his cavalry, and encouraged men who had made fortunes in trade and had acquired land to become thegns or knights. He organised the military forces of his kingdom in such a way that “one half was constantly at home,” going about its ordinary business, while the other half was “out in the field” on active duty. Alfred also realised the necessity of meeting the Danes on their own element—the sea, and built ships after his own design “full-nigh twice as long as the Danish ships,” “both swifter and steadier and higher than the others,” thus encouraging Englishmen to regain their old prowess on the sea.

The result of all this vigilance was seen when fresh Danish invaders crossed over from the continent under the leadership of a valiant chief named Hastings; for Alfred defeated them after much fighting at *Buttington* in Montgomery (894), and drove them out of England. Thenceforward, for nearly a century, the Danish attacks on England ceased, and Alfred and his descendants were able to subdue those Danes who had already settled in the country.

(b) *Peaceful reforms*.—Alfred was no mere warrior-king, for he worked with might and main to bring back the blessings of peace to his people. The peaceful reforms which he carried out in Wessex bear abundant testimony to the nobility of his character. Religion, education, and law were all fostered by the king.

(1) *Religion*.—At the beginning of his reign Alfred was distressed to find that not one clergyman south of the Thames could “explain his service book in English.” Accordingly he made it his aim to encourage learning among the clergy, and also to restore the religious houses which had been destroyed by the Danes.

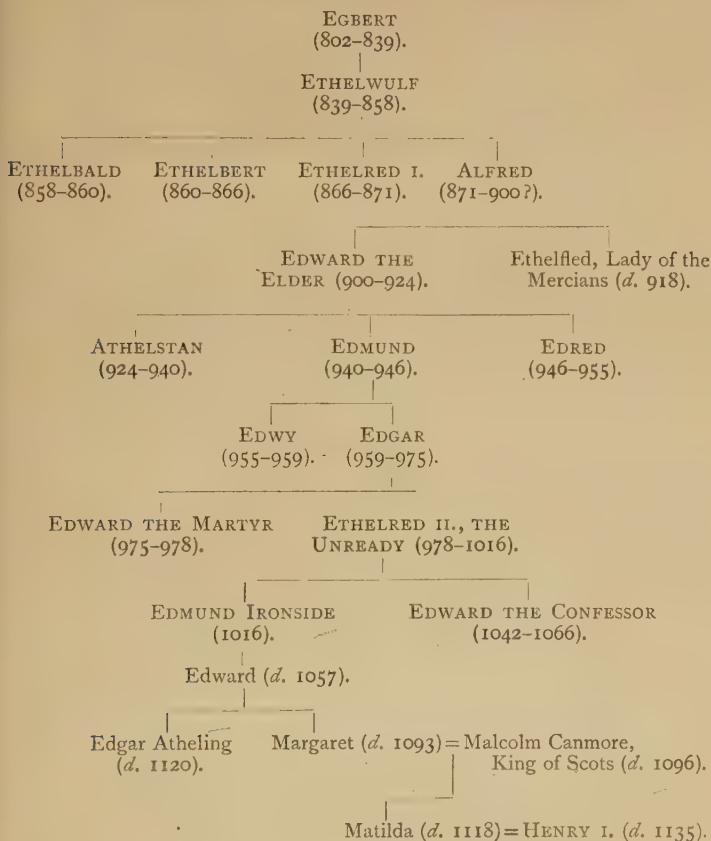
(2) *Education*.—In order to spread knowledge among his people Alfred ordered that every free-born youth if possible should “abide at his book till he can well understand English writing.” The king himself translated books into English for the benefit of his subjects, and has been called the creator of English literature. Among the books which Alfred translated, or caused to be translated, was Bede’s *Ecclesiastical History*, wherein Englishmen could read the story of the conversion of their race to Christianity. Moreover, Alfred caused the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* to be compiled to record the events of his own days and the previous history of the English peoples. This chronicle was continued up to the twelfth century by monks attached to monasteries, and is an invaluable record of the early history of England. Alfred attracted learned men from all quarters to his court, and one of them, a Welshman named Asser, wrote his life.

(3) *Law*.—Alfred laboured to give his subjects good laws. He restated and codified the laws of earlier kings, and at the same time softened their harshness. He showed the religious bent of his mind by prefixing the Ten Commandments to the ordinary laws.

(G) WHY ALFRED IS CALLED “THE GREAT.”

Alfred is sometimes called “the Great,” and he richly deserved the title, not indeed on account of the magnitude but on account of the *quality* of his achievements. His achievements cannot be compared with those of Alexander the Great or of Frederic the Great of Prussia; but in his own little kingdom of Wessex, Alfred, though often crippled by ill-health, strove solely for the good of his people with untiring and unselfish love. His purity of motive renders him “the most perfect man of action to be found in the pages of history.”

GENEALOGY OF THE EARLY ENGLISH KINGS.



CHAPTER VI.

THE RECONQUEST OF THE DANELAW.

THE reconquest of the Danelaw, for which Alfred had paved the way by making Wessex strong, was completed by his son Edward the Elder, and by his grandsons, Athelstan, Edmund, and Edred. On the death of Edred the kingdom was divided between Edwy and Edgar, the sons of Edmund, but in 959 Edgar became king of the whole land. Edgar was assisted by an able minister named (*B*) Dunstan, who carried out important reforms both in Church and State.

(*A*) EDWARD THE ELDER—EDGAR (900-975).

(1) *Edward the Elder*.—Edward was assisted in the task of conquering the Danelaw by his sister Ethelfled. In 907 Ethelfled and her husband fortified Chester in order to prevent the Welsh from joining the Danes. On her husband's death Ethelfled was styled the "Lady of the Mercians (911)." Forts were built to hold down the Welsh (*e.g.* at Brecon) or to strengthen the frontier (*e.g.* at Shrewsbury and Bridgnorth). Then followed the attack on the Danelaw itself. Ethelfled struck at Danish Mercia from the west, while Edward worked his way round to the north and east of London, striking at the Danelaw from that side, and conquering Essex, East Anglia, and Hertford. Wherever Edward or his Amazon sister won territory they built fortresses to secure their conquests. Ethelfled died in the midst of the struggle (918), but not before Derby and Leicester, two of the Five Boroughs, had been won for Wessex. On the death of his sister Edward took Mercia under his direct rule, and continued his attack on the Danelaw with such success that by 922 he had recovered all the Danish conquests south

of the Humber. With justifiable pride he could now style himself "King of the Anglo-Saxons." In 924,¹ the year of his death, Edward's power was so great that all the remaining states of Britain chose him "to father and lord." These included "the Welsh of Strathclyde and all the dwellers in Northumbria, whether Englishmen or Danes," and "the Scottish king and all the Scottish people," whose territory at this time lay to the north of the Firths of Forth and Clyde. Thus Edward was the first of the English kings to receive the submission, however vague, of the whole of Britain. Long afterwards, in the thirteenth century, Edward I. adduced his namesake's transaction with the King of Scots in support of his claim to be overlord of Scotland; but the feudal interpretation which Edward I. placed on the agreement was absent from the minds of the men of the tenth century. Besides, who can believe that a weak king, like Ethelred the Unready in later times, continued to be regarded by the Scots as "father and lord"?

Athelstan.—The first aim of Athelstan, the son and successor of Edward, was to strengthen his hold upon Northumbria. With this object he married his sister to Sihtric, King of Northumbria, and when, in the year following his marriage, Sihtric died, Athelstan "assumed the kingdom of the Northumbrians" himself. He thus became for a time direct ruler of all England, except Strathclyde, and all the Danes in England were, for the moment, his subjects. But Athelstan's hold upon the north was slight. In 937 he was called upon to face a great combination which included: (1) Anlaf, son of Sihtric, who was king of the Danes in Ireland; (2) another Anlaf whom Athelstan had driven out of Northumbria; (3) the King of Strathclyde; and (4) Constantine, the "crafty one," King of the Scots, who had chosen Edward "to father and lord." This great league was crushed by Athelstan at the battle of *Brunanburh*.² The Saxon Chronicle contains a wonderful ballad describing this fight.

Never had huger
Slaughter of heroes
Slain by the sword-edge—
Such as old writers
Have writ of in histories—

¹ Possibly 921.

² Probably in Dumfriesshire, near the Solway.

Hapt in this isle, since
 Up from the East hither
 Saxon and Angle from
 Over the broad billow
 Broke into Britain with
 Haughty war-workers.

(See Tennyson's "Battle of Brunanburh.")

Athelstan styled himself "King of all Britain," and even used the title of emperor. In foreign affairs he played a greater part than his predecessors. His sister, the Lady Eadhilda, married Hugh the Great, Duke of France.¹ Another sister, Edgiva, married Charles the Simple, the Carolingian King of France. The German prince Otto, who was afterwards Emperor, requested Athelstan to send him a princess to wed. Thereupon Athelstan sent his two sisters Edgitha and Elfgiva for Otto to see, and Otto chose Edgitha.

Edmund the Magnificent, or Deed-Doer (940-946).—In the reign of Athelstan's brother Edmund it became evident that the task of controlling all England directly was too great for the ruler of Wessex; for Edmund, after crushing with difficulty a revolt of the Danes, which included even the Five Boroughs, found it necessary to seek an ally in North Britain. Accordingly he gave Cumberland,² which he took from its Welsh princes, to Malcolm, King of Scots, on condition that he should be his "fellow-worker by sea and land" (945).

Edred (946-955).—On the death of Edmund his two young sons Edwy and Edgar were passed over, and the Crown went to their uncle Edred, for in early English times the most capable member of the royal family could be chosen king. Edred's chief aim was to retain his hold on Northumbria. He styled himself "Cæsar of all Britain,"—a magnificent title implying that the reconquest of the Danelaw was now an accomplished fact.

Edwy (955-959).—On the death of Edred his nephew Edwy, the eldest son of Edmund, came to the throne. In his reign we get an indication of the decline of the monarchy, for the kingdom was divided between Edwy and his brother Edgar. Edwy ruled over

¹ Hugh Capet, his son by another wife, was the first of the Capetian kings of France.

² The northern part of Strathclyde.

Wessex, but Edgar obtained all the rest of the realm, and when Edwy died in 959 Edgar became sole king.

Edgar the Peaceful (959-975).—Edgar was the last great king of the family of Alfred; and in his reign the power of the Crown was, for a time, restored. The reality of his power is illustrated by a story that on one occasion six under-kings rowed his boat on the Dec. Edgar, alone of his family, was able to maintain his supremacy without fighting, and therefore men called him the "Peaceful." All through his reign he was assisted by an able minister named Dunstan.

(B) DUNSTAN.

Born in 925, Dunstan had been a favourite of Athelstan, a counsellor of Edmund, and the treasurer and chief adviser of Edred. He quarrelled with Edwy and, during his reign, went into exile, but he exercised great influence in the prosperous reign of Edgar. Abbot of Glastonbury and Archbishop of Canterbury, he was the first of the long line of great ecclesiastical statesmen who exercised so much power in England down to Tudor times. Many interesting legends cluster round his name. His harp, hanging on the wall, touched by no mortal hands, gives forth sweet strains of music while Dunstan designs a robe which a lady is embroidering. All women loved the monk, who was both musician and artist, but his sensitive, scholarly nature made him hateful to the rude and jealous nobles of the court. In his youth, we are told, the young nobles of King Athelstan's train brutally set upon him, threw him into a marshy pool, and trampled him in the mud. Besmirched with mire, Dunstan sought the neighbouring house of a friend, where the dogs attacked him until they recognised the sound of his voice. Then their anger ceased—they fawned upon him, and Dunstan wept at the contrast between "the friendliness of the dog and the cruel animosity of man."

(1) *Dunstan's policy as statesman*.—But Dunstan was not only a monk and an artist, he was a practical man of affairs who accomplished a great work both in Church and State. The great problem which Edgar and Dunstan had to solve was how best to govern a land which comprised a wide area and included men of different races. They decided to entrust the government of the outlying parts of the

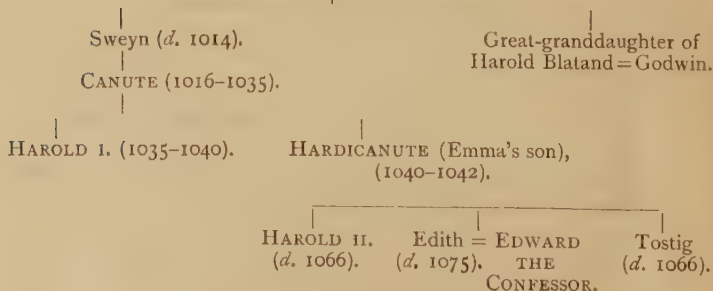
realm to suitable men who should be left to themselves a great deal and yet be supervised by the king. One of Edgar's laws allowed the Danes of Northumbria to maintain their own customs, though a uniform system of laws was enacted for Wessex. "Let secular rights stand among the Danes, with as good laws as they best may choose," ran the royal decree. Edgar and Dunstan used other expedients to strengthen their hold upon the north. In that region the Archbishop of York was a powerful magnate, but Edgar gave him the bishopric of Worcester in the kingdom of Wessex, in order to keep him loyal.

Many social reforms were carried through by Edgar and Dunstan. Provision was made for the regular holding of courts and the maintenance of order, and Dunstan made some attempt to regulate measures, for he ordered that pegs should be inserted in drinking cups "that none might drink deep without knowing it."

(2) *Dunstan's ecclesiastical policy.*—Dunstan sought to arrest the decay of learning and religion which had set in in England since Alfred's days. Accordingly he established famous schools at his own monastery of Glastonbury and elsewhere, and tried to induce the clergy to lead stricter lives. Dunstan believed that a monk's life was holier than that of an ordinary clergyman who married and lived in the world like other men, but he did not persecute the married clergy. He sought, however, to get the monasteries to adopt the strict rule of St. Benedict with which he had come in contact during his exile in Edwy's reign.

THE DANISH KINGS OF ENGLAND.

Harold Blatand or Bluetooth.



CHAPTER VII.

THE DANISH CONQUEST.

AFTER the death of Edgar, in 975, the unity of England, for which Alfred and his descendants had striven, began to be shattered. Edgar left two sons, named Edward and Ethelred. When Edward had reigned three years he was stabbed in the back by his stepmother's orders (978), and his half-brother Ethelred was crowned by Dunstan. After this we hear little of Dunstan, but he lived long enough to see the work of Edgar and himself undone. In the reign of (A) Ethelred the Unready (978-1016) the weak rule of the king and the disorganisation of the country resulted in the conquest of England by Sweyn, the pagan King of Denmark. On the death of Sweyn his son (B) Canute, after a stern struggle with Edmund Ironside, the son of Ethelred, became King of England (1016-1035). Canute was also King of Denmark, and in 1028 he conquered Norway, but he tried to govern England as an English king. He gave the land peace, but divided it up into great earldoms, and thus encouraged the Anglo-Saxon tendency towards disruption, which was clearly seen when Canute's strong rule was over. (C) In the reigns of Canute's sons, Harold and Hardicanute, England relapsed into anarchy.

(A) ETHELRED THE UNREADY.

THE name men gave to Ethelred describes his character. He was called "the Unready" because he would take no *rede* or counsel. In his reign the third stage of the Danish invasions began—the stage of political conquest. Sensual and degraded, an unworthy

scion of the House of Egbert, Ethelred was an utterly incompetent king. Under his weak rule the army and navy sank into decay; local jealousies, always latent even under the sway of strong kings, became rampant, and England was ripe for conquest when the Danes appeared. Unable to repel force by force, Ethelred attempted to avert disaster by employing the weak weapons of bribery and diplomacy. He levied a tax called *Danegeld* in order to buy off invasion. In 994 Sweyn, King of Denmark, was bought off by a double ransom; and it has been calculated that at various times the equivalent of £8,500,000 in modern money was paid by Ethelred to the Danes. He sought a foreign alliance against the Danes by marrying Emma, sister of Richard, Duke of Normandy. Ethelred's policy soon passed from weakness to crime. In 1002 he ordered that a general massacre of the Danes living in Wessex should take place on St. Brice's Day.

The rest of the story is soon told. In the course of the tenth century Denmark, like England, had achieved national unity, and the Danes, now under the leadership of a powerful king, came to England, no longer in scattered bands, but as an invading nation. By 1013 Sweyn had made himself master of England, and Ethelred sought refuge in Normandy. In the following year Sweyn died, and Ethelred returned to renew the struggle with Sweyn's son Canute, who had been elected king by the Danes. On the death of Ethelred in 1016, England found a worthier champion in his son Edmund Ironside, a man whose name implies that he was no weakling like his father. Battle after battle was fought between Canute and Edmund. At Brentford victory fell to Edmund, but at Assandun in Essex the desertion of the caldorman Edric Streona ensured the victory of the enemy. Finally Canute and Edmund agreed to divide England between them, Edmund retaining Wessex while Canute reigned in Northumbria and Mercia (Treaty of Olney, 1016). In the same year Edmund died and Canute became sole king. He married Emma of Normandy, the widow of Ethelred the Unready.

(B) CANUTE (1016-1035).

In the reign of Canute England became, for the first time, merely a portion of an extensive empire. Canute was not only King of

England, for he also inherited Denmark, and in 1028 conquered Norway. Yet England was the most important part of his possessions, and he employed English bishops and monks to carry on the work of civilising his backward northern possessions, and showed himself anxious to govern England as an English king. Early in the reign (1018) Malcolm, King of Scots, defeated the Northumbrians at Carham on the Tweed, and obtained from them the territory of Lothian, or the land beyond the Tweed. Canute wisely confirmed this cession of territory on condition that Malcolm became his "man" (1031). Cumberland had been handed over to the King of the Scots in 945, so that the Scottish kingdom was now bounded, not by the Forth and the Clyde, but, roughly speaking, by the Tyne and the Solway. In course of time this southern portion of Scotland became more important than the old northern portion, and the King of the Scots adopted the English language and customs.

The beginning of the reign was marked by cruelty. Canute slew Edwy, the brother of Ironside, and sent Edmund's two sons to the King of Sweden, in order that they might be murdered. Fortunately, they escaped this cruel fate by fleeing to Hungary. No reproach can fall on Canute for his execution of Edric Streona, who had played the traitor to his father-in-law Ethelred, to Edmund, and to Canute himself. Canute's character, however, improved with success, and is seen at its best in a letter which he wrote to his people when he made a pilgrimage to Rome and witnessed the coronation of the Emperor Conrad II. (1027). "Be it known," wrote the king, "that since I have vowed to God Himself henceforward to reform my life in all things, and justly and piously to govern the kingdom and the people subject to me, and to maintain equal justice in all things; and have determined, through God's assistance, to rectify any thing hitherto unjustly done, either through the intemperance of my youth, or through negligence; therefore I call to witness, and command my counsellors, to whom I have entrusted the counsels of the kingdom, that they by no means, either through fear of myself or favour to any powerful person, suffer henceforth any injustice, or cause such to be done in all my kingdom." And towards the close of the letter Canute writes: "I never spared, nor will I spare, either myself or my pains for the needful service of my whole people."

The reign of Canute, the conqueror, proved a blessing to England. After the anarchy of Ethelred's reign, Canute's firm rule gave the land peace. The king laboured for the moral and material improvement of his country. Churches of stone were built, education was encouraged, marshes were drained and forest lands reclaimed. Professing to rule as a national king, Canute made few innovations, but from his reign date (1) the organisation of a strong bodyguard of "huscarls," and (2) the establishment of the Four Earldoms.

(1) *The "huscarls"* were a bodyguard of two or three thousand men forming a small standing army strong enough to enable the king to maintain order or repress rebellion in any part of his kingdom.

(2) *The Four Earldoms* were established by Canute in order to encourage local government. In this point Canute's policy resembled that of King Edgar. The earldoms varied in number at different times, but roughly corresponded to the four old Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, Wessex, Mercia, Northumbria, and East Anglia. The most important of Canute's earls were Godwin of Wessex¹ and Leofwine of Mercia. From this time onwards, down to the Norman Conquest, the great earls played an important part in English history. While Canute lived his energy and strength held them in check, but after Canute's death they seem to have become the real rulers of England. They appear to have exercised all the powers of government in their own districts, and they reanimated the old local jealousies, which were by no means dead even after a century and a half of nominal national unity. But for the Norman Conquest the earls might have gained an independent position similar to that attained by the great vassals of the French Crown. The danger of Canute's device lay in the fact that there would be a tendency, under the rule of weak monarchs, for the earls to gather into their own hands the political sovereignty which properly belonged to the king. We see this tendency at work after Canute's death, and the revival of the old local spirit of independence dismembered England and prepared the way for the Norman Conquest. England, in fact, was never so feudal as in the days intervening between the reign of Canute and the Norman Conquest (see Chapter IX.).

¹ Canute kept Wessex in his own hands for a time.

(C) THE REIGNS OF HAROLD I. (1035-1040) AND HARDICANUTE
(1040-1042).

When Canute died in 1035, leaving two sons Harold, his first-born, and Hardicanute, the son of Emma of Normandy, the dangerous rivalry of the great earls at once manifested itself. Godwin wished to place Emma's son Hardicanute on the throne, but Leofric, the son of Leofwine of Mercia, was in favour of Harold. Hardicanute was absent in Denmark, and he was forced to remain in that country battling for the crown, so that Godwin at length relinquished the struggle on his behalf and Harold became king. On the death of Harold in 1040 the throne passed to Hardicanute, who died after a brief reign of two years. Both Harold and Hardicanute were mere ordinary barbarians, and during their reign the land fell again into confusion. It was with feelings of relief, therefore, that England turned once more to the old West Saxon dynasty, and recalled Edward, the son of Ethelred and Emma of Normandy, to the throne of his fathers.

CHAPTER VIII.

EDWARD THE CONFESSOR AND HAROLD (1042-1066).

THE reign of Edward the Confessor, in spite of the fact that the king was descended from the old English royal house, was marked by (*A*) greater foreign influence than that of the Danish king Canute. The opposition to the foreigners was led by (*B*) Godwin, Earl of Wessex, who temporarily lost his influence and was driven into exile. In the end (*C*) the house of Godwin triumphed, and, on the death of Edward, Harold, the son of Godwin, succeeded to the English throne, although he was not a member of the English royal house. But the disunion bred by the division of the country into great earldoms had dismembered England, and (*D*) Harold, lacking the support of a united nation, was conquered by the foreigner, Duke William of Normandy, at the battle of Hastings.

(*A*) FOREIGN INFLUENCE.

ENGLAND welcomed in Edward, whose piety gained him the title of Confessor, a king who was "their bone and their flesh." Yet in choosing him the nation had practically called a Norman to the English throne. Nearly forty years of age, the new king, since his childhood, had been an exile in his mother's land of Normandy, and had acquired Norman tastes. The son of Ethelred and Emma of Normandy, Edward was not the nearest heir to the throne. Another Edward, the son of Edmund Ironside, was living in exile in Hungary; but the custom of the land did not bind the Witenagemot to place the late king's next successor by blood on the

throne, as long as the new king was selected from the royal line. Accordingly Edward the Confessor, who was near at hand, was elected king; the claims of the other Edward, far away in Hungary, were passed over.

The election of Edward the Confessor was due to the influence of Godwin, Earl of Wessex, whose daughter Edith the new king married. But it was inevitable that Edward should have leanings towards the friends of his exile, and the way for the Norman Conquest was paved in his reign by the favour which he showed to his Norman followers. The new king liked to speak French, and to surround himself with French-speaking people. Normans accordingly flocked to his court, and were promoted to high positions in the English Church. Apparently Edward saw that it would cause too much irritation to promote Normans to high secular positions, for he only created one Norman earl, his nephew Ralph, the son of Godiva, whom he made Earl of Hereford; but Robert, Abbot of Jumièges, was made Bishop of London in 1044, and Archbishop of Canterbury in 1051; while other Normans received posts in the English Church. Robert of Jumièges used his great influence with the king to oppose Godwin, the Earl of Wessex, and the early years of Edward's reign are marked both by the rise and the fall of Godwin's power.

(B) GODWIN.

The whole political interest of the reign centres not in the king, but in the earls. Siward, the fierce Dane, was Earl of Northumbria, and was practically sovereign over all England north of the Humber and the Ribble. Leofric was only a little less powerful in Mercia. But Godwin in the long-run proved more powerful than the king himself, for not only was he Earl of Wessex, but his son Harold was soon to hold East Anglia. It must not be supposed that only four earldoms existed. There were smaller earldoms, consisting of one or two shires, seemingly held from the great earls; and these smaller earldoms were bestowed on the king's friends, or on members of Godwin's family.

The rise of Godwin is indeed remarkable. In a sense a mere adventurer, he had been given the earldom of Wessex by Canute.

In Edward's reign his son Harold obtained the earldom of East Anglia. Another son, Sweyn, held Hereford, Gloucester, Oxford, and part of Wessex ; but he was outlawed by the Witan for killing his cousin Beorn, who held Derby, Nottingham, Leicester, and Lincoln. There is no doubt that Godwin set himself to check the influence of Norman favourites over the king, but he himself gave offence to the other great earls by attempting to acquire so many earldoms for members of his own house. At any rate, in 1051 Godwin and his son Harold were banished, after a vain attempt on their part to force the Normans to retire from Edward's court, and after refusing to punish the citizens of Dover for attacking the king's brother-in-law, Eustace of Boulogne. Siward of Northumbria and Leofric of Mercia supported the king in expelling the Godwins—a clear proof of the divisions and jealousies which the system of great earldoms had revived. The banishment of Godwin was a triumph for the Norman favourites. The king's wife was sent to a nunnery ; and William, Duke of the Normans, paid a visit to his childless kinsman, Edward, who is said to have promised him the succession to the English throne—though, as a matter of fact, only the Witenagemot could appoint the sovereign.

(C) THE TRIUMPH OF THE HOUSE OF GODWIN.

Godwin and Harold did not remain long in exile. Returning in 1052 without the king's leave, they were welcomed by the English people and restored to their possessions by the Witenagemot. Their return was the signal for the flight of the Norman favourites. Amongst others, Archbishop Robert left the country, and his place was given to an Englishman named Stigand, who secured the pallium or insignia of his office, from the Antipope Benedict. Not long after his return from exile Godwin died (1053) and Harold, his son, succeeded him as Earl of Wessex. Henceforward the chief authority in the realm was exercised by Harold, who was even styled *Subregulus*, or under-king. Edward himself was not a man of affairs, and was more interested in rebuilding and enriching the minster of Saint Peter, or West Minster, than in the government of men. The remainder of his reign, therefore, can almost be considered as the rule of Harold.

in a revolt against the English. Harold showed considerable skill in the campaign he conducted against the Welsh prince (1063). Griffith was killed by his own people, and Harold divided his dominions between Bleddyn and Rhiwallon, who agreed to become the English king's "men." He also married Griffith's widow Aldgyth. When Elfgar died Harold's brother-in-law Edwin succeeded to the earldom of Mercia and gave no trouble. It was by own his brother, Tostig, that Harold's task was rendered difficult. The Northumbrians were a fierce people, whom Tostig found it necessary to rule with a stern hand. His severity and his continued absence from Northumbria in attendance on the king offended the Northumbrians, and in 1065 they revolted, deposed Tostig, and chose Morcar, brother of Edwin of Mercia, as their earl. To this revolution Harold was obliged to bow, although it once more placed the house of Leofric nearly on a level with the house of Godwin and rendered his brother Tostig his implacable foe.

Harold, however, was strong enough to obtain the crown on the death of Edward in 1066. The weak yet saintly king was buried in his new church at Westminster, and the Witenagemot offered the throne to the Earl of Wessex. This act was revolutionary. Never before, except as the result of conquest, had the crown been given to any one not of the royal line. But the true heir by blood, Edgar the Atheling, grandson of Edmund Ironside, was only a little boy, and his claims were passed over. So were the claims of William, Duke of the Normans, who considered that Edward the Confessor had promised him the kingdom, and that Earl Harold was pledged by oath to obtain the crown for him and was in fact his "man." But no promise, whether made by Edward or Harold, could have given validity to William's claim. Only the Witenagemot could decide who was to be King of England.

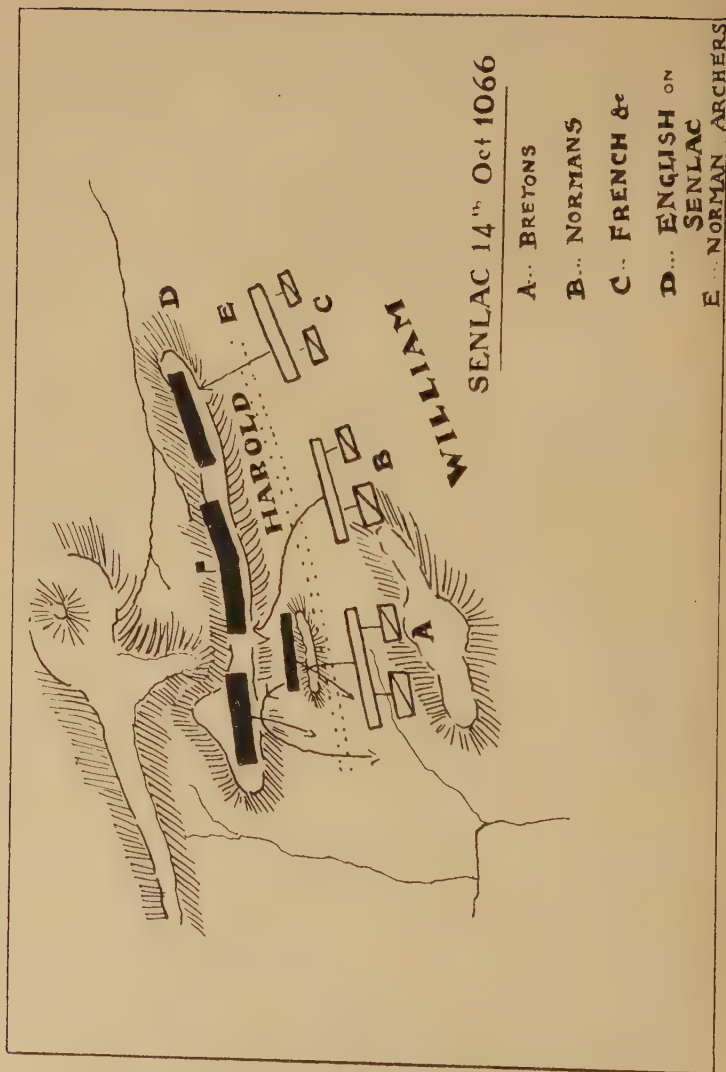
(D) THE REIGN OF HAROLD AND HIS DEFEAT AT HASTINGS.

The full effect of Canute's division of England into earldoms was felt in Harold's reign; for the great earls were jealous of the rise of one of their number to the royal dignity, and withheld their support from him in the time of danger. King Harold was soon called upon to repel an invasion of Northumbria by his brother Tostig, who

was supported by Harold Hardrada, King of Norway. Edwin and Morcar had already been defeated by the invaders when Harold came to their assistance and defeated and slew his brother and the Norwegian king at Stamford Bridge near York (September 1066). It was no mean military achievement on the part of Harold to repel the last great raid of the Northmen. Yet Edwin and Morcar made no attempt to repay the king for his timely assistance when he was called south to meet an even sterner foe. Three days after the battle of Stamford Bridge, William of Normandy had landed at Pevensey in Suffolk under the walls of the old royal city of Anderida, which six hundred years before had been stormed by the South Saxons and had ever since stood desolate. William's invasion of England partook of the nature of a crusade. The Pope blessed his enterprise, because Stigand had been made Archbishop of Canterbury without his consent, in place of Robert of Jumièges. William represented Harold as a perjured traitor who had sworn to help him to become King of England and had broken his oath. But William's most potent bid for support was the offer of lands in England to all who would come and help him conquer the country.

The battle of Hastings.—While Harold was awaiting the muster of his troops in London he is said to have visited the abbey church which he had built at Waltham, and there an ill omen greeted him. As the king was praying the image on the holy cross bowed its head, as though it said "It is finished." But no omen could have been more discouraging to Harold than the fact that he was forced to set out against the foe supported only by the troops of Wessex and the men from the earldoms of his brothers Gyrth and Leofwine. Whether Waltheof, Earl of Huntingdon and Northampton, the son of Siward, was present in his army is doubtful; certain it is that the Earls Edwin and Morcar, with the men of the north, were absent.

The battle of Hastings was a contest not only between two nations, but between two different military systems. The Normans relied on their mailed horsemen and on their archers, both of whom were the best in the world; the English still fought on foot and possessed very few archers. Harold therefore naturally wished to avoid fighting in an open plain favourable to the movements of cavalry, and drew up



his forces on the brow of a hill, on the site of what is now the village of Battle, about eight miles from Hastings. A glance at the plan of the battle will show that Harold and his brothers with the best troops, the huscarls, occupied the centre of the hill. Armed with axes, broad-swords, and javelins, and wearing long coats of chain armour, these troops stood in close array, interlocking their long kite-shape shields to form a shield wall, so that the Norman writers describe them as standing "like trees in a wood." Whether or not this position was still further strengthened by a palisade behind which the troops were stationed appears to be doubtful. The enemy's centre was led by Duke William in person, and consisted of his picked Norman troops. With William was his brother Odo, the fighting Bishop of Bayeux, who carried a mace instead of a sword, because a priest was forbidden to shed blood. The main line of the Normans consisted of armoured horsemen who fought with lances and swords, and archers preceded the main body to prepare the way for cavalry charges by galling the English lines with volleys of arrows. The same formation was adopted by the right and left wings of the Normans, which consisted respectively of French and Breton troops. These were opposed to the scantily protected country troops whom Harold had thrown out as wings to occupy the steeper sides of the hill, where they would be less exposed to cavalry charges.

The story of the battle is well known. As long as the English stood on the defensive they held their own, but William's device of a feigned retreat drew the English right wing from its position, and then the superiority of cavalry over infantry told its tale, and Harold's position in the centre was turned. With the picked troops of the centre Harold fought bravely to the last, but at length he was killed by an arrow which pierced his right eye, for William had instructed his archers to shoot high so that the arrows might fall "like bolts from heaven" on the English. Harold's two brothers and nearly all his own picked troops perished in the fight, and the English were left without a leader.

Now began the Norman Conquest of England. William had yet much to do before he earned the title of Conqueror, but he never had to destroy another English king nor, like Canute, had he to fight a large number of pitched battles. The divisions of England

made it certain that the battle of Hastings would in the end give William the mastery in England. We shall see that he was able to conquer the land bit by bit, and that the English, held down by one strong hand, learnt at last, under a common oppression, the lesson of unity.

CHAPTER IX.

EARLY ENGLISH INSTITUTIONS AND THE RISE OF FEUDALISM.

WE have now traced the history of England from the time when the Jutes, Angles, and Saxons made their settlements in the land. We have seen how the various kingdoms formed by the invaders gradually became united into one country; how the task of maintaining national unity was attempted, with varying success, by the descendants of Egbert; how England fell under the rule of four Danish kings; and how the return of Egbert's descendant, Edward the Confessor, but paved the way for the Norman Conquest. The disunion of England proved too much for the energies of Harold, but we shall see that the strong central government established by the Normans, and their successors, the Angevins, together with the common sense of oppression felt by Englishmen in every part of the country, at last crushed England into unity.

But the Normans did not merely introduce into England a strong central government; they developed and made more uniform a system called the feudal system, which was already growing up in England before the Conquest, and which existed side by side with the older English system of local self-government.

The Anglo-Saxon system of local self-government.—The smallest local division was the *Township* or *vil*. A township was not a little town, but a tract of land originally occupied by a number of kinsfolk or allotted to a number of followers by a military leader. Some of the townships were very minute, and the organisation of a township was probably slight, but it seems to have possessed an assembly of its own, which managed local affairs not important enough to demand the attention of a higher assembly.

Above the township stood the *Hundred*, which contained a number

of townships, and possessed an assembly which met once a month, and which was attended by the principal landowners and by representatives of the townships.

Above the hundred came the *Shire*, which comprised a number of hundreds. Some of the shires (*e.g.* Kent, Sussex, Middlesex, and Surrey) had originally been small kingdoms; others were subdivisions of larger kingdoms; others were artificially created, *e.g.*, Derby, Leicester, and Lincoln, which Edward the Elder carved out of the land won back from the Danes.

The *Shire Court* was of considerable importance. Hither came representatives of the hundreds and the great landowners and officials. The Shire Court met twice a year, and was only to be resorted to if the Hundred Court failed to do justice. Its judicial powers were exercised by twelve men elected on behalf of the whole body entitled to attend. The court was presided over by the sheriff, who represented the king in the shire; but the head of the shire was the ealdorman, who was not appointed by the king but elected in the national assembly. The ealdorman sat in the Shire Court to declare the law of the land; side by side with the ealdorman sat the bishop to declare the law of the Church, which indeed could inflict severe penalties. The ealdorman mustered and led the military forces of the shire in time of war, for all freemen were obliged to fight for their country.

Above the Shire Court stood the *King*. The enlargement of the kingdom had proved both favourable and unfavourable to the royal power. It had proved favourable by reducing the importance of the national assembly or Witenagemot, and it had raised the king to a much greater position than that occupied by his greatest subjects. It had proved unfavourable, because the royal power could not make itself properly felt throughout the length and breadth of the country, owing to lack of adequate organisation. But the king was the captain-general of his people, he was the highest judge in the land, and he exercised legislative power in conjunction with the Witenagemot.

The *Witenagemot* was the council of the united kingdom. It consisted of the king, members of the royal family, personal friends and favourites of the king, ecclesiastics, and great official persons. It was a small body, essentially aristocratic and official in character, and was not, like our present House of Commons, elected by the

people. The chief power of the Witenagemot was that of choosing the king; but its members were consulted by the king on questions of grave national importance, and the king made laws or gave grants of land with its counsel and consent.

The Feudal System.—Side by side with the system of government which we have described another system of government, called *Feudalism*, was growing up. Feudalism was a system under which “the political rights and duties of each individual were determined by his relation to the land.” In a strictly feudal state each man would owe faith and service to the lord of whom he held his land. Each lord in turn would be a vassal of some greater person, until we reach the king. Thus strict feudal theory would regard the king as the ultimate owner of all the land, and those lords who held their land directly from the king would be the king’s *tenants-in-chief*. The result of such an organisation was to confer upon any important landlord many of the powers of a petty prince. He exercised military and judicial powers in his district, and thus he tended to encroach on the power of the king, *i.e.* of the central authority. As the power of the feudal noble was based on his possession of land, the tendency which we have described is sometimes styled *territorialism*, and is said to be opposed to monarchical tendencies, or the tendency of the king to increase his powers. This feudal system¹ gradually grew up in Western Europe after the conquest of the Roman Empire by the barbarians, and was a sort of effort of nature to supply government in the outlying provinces when the monarch was too weak to make his sway effective far from the neighbourhood of his court. Feudalism arose out of two practices—

1. The giving of benefices; 2. Commendation.

(1) *The giving of benefices.*—Benefices had nothing to do with the Church, but were grants of land made to his inferiors by a man of large landed possessions. These grants were often the reward of services rendered in war, and the people who lived on the lands became dependent on the man to whom the grant was made.

(2) *Commendation* was the practice by which private persons made a voluntary grant of their land to some great lord, and then received it back again on condition of submitting to his authority.

¹ It must be remembered, however, that there never was a perfect feudal state.

In return the lord granted his protection to the man who had commended himself to him. This practice arose in unsettled times, such as the period of the Danish invasions, when the small man was unable to protect himself.

We are apt to imagine that feudalism was introduced into England by the Norman conquerors. As a matter of fact, there was much feudalism among the Anglo-Saxons. The Normans only completed a tendency towards feudalism which already existed in England.

The Anglo-Saxon monarchs had themselves assisted a process which was always, in the long-run, detrimental to the royal power. Thus the kings had rewarded eminent military services on the part of their personal followers, the thegns, by grants of land, and even of the royal rights over land, and nobility came to be associated with landed possessions, although in the old German society it depended on birth alone. In England, therefore, a class of landowners grew up possessing rights over their tenants, who thereby fell under the landowner's influence. This process was assisted by Canute's creation of the four earldoms, which marked a great step towards the establishment of feudalism in England. Yet the Anglo-Saxon feudal system was incomplete. All great landholders were not tenants of the king; nor did every freeman possess a superior lord. Side by side with and serving as a check on the jurisdiction acquired by the semi-feudal nobles, existed the old Anglo-Saxon courts, which we have already described, and the national assembly or Witenagemot.

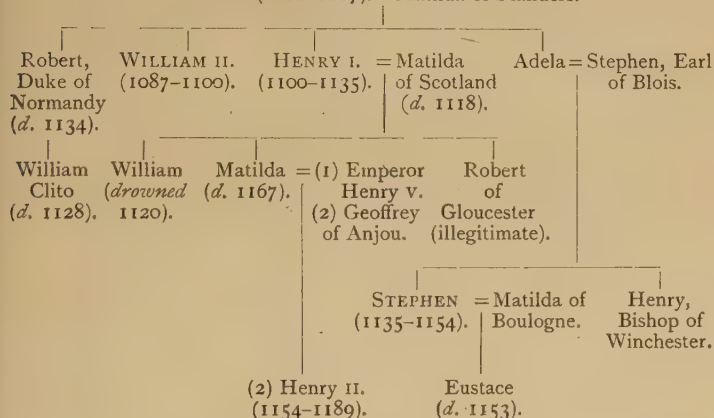
The freeman, however, had gradually lost much of his independence. During the havoc caused by the Danish invasions the practice of commendation became common in England. When the Danish invasions were checked the laws made for the restoration of order often compelled a man who possessed no land to place himself under a lord. This lord became surety for the good behaviour of his dependant.

Thus there is a distinct tendency towards feudalism observable in Anglo-Saxon society; but no complete feudal organisation existed. A really strong monarch such as Canute could always assert his authority, but during the reigns of weak monarchs, like Ethelred, the tendency was for the great nobles to encroach on the power of the king. But the Norman kings put a check on the growing dangers

of feudalism by establishing a complete feudal system hedged round by limitations in favour of the central authority.

THE NORMAN KINGS OF ENGLAND (1066-1154).

WILLIAM I. (1066-1087). = Matilda of Flanders.



CHIEF CONTEMPORARY RULERS.

SCOTLAND.	FRANCE.
Malcolm III. (1057-1093).	Philip I. (1060-1108).
Duncan II. (1093).	Louis VI. (1108-1137).
Donald Bane (1094-1097).	Louis VII. (1137-1180).
Edgar (1097-1107).	(Eleanor, his divorced wife, married Henry II. of England.)
Alexander I. (1107-1124).	
David I. (1124-1153).	
Malcolm IV. (1153-1165).	

CHAPTER X.

WILLIAM I. (1066-1087).

DURING the early years of his reign William I. completed the conquest of England by (*A*) suppressing a number of English rebellions. His success in this task enabled him to distribute a great deal of the land of England among his personal followers, and to (*B*) establish feudalism as the normal system of land tenure in England. He was careful, however, to set up certain checks which rendered feudalism in England less harmful to the Crown than it was in foreign countries. William was called upon to face (*C*) the revolts of Norman nobles, or barons, who disliked his enforcement of the royal authority.

The Norman Conquest produced great results, especially on (*D*) the Church and on (*E*) foreign affairs, and (*F*) differed from the English and Danish conquests which had preceded it.

(*A*) ENGLISH REBELLIONS.

THE battle of Hastings made William master of the south-east of England and secured his communications with the continent. Advancing to London, William burnt Southwark, but, instead of entering London from the south side, he followed the bank of the Thames in a westerly direction. At Wallingford he crossed over to the north side of the river, moved on to Berkhamsted, and prepared to enter London from the north. By this stroke he placed himself between London and the northern earls, Edwin and Morcar, in case these magnates should advance to the assistance of the capital. But the northern earls, influenced by the local feeling which had proved so disastrous to England, gave the southerners no help.

Possibly they hoped that William would but conquer Harold's province and leave them to rule independently in the north, and they were undoubtedly offended because the Witenagemot in London had elected Edgar Atheling¹ king on the death of Harold. The Londoners therefore were left without assistance, and were powerless against the Norman leader. Only one course was open to Edgar Atheling and the chief men of the south. They offered the crown to William, who was crowned King of England on Christmas Day 1066. More than three years, however, elapsed before he was king of all England in reality as well as in name. All western, central, and northern England yet remained to be conquered, though Edwin and Morcar came and "bowed" to William at Barking. In 1067 William crossed to Normandy, taking Edwin and Morcar, Edgar Atheling, and Waltheof, Earl of Huntingdon, in his train. Perhaps William felt that no rebellion could break out in England during his absence if he took the leaders of the English with him to Normandy. Fitzosbern, Earl of Hereford; and William's half-brother Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, were left in charge of England. Their rule was oppressive, and led to revolts in Herefordshire and Kent. These rebellions were suppressed, but when William returned to England he was forced to march to the west to put down a rebellion at *Exeter* in favour of Harold's sons (1068). The capture of *Exeter* was quickly followed by the conquest of the whole of the west of England. It was not till the rebellion in the west was crushed that the north took up arms. Had the northern and western rebellions broken out simultaneously, William's task would have been rendered more difficult, and the Norman Conquest might have been undone. But the leaders of the different rebellions lacked unity of aim; they acted independently of one another and quarrelled among themselves. York was the centre of the northern rebellion, just as *Exeter* had been the centre of the rebellion in the west. By this time Edwin and Morcar had realised that William meant his rule to be a reality, and they now made common cause with Edgar Atheling against William. In 1068 William marched to meet the rebels, but when he reached Warwick, Edwin and Morcar submitted to him, while Edgar fled to Scotland. William advanced through Nottingham to York, where he built a castle to hold down the north. Then he returned to

¹ Son of Edward Atheling. See Chapter VIII.

London through Lincoln, Stamford, Cambridge, and Huntingdon, thus adding a new stretch of territory to his conquests. But his work of subjection was not yet completed. In the following year (1069) two risings in the north broke out. The first rising began with the murder of Robert of Comines, whom William had made Earl of Northumbria. Edgar Atheling then came back from Scotland and was welcomed by the men of York, so that William advanced to York for the second time, drove Edgar away, and built another castle. Once more, in the same year (1069) did William march northwards, for a great fleet sent by Sweyn of Denmark to help the English appeared in the Humber. Edgar Atheling, Earl Waltheof, and the chief men of the north joined with the Danes, marched on to York, and destroyed the Norman castles. During his third expedition to the north William showed the English how terrible was his anger. He harried all the country between the Humber and Tees, and reduced the land to a desert. Then, amid the snows of winter, he marched across from York and received the submission of Chester, the last free English city. William at length was master of England and had earned the title of Conqueror.

For a time, however, Hereward the Wake held out amid the fens of Ely, until William captured his stronghold in 1071. This was the last revolt of the English against William. Hereward submitted, Edwin was murdered by his own men, Morcar was imprisoned, and Edgar is said to have become William's pensioner. William then dealt with the Welsh and the Scots, who had rendered assistance to the English. He continued Harold's policy of pushing back the Welsh, and built a castle at Cardiff. The Scots' king, Malcolm Canmore (1057-1093), had repeatedly supported Edgar Atheling, whose sister Margaret he married. In 1072, therefore, William invaded Scotland, and forced Malcolm to become his "man" at Abernethy on the Tay.

The rapidity and completeness of William's conquest of all England were truly remarkable. By 1071 he was master of the whole country. All the English revolts had proved short-lived, for the rebels possessed little organisation and no leader of great ability. After 1071 the English made no serious attempt to throw off the Norman yoke, although they far outnumbered their conquerors. The network of castles which the Normans set up in the land

made rebellion useless. The English were unable to capture these strongholds, and every conquered district was soon dominated by an impregnable Norman castle.

(B) FEUDALISM.

His victory at Hastings and his success in suppressing the subsequent rebellions of the English enabled William to confiscate a great quantity of land, out of which he gave estates to those Normans and other foreigners who had fought for him. The result was that the old English class of great landowners was practically replaced by a new and alien class, who held estates from the king by feudal tenure. We have seen that even before the Norman Conquest feudalism had made headway in England. William came from a land where feudalism had attained full growth, and it was but natural that henceforth the feudal system of land tenure should prevail in England. The king now came to be regarded as *lord of all the land*, and the men to whom the king himself granted estates were known as his *tenants-in-chief*. They became *vassals* of the king and did homage to him for their estates. They undertook to pay feudal dues and to render military service (*tenure by knight service*). A tenant-in-chief's estate consisted of a number of *Knights' Fees*, which were not uniform in size or value, and for each knight's fee the tenant-in-chief had to provide the king with a fully armed knight. The tenant-in-chief might make any arrangement he pleased for supplying the knights required from him. Thus, if he were liable to supply ten knights, he might simply *enfeoff* or grant parts of his estates to ten knights who paid him for their land by military service, or he might enfeoff a certain number of knights and trust to hiring the rest. Thus the tenants-in-chief possessed sub-tenants, and sometimes the sub-tenants also had tenants of their own.

But although William believed in feudalism as a method of land tenure, he strongly disbelieved in it as a system of government. His own experience in Normandy had taught him that the great feudal lords sought to gain power at the expense of the Crown, and he wished to prevent this from happening in England. Accordingly, he restricted the power of the feudal nobles in England by the following measures.

(1) *He preserved the old English local courts.*—William always professed to regard Harold as a usurper, and himself as the rightful king of England, and it was therefore only natural that he should maintain the old English local courts of the shire and the hundred. Thus he maintained in existence a counterpoise to the feudal courts of his Norman vassals, and enabled Englishmen to preserve some of their old political organisation and habits of self-government. It is true that in course of time the justice administered in the king's courts became more important than the justice administered in the old Anglo-Saxon local courts, but this change only came about gradually. William appointed earls instead of ealdormen over the shires, and strengthened the powers of the sheriff, or the king's representative, in each shire.

(2) *He preserved the old English fyrd.*—Although the feudal system gave William an army of Norman followers, he also maintained the old English military system. The fyrd, or national levy, in which every English freeman served as a soldier, was maintained side by side with the Norman feudal levy. Thus William could oppose his English forces to his Norman forces if necessary.

(3) *He distributed the land in scattered estates.*—William, either by design or owing to the piecemeal nature of the conquest of England, rewarded his followers with scattered estates. A baron who held estates in counties lying far apart could not assemble his retainers to fight against the king as easily as a baron whose estate lay in one great piece of territory. Henceforward the fact that a man was styled earl of a certain shire did not mean that he was ruler or governor of that shire. Only in the border districts do we find an exception to this rule. William established *palatine earldoms* (i.e. earldoms in which the earl exercised all the powers of the king) on the Welsh frontier at Chester, Shrewsbury, and Hereford, on the Scottish frontier at Durham, and also in Kent, as a barrier against the invasions of foreign foes. But the palatine earldoms of Shrewsbury and Hereford soon ceased to exist, while Durham and Kent were given to ecclesiastics who could not found families, and the latter earldom came to an end in William's own reign.

(4) *He exacted an oath of fealty from all landed men.*—On the continent only tenants-in-chief took the oath of fealty to the king, and the tenant of a tenant-in-chief felt at liberty to follow his overlord against the king himself. Thus William's own tenants in

Normandy fought for him against the King of France. But William determined to render this impossible in England, and at Salisbury, in 1086, he made every landowner, whether a tenant-in-chief or an under-tenant, take an oath of fealty to himself.

(C) REVOLTS OF NORMAN NOBLES.

All these precautions against baronial turbulence were amply required. The first years of William's reign had been marked by a struggle between the king and the native English. The second part of his reign was marked by struggles with the Norman barons.

First Norman rebellion.—In 1074-1075 a purely Norman conspiracy against William was headed by Roger, Earl of Hereford, and Ralph, Earl of Norfolk. These barons alleged that William was of illegitimate birth, and therefore was not entitled to be king; they also complained of the restrictions imposed upon the barons by William. Earl Waltheof, the last of the old English earls, who had married William's niece Judith, was drawn into the conspiracy, which had for its object the division of the kingdom. Though Waltheof revealed the conspiracy to William, he suffered death for his small share in it; but Roger was only imprisoned, while Ralph fled.

William put down this rebellion with the aid of the English fyrd. It is the first of many revolts on the part of the Norman nobles against the strong Norman kings. These rebellions obtained no national support, for the barons only sought their own selfish objects. The English nation, if moved at all, was on the side of the Crown, which represented the only bulwark against baronial turbulence and oppression.

Second Norman rebellion.—Before his invasion of England, William perhaps promised to resign Normandy to his eldest son Robert if he succeeded in conquering England, but, having achieved that object, he refused "to throw off his clothes before he went to bed." Robert in 1077 rose against his father. He was joined by a number of the greatest barons both in Normandy and in England. In England, William was strong enough to prevent the rebellion from becoming serious; but in France, Robert was supported by the French king, Philip I., who was jealous of William. In 1079, however, Robert, despite a victory at Gerberoi in Normandy, became reconciled to his father.

William's treatment of rebellious barons seems mild when compared, for example, with the harsh methods of the Tudors in later times. But a feudal rebel was regarded almost as a regular belligerent, so greatly had feudalism, at any rate on the continent, encroached on the rights of the Crown.

(D) THE NORMAN CONQUEST AND THE CHURCH.

We have seen that the Norman Conquest partook of the nature of a crusade and was supported by the Pope. In return for this papal support William undertook to reform the English Church. He took the line approved by the Pope on matters of Church discipline. He introduced Italians and Normans into the highest ecclesiastical offices, and thus brought the heads of the Church into closer contact with the Papacy. Only one English bishop, Wulfstan of Worcester, was allowed to retain his see. Stigand, who had been appointed Archbishop of Canterbury without the Pope's consent, was deposed, and his place was taken by Lanfranc, Abbot of St. Stephen's at Caen, a learned Italian who was William's friend and supporter. William and Lanfranc forbade the clergy to marry, and removed a number of the seats of bishoprics from insignificant villages to important towns.¹ The new prelates were men of learning and vigour, and they infused fresh life into the English Church. William also separated the secular and spiritual courts. Hitherto the bishop had sat side by side with the ealdorman in the Shire Court, and had declared the law of the Church in all cases which came under its jurisdiction. Henceforward all cases concerning clergymen or spiritual offences, such as divorce, perjury, and witchcraft, were to be tried in separate ecclesiastical courts, according to the law of the Church (Canon Law).

On all these points William made concessions to the Papacy, but in matters which concerned his own political power as a sovereign William would not give way. Thus he refused to do homage to the Pope, "for neither had he ever promised so to do, nor had his predecessors done so," and in his *Consuetudines* or customs he laid down that (1) no Pope could be acknowledged in England without the king's consent; (2) no papal letters could be received in England until seen

¹ E.g. the bishopric of Dorchester in Oxfordshire was removed to Lincoln.

and approved by the king; (3) no legislation could be made for the Church of England without the king's consent; (4) no synod could be held in England without the king's leave; (5) none of the king's ministers or barons could be excommunicated for any offence without the king's permission.

William and his staunch supporter Lanfranc held it good to draw the English Church close to the vigorous activity and discipline of Rome, but held it no less important to determine the relation of the Church to the State, and of both to Rome; for the Norman Conquest coincided with the growth of a great movement in the Church known as the Hildebrandine movement, of which Pope Gregory VII., or Hildebrand (1073-1085), was the great champion. He believed that the Church should be a great "spiritual autocracy," an organisation superior to the State or any temporal power, and that it should use this great position to prevent wrong-doing and enforce peace and righteousness in Europe. But in order to accomplish this great object the Pope was to be the head of Christendom, with powers vastly superior to those of any king. It was a splendid but impracticable ideal, and has been styled "the most magnificent failure in human history." Thus in some respects the aims of the Church were opposed to the aims of the king, and the papal claim to overlordship over all sovereigns led to serious conflicts both in England and Europe. No such conflict, however, broke out in England during William's reign, but the political power of the clergy began to increase in many directions. (1) The clergy were the only educated persons, and they formed the bulk of the sovereign's political staff. (2) The heads of the clergy were powerful feudal magnates administering large estates. (3) The clergy exercised a vast jurisdiction through the spiritual courts; they were subject not only to the king, but also to an authority outside the kingdom independent of the king. (4) On the whole, the Church stood for "peace and order, justice and morality."

(E) FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

The Norman Conquest exercised a great influence on the foreign affairs of England. It brought England into closer relation with the intellectual life of the continent, and stimulated commerce with

European countries. It opened up, moreover, a new chapter in English foreign policy, which closed only with the loss of Calais five hundred years later. The English king was the French king's vassal for Normandy, and as such was exposed to the jealousy of his overlord. At first the English kings only acted on the defensive to preserve their French possessions, but in course of time they became aggressive, and the tradition arose that France was the foe of England and French conquest the fitting aim of the English nation.¹ William I. and Philip I. of France (1060-1108) were usually hostile to one another. In 1073 William took Maine, a district lying to the south-west of Normandy, and Philip assisted Robert's rebellion (1077-1079). In 1087 open war broke out between the two kings. William invaded the Vexin (the district lying round the mouth of the Seine between Normandy and Paris), and, meeting with a fatal injury during the siege of Mantes, died at Rouen on September 9, 1087.

(F) DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE NORMAN CONQUEST AND THE
ENGLISH AND DANISH CONQUESTS.

If we compare the Norman Conquest with the previous conquests of England we shall notice the following points:—

- (1) The Norman Conquest was carried out by the ruler of a powerful state comparatively at one blow. The Conquest was practically completed between 1066 and 1071.
- (2) The Norman Conquest changed the composition of the governing class, both lay and clerical, without appreciably affecting the composition of the general population.
- (3) The Norman Conquest brought England into close and permanent connection with the continent, and opened the way for numberless foreign influences in language, in law, in the State, and in the Church.
- (4) The Norman Conquest crushed the conquered population

¹ This state of things was only finally ended in Tudor times by (1) the growth of the power of the French monarchs; (2) the changes caused by the Reformation; and (3) the shifting of the centre of English foreign interests to the New World.

into unity by reducing all Englishmen to the same level of depression, and by creating for the first time in England a well-organised central government.

The Normans introduced new officers such as the Justiciar, the Chancellor, and the Treasurer, and paved the way for connecting the old local courts with the king's courts. The Great Council (*Commune Concilium*) took the place of the old Witenagemot, though, like the old assembly, it was an unrepresentative and oligarchical body of royal nominees.

The Norman Conquest increased the amount of direct taxation imposed on the country, and William in 1086 caused the compilation of *Domesday Book*, which contains invaluable information as to the extent, value, and ownership of the estates in different parts of England, both in the days of Edward the Confessor and in William's days. It shows, among other things, how many of the chief estates of England had passed from Englishmen to Normans; but William designed it to prevent any man paying less taxes than his due.

(G) CHARACTER OF WILLIAM.

The man who conquered a kingdom in five years, who utilised and gave a great extension to the feudal system, and yet held its political results in check, who reorganised the Church and made use of its energy, and yet kept its power within bounds, was a military and political genius. Hard and cruel he undoubtedly was, and "great awe men had of him." His name is associated with stern measures, such as the harrying of Northumbria, which lay desolate in many places till Stephen's reign, and the destruction of many villages and churches in Hampshire to create the New Forest, where he could indulge his passion for hunting. But William made "good peace" in the land, "so that a man might fare unmolested over the realm with his bosom full of gold," and his conquest of England imposed a discipline on the country without which no true progress was possible.

CHAPTER XI.

WILLIAM II. (1087-1100).

WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR left three sons, Robert, William, and Henry, of whom (*A*) William, the second son, obtained the English throne. But William's activity led to discontent among the barons, who (*B*) rebelled in favour of his weaker elder brother Robert. William's rule pressed heavily upon the feudal barons, owing to the extortions of his Justiciar, (*C*) Ranulf Flambard. William and Ranulf Flambard also robbed the Church. In 1093 (*D*) Anselm of Aosta was made Archbishop of Canterbury. But Anselm and the king quarrelled, and, in 1097, Anselm went into exile. (*E*) William made war upon Malcolm of Scotland, and enlarged the borders of his kingdom by adding Cumberland to England and by his dealings with Wales. He made war also against his brother (*F*) Robert of Normandy who pledged his duchy of Normandy to him (1096) in return for a sum of money.

(*A*) ACCESSION OF WILLIAM RUFUS.

WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR had wished that his eldest son Robert should be Duke of Normandy, but that his second son William, surnamed Rufus, or the Red, on account of his ruddy complexion, should rule in England. On the death of his father, Rufus hastened to England, took possession of the royal treasure at Winchester, made promises of good government, distributed gifts to churches and to the poor, and induced Lanfranc, who was supposed to know the late king's wishes, to crown him in Westminster Abbey (September 1087).

(B) BARONIAL REBELLIONS.

William II.'s rule soon proved distasteful to the Norman barons. The new king, though lacking his father's higher qualities, possessed all his energy, and was determined to hold the barons in check. The barons therefore supported the claims of Robert, who was a weakling, and since many of them possessed estates in Normandy as well as in England they wished both countries to be under the same ruler. A rebellion broke out in 1088, led by Odo of Bayeux, the king's uncle. William thereupon turned to the English for support against the Normans, promising to remove abuses and to establish better laws. The English flocked to the support of their Norman king. Odo was captured at Rochester (1088), and a Norman force which landed at Pevensey to fight for Robert was beaten back by an English army on the very spot where the Conqueror had landed. In 1095, Robert Mowbray, Earl of Northumberland, took up arms against the king, but his stronghold, Bamborough, was taken and the earl was thrown into prison.

(C) RANULF FLAMBARD AND FEUDAL EXTORTIONS.

William Rufus was a strong king, but a violent profane man. As long as Lanfranc lived his violence was held in check, but on the death of Lanfranc in 1089 the king's evil passions had full play, and his true character was revealed. His chief minister was Ranulf Flambard (the Torch), a coarse, fluent Norman clerk who rose to be Bishop of Durham and the King's Justiciar. The Justiciar now became a very important official. He controlled all financial and judicial business for the king, and, during the king's absence from the country, acted as regent. The Justiciar was usually a clergyman, for the office required intelligence and education such as only clergymen then possessed, and no clergyman could found a family and make his office hereditary.

Ranulf Flambard's policy was to extort money for the king from his feudal tenants by means of feudal dues. When a son succeeded to his father's estate he paid a fine or *relief* to the king. The king also possessed lucrative rights of *wardship* and *marriage*. He administered the estates of minors and took the revenues for himself, and he had the right to choose a husband for an heiress.

The extortions of William and Ranulf, however, did not stop at lay fiefs, or the estates of the barons. They determined to press the feudal relation in their dealings with the Church, and professed to regard a vacant benefice in the same light as a lay fief belonging to a minor. Accordingly bishoprics were kept vacant for long periods, during which the king took the rents of the lands belonging to the bishopric, and, when a benefice was filled up, he extorted a heavy commission for himself. After Lanfranc's death no new Archbishop of Canterbury was appointed for four years.

(D) ANSELM'S QUARREL WITH THE KING.

Anselm of Aosta was a pious Italian who, like Lanfranc, went to Normandy and became Prior of Bec. Though their careers had much in common, Anselm differed from Lanfranc in temperament. Lanfranc was a keen vigorous prelate, who favoured the independence of the national Church. Anselm was a gentle idealist, and a great supporter of the Papal Supremacy. He was a teacher who loved to mould his pupil's minds when "they were like wax, ready to take the impressions marked upon them." In an age of brutality and cunning, Anselm's compassionate nature "loved to tend the sick, and he behaved so that all men loved him as their dear father." This was the man whom William II., in 1093, compelled to become Archbishop of Canterbury, for the king was stricken with fever, and feared that he was going to die. The effect of sickness on the conscience of the profane Rufus is strong testimony to the reality of the hold possessed by the Church on men's minds even in that violent age. Anselm protested against his appointment, saying that it was like yoking a weak old sheep to an untamed bull. But in spite of his meekness the new archbishop could be stern to wrongdoers. Before long the king and the archbishop quarrelled. Anselm offended the king by protesting against his practice of keeping bishoprics vacant, and then fell out with him over the question of the recognition of the Pope. There were at this time two rival Popes, Urban II. and an antipope named Clement III., who had been set up by the Emperor in opposition to Urban. Before William had decided which Pope to acknowledge, Anselm, who had already bound himself to Urban at Bec, asked the king's leave to go to Rome

to receive from Urban the *pallium* or tippet of white wool which was the symbol of his office. William refused his consent, and, strangely enough, was supported by the bishops, while Anselm was supported by the barons. Ultimately William decided to recognise Urban, and Anselm received the pallium from the Papal Legate. In this dispute Anselm was technically in the wrong, for William the Conqueror had laid down the rule that no Pope should be acknowledged in England without the king's consent.

Once more the king and archbishop fell out (1096). The quarrel was about a feudal point, the king alleging that Anselm had sent his contingent of soldiers for the Welsh war improperly equipped. The archbishop was summoned before the Curia Regis, and, growing discouraged, left the country to consult the Pope.

No great point of principle underlay the quarrels between Rufus and Anselm. The great question of Investitures, about which we shall read in the next chapter, had not arisen. But the quarrel was of great importance. It showed that there was one power—the Church—strong enough to withstand the despotism of the Norman kings; and indeed the Church first taught England the duty of resisting the royal power if it became tyrannical.

(E) WILLIAM'S DEALINGS WITH SCOTLAND AND WALES.

William added to the territory subjected by his father. In 1092 he conquered Cumberland, the southern part of Strathclyde, and set up a new bishopric at Carlisle. He also slew Malcolm III., King of the Scots, who had invaded England (battle of Alnwick, 1093), but he secured the Scottish throne for Edgar, son of Malcolm and Margaret, the sister of Edgar Atheling, and thus rendered the English element predominant in Scotland.

He three times invaded Wales, built fortresses to hold down the land, and placed settlements of Flemings, Frenchmen, and Englishmen in the country. He also allowed Norman nobles to carve out estates for themselves at the expense of the Welsh. In this way were built up (on the south and east of Wales) the *lordships marcher*, such as Pembroke, Glamorgan, Brecon, and Montgomery, wherein the Norman barons enjoyed semi-independence.

(F) WILLIAM AND ROBERT OF NORMANDY.

Robert proved but a weak ruler in Normandy. He even sold the western part of his province, which was known as the Cotentin and the Avranchin, to his brother Henry. Early in his reign William invaded Normandy, but in 1091 he came to an agreement with Robert, and both of them turned against Henry and drove him out of the land. Henry, however, soon recovered his territories. Before the end of his reign William found an opportunity of acquiring Normandy.

In 1095 Urban II. was anxious to start a *Crusade*, or war of the cross, to secure Christian pilgrims to Palestine from the attacks of the Turks, who had now displaced the Arabs as masters of Palestine. Great privileges were promised to all who would take the cross, which was the badge worn by the warriors from many lands who had been roused to take up arms by the preaching of Peter the Hermit and by the persuasion of the Pope. Robert of Normandy was anxious to join the Crusade, and, in order to do so, he pledged his duchy to William for the sum of £6666. Thus England and Normandy once more became united under one ruler. Robert won glory in the First Crusade, in which Edgar Atheling also fought. The Turks were driven out of Palestine, and Godfrey de Bouillon was made King of Jerusalem.

(G) CHARACTER OF WILLIAM.

In August 1100 William Rufus was killed by an arrow shot by an unknown hand as he was hunting in the New Forest. His body was taken in a cart to Winchester, and buried in the minster without any religious ceremony. Many tales are told of William's impiety, and his tragic death was held to be a sign of God's wrath. But in spite of his wickedness and tyranny William II. was not a weak or a foolish ruler. He left his kingdom with enlarged boundaries and free from anarchy, for his energy, his military skill, and his alliance with the English people kept the feudal barons in check.

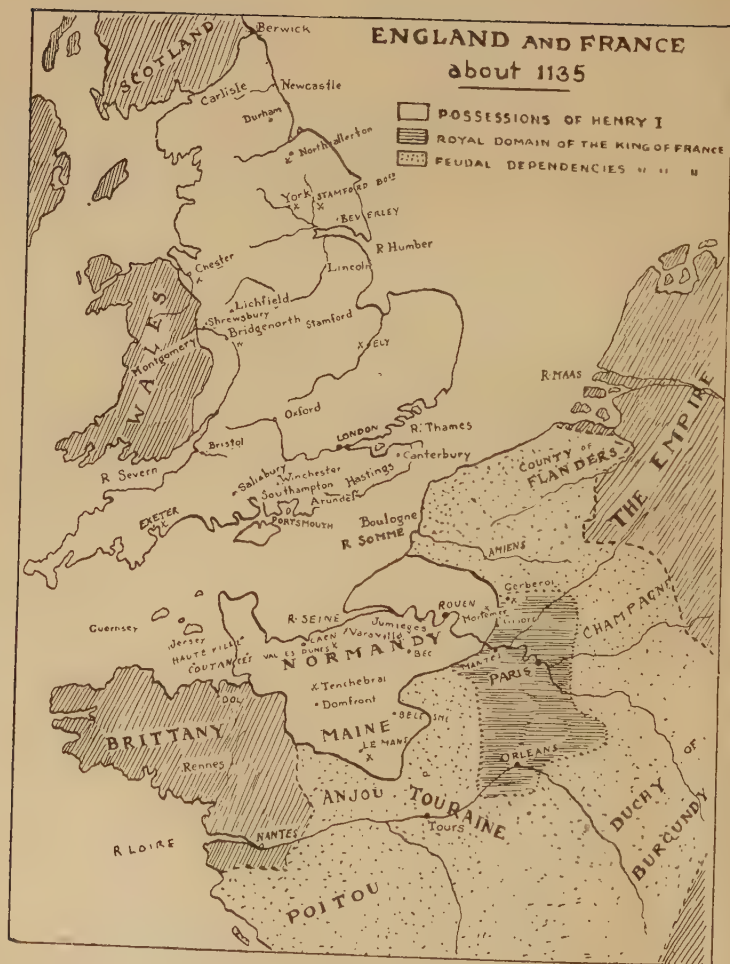
NOTE ON THE CRUSADES.

The Crusade of 1096 was the first of a number of great wars in which Europe united to wrest Palestine from the Mohammedan Turks. The

Second Crusade (1147) was a failure. It was led by Louis VI. of France and the Emperor Conrad III. In the Third Crusade (which followed the capture of Jerusalem by Saladin in 1187), Richard I. of England played a prominent part. The Fourth Crusade was directed against Constantinople (1202-1204), and resulted in the establishment of the Latin Empire of Constantinople, which lasted till 1261, when the Greeks set up an emperor of their own. In the Fifth Crusade (1228-1229), the Emperor Frederick II. recovered Jerusalem, which was lost again in 1244. Louis IX. of France led the Sixth Crusade (1248-1254), but was defeated and captured in Egypt. After purchasing his freedom he went on to Palestine, where he achieved nothing. In 1270 Louis undertook the Seventh Crusade, but in attempting to conquer Tunis he died under its walls. The Lord Edward, afterwards Edward I. of England, took part in this Crusade. In 1291 Acre was captured by the Turks, and the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem came to an end.

The term Crusade was also applied to semi-religious wars such as those against the Moors in Spain and against the Albigensian heretics in the south of France (1209-1229), and to the struggle of the Teutonic Knights against the heathen peoples between the Vistula and the Gulf of Finland (1225 onwards).

The Crusades had far-reaching consequences upon the history of Europe. (1) They increased the power of kings by attracting away many turbulent barons. (2) They increased the power of the Pope. (3) They increased the wealth of the clergy, who lent money to crusading barons on the security of their estates. (4) They encouraged the growth of chivalry, which taught the duty of protecting women and the weak. (5) They stimulated trade and industry, and especially led to the rise of the Italian Republics, such as Venice and Genoa. (6) Knowledge, *e.g.* medicine and mathematics, was stimulated by contact with the East. (7) Poets arose to sing the deeds of the Crusaders.



CHAPTER XII.

HENRY I. (1100-1135).

HENRY I., the third son of William the Conqueror, obtained the throne on the death of his brother William Rufus, his elder brother Robert being again passed over. (*A*) Henry appealed for support to all classes in England, and issued an important Charter of Liberties. (*B*) Robert of Normandy invaded England, but he was bought off by Henry, who also put down the rebellion of a powerful baron named Robert of Belesme. Henry subsequently (*C*) invaded Normandy, and secured that duchy by taking his brother prisoner at the battle of Tinchebrai (1106). Henry was supported against the barons by (*D*) Anselm, who returned from exile early in the reign; but the king and Anselm fell out over the question of Investitures. In Henry's reign (*E*) important administrative reforms were carried through by his Chief Justiciar, Roger of Salisbury; and (*F*) the relations between England and Scotland improved, while progress was made with the conquest of Wales.

(*A*) HENRY'S ACCESSION AND CHARTER OF LIBERTIES.

WHEN William Rufus died in the New Forest his elder brother Robert was still absent in the East, but his younger brother Henry was close at hand, and at once took steps to secure the throne. Like William II., Henry seized the royal treasure at Winchester, and gave promises of good government, which he amplified in a charter, and observed more faithfully than his brother had done. This charter is of great importance, for it afterwards served as a basis for Magna Carta. In it Henry appealed to the

interests of all classes. (1) To the Church he promised not to keep the property of vacant benefices, and to abolish all bad customs; (2) to the barons he promised that he would not extort unjust reliefs, or abuse his rights of wardship and marriage, and he ordered the barons to make the same concessions to their sub-tenants; (3) to the nation at large he promised peace and good government, and the laws of Edward the Confessor modified by William the Conqueror's amendments.

It was perhaps fortunate for England that neither William II. nor Henry I. succeeded to the throne by unblemished right. Both monarchs were forced to throw themselves on the goodwill of their English subjects, and Henry I. sought to conciliate English feeling by marrying a princess of English descent named Edith or Matilda, who was the daughter of Malcolm Canmore of Scotland, and of Margaret the sister of Edgar Atheling. The Normans, in derision of the favour shown by Henry to the English, nicknamed the King Godric, and his wife Godiva. But another nickname, Beauclerc or Scholar, testifies to Henry's abilities.

(B) STRUGGLE WITH ROBERT OF NORMANDY AND ROBERT OF BELESME.

On his return from the Holy Land, Robert determined to strike a blow for the kingdom of which he had twice been defrauded. He landed at Portsmouth with this object, but found it useless to struggle against Henry, who was supported by the English. The two brothers accordingly agreed to a compromise. Henry consented to give up most of his Norman possessions, while Robert promised to forgo his claims on England in return for a pension. In 1101 Robert returned to rule his duchy of Normandy. But further trouble from the Norman barons awaited Henry, for Robert of Belesme, who owned estates at Arundel and Chichester in Sussex, and was Earl of Shrewsbury on the Welsh border, rose in revolt against him. Henry, however, captured Robert of Belesme's great stronghold of Bridgnorth on the Severn, forced him to submit at Shrewsbury (1102), took possession of all his English estates, and put an end to the palatine earldom of Shrewsbury. Robert of Belesme withdrew to his Norman estates, to the great joy of the

English, who said that Henry "became a free king" on the day that he banished this cruel and treacherous noble. Henceforward the Norman barons were afraid to rebel against Henry in England.

(C) HENRY'S CONQUEST OF NORMANDY.

In spite of Henry's treaty with Robert in 1101, war broke out again between the two brothers. Robert was quite unable to govern Normandy properly, nor could Henry ignore the state of things in that country, for many of his greatest subjects possessed estates in Normandy, and, indeed, it was a centre of disaffection for all his opponents. Accordingly, when Robert of Belesme induced Robert of Normandy to oppress Henry's Norman subjects, Henry resolved to conquer the entire duchy. At the battle of *Tinchebrai*, in 1106, Robert was defeated on Norman soil by English troops, who thus "reversed the verdict of Hastings." He spent the rest of his life as a prisoner in Cardiff Castle, while Henry annexed Normandy. Henry was subsequently opposed by the French king, Louis vi. (Louis the Fat, 1108-1137), who supported Robert's son, William Clito. In order to obtain an ally against his enemy, the English king married his daughter Matilda to the Emperor Henry v. In 1118 a league consisting of the King of France, the Count of Flanders, Fulk, Count of Anjou, and Henry's rebellious vassals threatened danger to Henry; but Fulk was won over by the prospect of marrying his daughter to Henry's son, and the King of France was defeated at Brémule (1119). Henry punished those barons who had taken part in the coalition against him by confiscating their English estates. In this way the nobility of the Norman Conquest was gradually eliminated in England, while a new and more faithful nobility, who obtained estates in return for services to the Crown, gradually grew up.

(D) THE INVESTITURE CONFLICT.

On the accession of Henry, Anselm returned from his voluntary exile and supported the king in his struggle against the rebellious barons. But during his sojourn on the continent Anselm had taken an active part in the contest between the Emperor and the Pope on

the subject of investitures. The Pope, believing that the Church should be subject to no earthly jurisdiction whatever, had decreed that no bishop should receive investiture from a layman or do homage to a layman for the lands of his see. Anselm had done homage to William II., but on his return to England he refused to do homage for his lands to the new king. Now, a bishop, of course, was an officer of the Church, but he was also a baron of the realm, and, as he administered wide lands belonging to his see, the king naturally sought to control his appointment. The practice in England was that the bishop should be elected by the chapter (the clergy attached to the cathedral of a diocese), but that the election should take place in the royal chapel under the influence of the king. In the past the bishop had undoubtedly received from the king the ring and crozier which were the spiritual symbols of his office, and had done homage to the king for his lands. The dispute between Henry and Anselm was carried on with the greatest good feeling on both sides, and finally a compromise was reached. The bishop was henceforth to receive the ring and crozier from the archbishop; but before consecration was to do homage to the king for the lands of his see (1107). Fifteen years later the Pope and the Emperor came to a similar arrangement by the Concordat of Worms (1122). The compromise was a good one. So long as the king was prudent and powerful he generally managed to control the choice of a bishop, and the surrender of the king's right to give the spiritual symbols of the ring and crozier made clear the fact that the Crown did not confer spiritual power on the bishop. The king, on the other hand, retained his supremacy over the great estates which belonged to the Church. Once more the Church had shown itself strong enough to modify the wishes of the king.

(E) ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS.

The reign of Henry I. is remarkable for a number of important administrative reforms, which were carried out by the king's Chief Justiciar, Roger, Bishop of Salisbury. In the reign of William II. the old local courts of the hundred and the shire had fallen into decay, but Henry and Roger of Salisbury revived their activity, and placed them in direct contact with the Curia Regis, which was

probably a standing committee of the *Commune Concilium*. The Curia Regis exercised great power. It administered the royal justice and was the supreme financial authority, but when it was occupied with financial business it was known as the Exchequer. These financial and judicial functions were closely connected in Norman times, for justice was regarded, primarily, as a source of revenue. In the Middle Ages nobody administered justice for nothing, and perhaps it was the desire for fees that caused Henry to send the barons of the Exchequer round the country on circuits to meet the local courts and the sheriffs and to do judicial as well as financial business. This device prevented the growth of more than one system of law in England, for everywhere the king's justice was more powerful than the justice administered in the local courts or in the feudal courts of the barons. It also served to place the king in contact with the local courts and assemblies, and ultimately it paved the way for the representation of the nation in Parliament. Just as the king sent a representative to meet his people in the local assemblies, so, later on, as we shall see, the local assemblies sent a representative to meet the king in Parliament. But in Henry I.'s reign the circuits were, as yet, intermittent.

(F) SCOTLAND AND WALES.

Henry's relations with Scotland were friendly. In 1124 David, his wife's nephew, became King of Scotland (1124-1153). Many Norman nobles received estates in that country; while David, by his marriage to the heiress of Waltheof, obtained the earldom of Huntingdon in England, for which he cheerfully did homage to Henry.

The conquest of South Wales was completed in this reign, and further settlements of Flemings took place, notably in Pembrokeshire. To this day the cleavage between the descendants of these settlers and the descendants of their Welsh neighbours continues, so much so that the south of Pembrokeshire is called "Little England beyond Wales." The native Welsh rulers were confined to Gwynedd, the district round Snowdon, and were no longer styled kings but princes.

(G) DEATH AND CHARACTER OF HENRY.

Henry died in 1135, after a surfeit of lampreys. His son William had been drowned on the *White Ship* fifteen years previously,

while sailing from Normandy to England. Henry, thereupon, had induced the barons, much as they disliked being ruled by a woman, to recognise his daughter Matilda as his successor. Matilda's first husband, the Emperor Henry v., had died in 1125, and she was now married to Geoffrey Plantagenet, Count of Anjou. The Counts of Anjou were the hereditary foes of the Dukes of Normandy, but Henry hoped that his daughter's son would bring this rivalry to an end and succeed some day to Anjou, Normandy, and England. Henry was a hard, selfish man, but a clear-sighted and good king. He bridled his fierce passions and was only cruel when it suited his purpose. He taxed his subjects heavily, but maintained peace and order, so that he was called the "Lion of Righteousness." He "made peace for men and deer," for, like all the Norman kings, he was passionately fond of hunting.

CHAPTER XIII.

STEPHEN OF BLOIS (1135-1154).

IN spite of Henry I.'s efforts to secure the Crown for his daughter Matilda, her claim was passed over on the death of her father, and (*A*) Stephen of Blois, the son of William the Conqueror's daughter Adela, having obtained the powerful support of the Church, ascended the throne. Stephen was soon called upon to face (*B*) the hostility of the barons, and Matilda's half-brother, Robert of Gloucester, and the King of Scotland both took up arms against him. (*C*) In 1139 Stephen foolishly quarrelled with the Church, and (*D*) civil war broke out. Finally, by (*E*) the Treaty of Wallingford (1153) it was arranged that Stephen should reign for the rest of his life, but that Matilda's son, Henry of Anjou, should succeed him. During this reign (*F*) the turbulence of the feudal baronage was unrestrained, but (*G*) the towns and the Church increased in power.

(*A*) ACCESSION OF STEPHEN.

THE people of England disliked being ruled by a woman, and the barons hated Matilda's husband, Geoffrey of Anjou. Accordingly, Stephen of Blois, son of William the Conqueror's daughter Adela, broke his oath to his uncle the late king, and secured the Crown. Like William II. and Henry I., he took possession of the royal treasure, and issued a brief confirmation of Henry I.'s charter, which was followed by a fuller document later on. The barons of Normandy also accepted Stephen as their duke, so that his reign at first seemed about to be successful. But Stephen was not a practical statesman like Henry I. Naturally easy-going and prone

to buy support by concessions, he allowed the feudal barons to build castles, and to get out of hand. He owed his throne partly to the support of the barons and partly to the wealthy citizens of London, who were powerful enough to be styled "nobles by reason of the magnitude of their city." But most valuable of all was the support of the Church. Stephen's brother Henry, Bishop of Winchester, afterwards Papal Legate, and the Justiciar, Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, supported his claims. Indeed, the Church played the main part in setting Stephen on the throne.

(B) RISINGS AGAINST STEPHEN. INVASION OF THE SCOTS.

As early as 1136 Stephen was forced to suppress revolts of the barons at Norwich and Exeter, and in 1137 he put down a rising in Normandy. Robert of Gloucester, the half-brother of Matilda, next organised a rebellion in the south and west of England, while David, King of Scots, invaded the northern counties (1138). The Scots were defeated by Thurstan, Archbishop of York, and the English fyrd at *Northallerton*. The fight is sometimes called the "battle of the Standard," because the English fought round a car bearing the banners of three Yorkshire saints.

Meanwhile Stephen, with the aid of Flemish mercenaries, whose introduction was very unpopular, won successes over Earl Robert in the west, but he threw away the gains of the victory at *Northallerton* by investing the Scots' king's son with the earldom of Northumberland. During the troubles which followed, the Scottish king still further encroached on English territory, and at the end of Stephen's reign was in possession of that part of England lying north of the Eden and the Tees.

(C) STEPHEN'S QUARREL WITH THE CHURCH.

In the following year, 1139, Stephen quarrelled with the Church. The family of Roger of Salisbury had by this time acquired great influence. Roger himself was Justiciar; his son Roger was Chancellor; his nephew, Alexander, was Bishop of Lincoln; another nephew, Nigel, was Bishop of Ely, and Treasurer. The power of this family was therefore very great, and excited Stephen's alarm. Moreover, Roger's relatives had been building castles (at

Devizes, Malmesbury, and Salisbury), possibly as a means of defence in the civil war which they foresaw was likely to occur. Stephen therefore arrested Roger, and called upon Roger's nephews to surrender their castles. In this way Stephen alienated the Church, which had done so much to set him on the throne. Even his own brother, Henry, Bishop of Winchester, turned against him in 1141. Moreover, as the chief ministers were drawn from the family of Roger of Salisbury, Stephen's action threw the whole judicial, financial, and administrative machinery of the kingdom out of gear. Civil war at once broke out.

(D) CIVIL WAR.

Matilda landed near Arundel in 1139, her chief supporter being Robert of Gloucester. Stephen hired Flemish mercenaries to fight for him, and did not appeal to or obtain much support from the English people. For many years the war went on with varying fortunes, and the feudal barons, who were not anxious to see either side win outright, took advantage of the chaos to make themselves independent of the law.

In 1141 Stephen was captured at the battle of Lincoln. Thereupon Matilda was chosen queen, and entered the city of London to be crowned. But Matilda's haughty manners estranged the citizens of London, who rose in revolt and drove her from the city. Her final overthrow was assured when she alienated Stephen's brother Henry, Bishop of Winchester. It was fatal for Matilda, as it had been for Stephen, to offend the Church. Henry of Winchester changed sides and supported Matilda of Boulogne, the wife of Stephen and great-granddaughter of Edmund Ironside. At the battle of Winchester, Robert of Gloucester was captured (1141). The two Matildas arranged for the exchange of Stephen and Robert, but in 1147 Robert of Gloucester died, and early in 1148 Matilda left the kingdom.

(E) TREATY OF WALLINGFORD (1153).

In 1153 Matilda's son Henry arrived in England. He had made himself master of Normandy, and had succeeded his father as

Count of Anjou. South of the Loire also he was overlord of a great territory stretching to the Pyrenees, for he had married Eleanor, the divorced wife of Louis VII. of France, and the heiress of Poitou and Aquitaine. Henry was trained in war and politics, and was a dangerous rival to the weak and worn-out Stephen. Stephen accordingly came to an arrangement with him in the *Treaty of Wallingford* (1153), by which Stephen was to reign for the rest of his life and Henry was to succeed him. This final settlement was largely due to Archbishop Theobald and Henry of Winchester. Once more the Church had shown its power.

(F) THE TURBULENCE OF THE FEUDAL BARONAGE.

The Saxon Chronicle paints a gloomy picture of the desolation wrought by the barons during the anarchy of Stephen's reign. "They filled the land full of castles, . . . and filled the castles with devils and evil men." All who had property they threw into prison and tortured for their gold and silver. They burnt the villages, and wore out many thousands with hunger. "Then was corn dear and flesh and cheese, for there was none in the land." They robbed the churches and heeded not the curses of the clergy. "The land was all foredone by such deeds; and they said openly that Christ and His saints slept."

(G) PROGRESS OF THE TOWNS AND THE CHURCH.

The terrible picture of the miseries the land endured during "the nineteen winters that Stephen was king" is brightened by two important facts: (1) It is beyond doubt that during the reign of Stephen, towns like London, Bristol, Exeter, and Lincoln advanced in prosperity, and English commerce developed. (2) It is also certain that there was a great expansion of monastic life in Stephen's reign. No fewer than one hundred and fifteen monasteries were built, and these religious houses became centres of industry and agriculture. The Benedictines had received great estates in England after the Norman Conquest, but in the twelfth century came the austere Cistercians or White Monks, the Puritans of monasticism, who settled in remote districts, bred sheep, redeemed waste lands,

and avoided all pomp and ornament in their houses as in their worship. The Cistercians took a leading part in the monastic progress which marked the reign of Stephen, and were supported by the Benedictines and the Cluniacs. How great the influence of the Church was in the politics of this reign we have already seen.

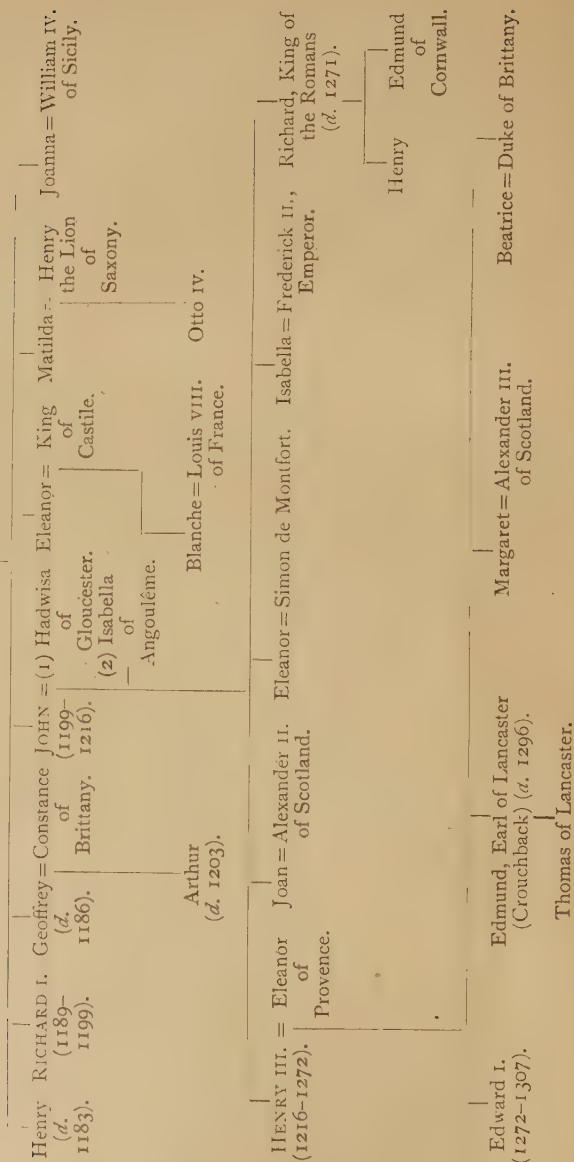
London was already on the high road to secure the right of corporate government. The citizens were beginning to talk of the "commune" of the city, and it is even possible that during the anarchic days of Stephen some kind of communal organisation developed. It was not, however, till 1191, while Richard 1. was absent from the kingdom, that his brother Prince John gave the king's formal consent to the existence of the London commune. It is probably from this later time that the official recognition of the mayor and the council of twenty-four *échevins* must be dated, though the way was being prepared during the reign of Stephen. The right to have a commune entailed the power of electing magistrates to govern the city and to administer justice in all save the graver cases, which came before the royal judges. This privilege in course of time enabled the city to offer a bolder front to royal despotism.

(H) DEATH OF STEPHEN.

Stephen died in 1154. "He was a mild man, and soft and good, and did no justice." The age required the continuation of the stern despotism which the Norman kings had set up. In Stephen's reign men learnt how terrible the rule of the barons could be if no strong and harsh king kept them in order.

THE EARLIER ANGEVIN KINGS (1154-1272).

Geoffrey Plantagenet = Matilda, daughter of Henry I.

HENRY II. = Eleanor of Aquitaine,
(1154-1189). | divorced wife of Louis VII.

CHIEF CONTEMPORARY RULERS.

SCOTLAND.	FRANCE.
Malcolm iv. (1153-1165).	Louis vii. (1137-1180).
William the Lion (1165-1214).	Philip Augustus (1180-1223).
Alexander ii. (1214-1249).	Louis viii. (1223-1226).
Alexander iii., <i>m.</i> Margaret, daughter of Henry iii. (1249-1286).	Louis ix. (Saint) (1226-1270).
	Philip iii. (1270-1285).

CHAPTER XIV.

HENRY II. (1154-1189).

BESIDES being King of England Henry II. was also (*A*) ruler of vast continental possessions, but this fact did not cause him to neglect his duties as an English king. His first object was (*B*) the restoration of order after the anarchy of Stephen's reign. He next turned to the task of (*C*) curbing clerical privileges, which brought him into conflict with Archbishop Becket on the question of criminous clerks. He also took in hand (*D*) the repression of baronial privileges, and "inaugurated the reign of law" by strengthening the power of the central government. Henry's great foreign possessions led him into (*E*) wars in France; and in 1173 and 1174 he had to face a coalition between his foreign foes and his discontented barons. To the end of his reign, moreover, he was constantly fighting against his sons.

The rebellion of 1173-1174 was the last great feudal rising of the English barons. Henry (*F*) asserted the imperial claims of the King of England over Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, and was the first king who was Lord of the British Isles.

(*A*) HENRY'S VAST CONTINENTAL POSSESSIONS.

HENRY II. was a strong man who, at his accession, was already one of the most powerful princes in Europe. With the kingdom of England he inherited his predecessors' claims to the overlordship of Wales and Scotland. During the course of his reign he added a claim to the overlordship of Ireland. In France he possessed a great dominion largely built up by means of marriage alliances. From his mother he inherited Normandy; from his father,

Anjou, Maine, and Touraine. His wife brought him the duchy of Aquitaine, which comprised the districts of Poitou, whose capital was Poitiers; Guienne, whose capital was Bordeaux; and Gascony, whose capital was Bayonne. Henry also possessed claims over the county of Toulouse. From the coast of Normandy to the Pyrenees a vast stretch of territory owned his sway. As Duke of Normandy he could claim feudal superiority over the county of Brittany in the north-west of France, and his son Geoffrey married Constance, the heiress of Brittany. But Henry's French territories were in no sense possessions of England; they simply belonged to the man who became King of England in 1154. In England Henry was both sovereign and actual ruler. In France he was actual ruler of a great territory, but not as sovereign. He was Duke of Normandy, Count of Anjou, etc., and each of his French territories possessed its own political organisation and cherished its local independence. Henry showed his political wisdom by never attempting to establish uniformity of institutions in his various territories in France, nor did he ever try to shake off the authority of his overlord—the French king. The possession of great French territories by Henry and his successors did not diminish the importance of England, nor destroy the distinctness of English national institutions.

Henry II., at his accession, may have cherished the dream of setting up an empire with its capital at Rouen, but that project was soon dropped. England had never known a more active and industrious king than Henry II., although he was more often than not absent on the continent for years at a time. His successor, however, was not a statesman but a knight-errant, and was mainly interested in continental politics, but even in Richard's reign the English constitution went on working and progress was made. In the reign of John the greater part of the continental dominions of the House of Anjou was lost, and this loss led in England to the first really national movement in politics which had taken place since the time of the Danish invasions—the demand for Magna Carta.

(B) THE RESTORATION OF ORDER.

Henry's first task was the restoration of order. The unauthorised or "adulterine" castles erected in Stephen's reign were destroyed,

grants of royal lands made by Stephen and Matilda to their followers were revoked, the foreign mercenaries were sent home, and the bad coinage was replaced by good money. Henry forced Malcolm iv. of Scotland to surrender the northern counties, and led an expedition into Wales. His Welsh expedition turned out ingloriously, but Owen, the Welsh prince of Gwynedd, made peace with him, and the lords marcher regained their power on the borders. He also strengthened the working of Henry i.'s administrative system. That system, by establishing routine, had paved the way for the "reign of law," which Henry ii. now proceeded to set up.

(C) THE CONTEST WITH BECKET.

In his work of reorganisation at the beginning of his reign Henry was assisted by the Treasurer Nigel, Bishop of Ely, the nephew of Roger of Salisbury, and by Thomas of London, better known as Thomas Becket. Becket's talents gained him the post of Archdeacon of Canterbury and the important office of chancellor. He was a man of agreeable manners, hard working but fond of display, and was regarded by the king as a personal friend. Therefore, when Henry ii. took up the task of curbing clerical privileges as part of his legal reforms he created Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury, expecting him to co-operate in his aims. Much to Henry's disgust, the new archbishop at once resigned the office of chancellor, became an austere churchman, and threw himself into his new position as a strong supporter of ecclesiastical privileges. During the reign of Stephen the Church had attained great power. It had determined the balance between the two claimants of the throne, and had taken a prominent part in restoring public order. Its courts had continued working, and had taken cognisance of many cases which properly belonged to the king's courts. This dangerous increase in the authority of the ecclesiastical courts Henry now determined to check.

The first quarrel between Henry and Becket, however, arose out of a financial point. Henry wished to change the method of levying a tax of two shillings upon every hide¹ of land in England, but Becket resisted the re-arrangement at the Council of Woodstock (1163). This

¹ A measure of arable land. It varied at the time of Domesday, but in Henry ii.'s reign was fixed at 100 acres.

is the first instance of opposition to the royal will in matters of taxation.

A much greater controversy followed. It turned on the question of "criminous clerks," and the conflicting jurisdiction of the Church and State. Henry resented the growing practice of carrying appeals from the English Church courts to Rome, and found great cause for complaint in the encroachments of the Church courts upon the functions of the king's courts. The Church courts claimed jurisdiction in (1) all religious and moral offences, such as blasphemy and heresy, whether committed by clergymen or laymen; (2) over all clergymen who committed criminal offences, such as theft or murder; (3) over all clergymen who neglected their spiritual duties. It was the trial by the Church courts of clerks who were guilty of crimes that Henry wished to prevent. In the first place, (1) the Church courts, although they could punish offenders severely, could not inflict the terrible penalties of death or mutilation which had now come to be the regular punishment for great crimes in the king's courts, in place of the pecuniary penalties which had prevailed in old English times. A guilty clergyman, therefore, would be less severely punished for the same offence than a guilty layman. (2) Again, a large number of persons who were not in Holy Orders, but who had merely taken the *tonsure*, were called clerks, and claimed to be tried in the Church courts. Nearly every one who could read might claim to be a clerk, and the Church courts practically exercised jurisdiction over the whole professional class. Henry therefore decided to state in definite terms the relation between the ecclesiastical and secular powers, and in 1164 drew up the *Constitutions of Clarendon*, which professed to be a statement of the old laws and customs prevailing in England with regard to the mutual rights of the Crown and the Church. The *Constitutions* stated: (1) that appeals to Rome were not to be made without the king's consent; (2) that a clergyman accused of crime should first of all be summoned to appear in the king's court. On declaring that he was a clerk the accused man should be sent to the spiritual court and should be tried there. If the accused clerk was convicted the Church court was to deprive him of his orders, and then he was to be taken back to the king's court to be punished as a layman. Becket at first accepted the customs, but afterwards withdrew his assent. He raised the cry "non bis in

ipsum," contending that to degrade a clergyman, and then to punish him as a layman, was to punish him twice for the same offence. Then he left England and remained abroad till 1170, when Henry patched up their quarrel. In the same year, however, a new cause of dispute arose which had nothing to do with the question of criminous clerks. Before Becket returned to England the king had caused his eldest son Henry to be crowned by the Archbishop of York. Now, it was the right of the Archbishop of Canterbury to perform the coronation ceremony. Becket was furious at the insult to Canterbury, and excommunicated the Archbishop of York and the bishops who had taken part in the service. The excommunicated prelates sought out the king in Normandy, and four knights who heard him cry out passionately, "Are there none of the cowards eating my bread who will rid me of this turbulent priest?" hastened to England and brutally murdered the archbishop on the steps of the altar in Canterbury Cathedral. The murder of Becket weakened the king's position. The sacrilegious deed shocked England, and indeed Europe. The murdered archbishop was regarded as a martyr in the cause of justice for the Church, and pilgrimages were made to his tomb. Even the king made a pilgrimage to Canterbury to expiate his crime. Owing to the murder of Becket, Henry was forced to let drop the question of jurisdiction over criminous clerks, and the clergy enjoyed their "*benefit of clergy*" down to the days of the Reformation, when the Church courts at last ceased to exist. Henry's successors were not able to restrain appeals to Rome, and the royal control over the elections of bishops varied from time to time.

(D) THE INAUGURATION OF "THE REIGN OF LAW."

Henry attacked not only the class privileges of the clergy, but those feudal privileges of the barons which ran counter to the powers of the central government. His first task was to reconstruct and give a great development to the judicial system devised by his grandfather, Henry I.

(a) *He developed the functions of the King's Court (Curia Regis).*—Henry took a great interest in the administration of justice, and desired to attract as much business as possible into his own courts. In the King's Court justice was administered by skilled lawyers. No

man was strong enough to withstand its decisions. Henry established a committee of five judges to deal with the ordinary business of the court, though he reserved the right of hearing personally any causes he chose. This committee of five judges is said to have been the origin of the Court of King's Bench.

(b) *He developed the circuit system.*—But Henry was not content merely to improve the justice administered in the Curia Regis. He determined to link up effectively the royal justice and the justice administered in the old local courts and in the private feudal courts of the barons. To do this he revived and improved the system of sending royal justices on circuits, which had been devised by Henry I.

By the *Assize of Clarendon*, 1166, he directed the king's justices to visit every shire to superintend the king's revenue and to try criminals. In Henry I.'s time the great feudal barons, many of whom possessed courts of their own which were independent of the jurisdiction of the hundred or shire courts, had refused to attend the Shire Court when the king's justices came round. Now it was enacted that every landowner without exception was to come to the Shire Court to meet the justices. It was also enacted that no baron should prevent the sheriff from entering his estates in pursuit of criminals. This was a blow at the private independent jurisdiction possessed by the barons. It was also enacted that a jury of twelve sworn men (*jurati*) should present criminals to the justices for trial. These twelve men formed a jury of presentment, and correspond to our grand jury, which at the present day presents the prisoners for trial to the king's judges when they come round on circuit to hold the Assizes in each county. Ten years later the provisions of the Assize of Clarendon were re-enacted more stringently in the Assize of Northampton, 1176.

In another law passed by Henry, called the *Grand Assize*, the jury system was used in deciding disputes relating to land. Formerly such disputes were settled by *trial by combat*; the parties to the dispute fought one another, and victory was supposed to fall to the man with the better title. Under such an iniquitous system unscrupulous barons had encroached on the lands of their weaker neighbours. In future a claimant to an estate could have his suit determined by the verdict of a jury of twelve knights of the neighbourhood, who, from their

local knowledge, decided on oath who was entitled to the land in dispute.

But Henry not only weakened the power of the nobles by establishing regular royal circuits of the king's justices and by devising a fairer method of settling disputes concerning lands; he sought also to lessen their military power. In 1181 was enacted the *Assize of Arms*, compelling every freholder to provide himself with arms differing according to the value of his property. A jury composed of men living in the district decided what was the value of each man's estate. By thus reorganising the old English national militia, or fyrd, the king secured a force which he might use against the barons. Henry also weakened the military efficiency of the nobles by reviving the old practice of taking money from the "tenants-in-chief" in lieu of military service. This tax was called "shield money," or *Scutage*. With the money thus obtained Henry hired mercenaries to fight for him abroad. The barons were pleased to escape from foreign service, and the king doubtless hoped that they would grow more peaceful and lose some of their warlike spirit.

By such legislation Henry strove to make the law supreme over all men, and to destroy all privileges which conflicted with the interests of the Crown. We shall see that he did not achieve his objects without a struggle, for in 1173-1174 occurred the last great revolt of the feudal baronage in England.

Henry's use of the jury in carrying out his reforms is very interesting. We have seen the jury of presentment employed in the *Assize of Clarendon*, a jury of assessment employed in the *Assize of Arms*, and a jury to decide the title to land employed in the *Grand Assize*. But, so far, we find no trace of a jury which decides the guilt or innocence of an accused man. It was only by degrees that our petty jury, which fulfils this function, came into existence. In its present form it does not date further back than the fourteenth century.

(E) FOREIGN WARS AND THE REBELLION OF 1173.

Henry's position in France made it inevitable that the French king should be his enemy. He was a much abler king than Louis VII. of France, but he did not attempt to wrest the French

throne from him. His later descendants were possessed with an almost insane desire to conquer France, but even when he was at war Henry never forgot the respect due to a feudal superior. Thus, in 1159, he raised the siege of Toulouse when Louis VII. came to its assistance, though he eventually compelled its count to do homage to him. It was during the war of Toulouse that Henry took scutage from the English barons. In order to maintain friendly relations with France, Henry married his eldest son Henry to Margaret, the daughter of Louis VII. The younger Henry grew discontented, perhaps because his coronation in 1170 was not followed by any real power, and in the spring of 1173 he made an alliance with his father-in-law against his own father. His brothers, Richard and Geoffrey, joined the alliance, which grew into a great league of all Henry's enemies. William the Lion, King of Scotland, promised to invade the north of England, and the Counts of Flanders and Boulogne entered the league. In England the feudal barons, smarting under Henry's restrictive measures, undertook to raise a rebellion. Thus in 1173 and 1174 Henry was involved in a formidable struggle both in England and France. In France, the defeat of the confederates was chiefly due to the king's own energy. A great victory at *Dol* practically decided the war. In England, the defeat of the barons was chiefly due to the loyalty of the English people and to Henry's able and faithful officials, Richard de Lucy and William Mandeville. William the Lion invaded England, but was captured at Alnwick (1174) and forced to sign the humiliating treaty of *Falaise* (see p. 94). The insurrection of 1173 and 1174 was the last of the merely feudal rebellions. Never again do we find the English barons fighting against the king for purely selfish objects.

After 1174 Henry, though he had no more trouble in England, was constantly at war with his sons. His eldest son Henry died in 1183 while fighting his brother Richard. Geoffrey of Brittany died three years later. But Richard once more, in 1189, made war against his father, and induced his youngest brother John, Henry's favourite son, to join him. Richard acted in alliance with the King of France, Philip II., called Augustus, who had succeeded his father, Louis VII. Philip was only seventeen at his accession, and he reigned from 1180 to 1223. He was a man of business, endowed with great perseverance, and followed a settled policy,

which included the destruction of the predominance of the House of Anjou in France. To this end he played off Henry's sons against Henry, and later on played off John against Richard, and Geoffrey's son, Arthur of Brittany, against John. For some time Henry struggled against Philip and Richard, but when he heard that his son John had joined the rebellion he lost heart and died at Chinon on the river Vienne, murmuring with his dying breath, "Shame, shame on a conquered king!"

Henry's position in Europe enabled him to make great alliances. He married one of his daughters to the King of Castile and another to the wealthy King of Sicily, while a third married Henry the Lion of Saxony, and became the mother of the Emperor Otto iv. Henry thus established friendship with Spain, which continued till the reign of Henry viii., and also began the policy of friendship with Germany and Flanders which continued throughout the Middle Ages. Men hoped that Henry would join the Third Crusade, 1185, and conquer Palestine. He did take the cross, though he never set out for Palestine, and he collected from his English subjects the *Saladin Tithe* (1188)—which was a tax of one-tenth on every man's movables, and was the first tax levied on personal property in England.

(F) HENRY'S DEALINGS WITH WALES, SCOTLAND, AND IRELAND.

We have seen that Henry at the beginning of his reign led an expedition against Owen, the Welsh prince of Gwynedd. Three times altogether Henry marched into the Snowdon district, but he was never able to conquer it, though he restored the power of the Lords Marcher and compelled the Welsh bishops to acknowledge the supremacy of Canterbury. We have also seen how Henry, at the beginning of his reign, compelled Malcolm of Scotland to surrender the four northern counties. But it was on Malcolm's successor, William the Lion, that Henry's hand lay heaviest. After the capture of William at Alnwick, Henry forced him, by the treaty of Falaise, to become his vassal, and to admit English garrisons into Edinburgh and other Scottish towns.

It was during the reign of Henry that the English gained a foothold in Ireland. Ireland was divided into four Celtic kingdoms,—

Ulster, Munster, Leinster, and Connaught. At various points on the Irish coast the Northmen, since the ninth century, had made settlements, but they were cut off from the Celtic kingdoms. The Irish possessed a head king called the Ardriagh, who had but little power, for the land was divided amongst a number of petty kings who were constantly at war amongst themselves. William the Conqueror had intended to subdue Ireland, but the conquest of Ireland was not undertaken till Henry II.'s reign, when it was begun by the Norman marcher lords of South Wales.

In 1166, Dermot, King of Leinster, was driven from his kingdom. He came to England and sought help from Henry, who allowed the Earl of Pembroke, Richard of Clare, surnamed Strongbow, to lend him assistance. With the help of Norman lords from South Wales Strongbow restored Dermot to his kingdom. Then he married Dermot's daughter, and on his father-in-law's death became Earl of Leinster (1171). Henry II. became alarmed lest Strongbow and the other Normans who had won estates in Ireland should set up semi-independent kingdoms. Accordingly, in 1171, wishing to be out of England "till the storm raised by Becket's murder had subsided," the king visited Ireland. He forced the Norman adventurers to do homage to him as "Lord of Ireland," a title he had obtained from the English Pope Adrian IV., and established his authority also over the native Irish and the Northmen. He attempted to reform the Irish Church and to encourage English traders to establish themselves in the towns. When Henry left Ireland, however, everything fell again into confusion, and English authority was only effectively felt in the districts round Dublin, Waterford, and Wexford (the English Pale).

(G) CHARACTER OF HENRY II.

Henry's achievements are the best testimony to his character. We have seen how he strengthened the position of the Crown, destroyed the selfish power of feudalism, and attempted to define the relations between Church and State. In the history of the development of English law Henry's reign is perhaps the most important in English history. He was the first king to assert his lordship over all the British Isles. He also ruled an immense continental domain, and fixed the foreign policy of England for generations. No man could have

achieved all this unless he was possessed of great ability and activity. Henry is said never to have sat down except at meals, and to have lived on the march. His statesmanship, his knowledge of the laws, his diplomatic ability were wonderful. In person he was of middle height, rather corpulent in figure, with blood-shot eyes and closely cropped reddish hair. The story of Becket's murder illustrates the weakest trait of his character—his liability to be moved to fierce outbursts of temper.

CHAPTER XV.

RICHARD I. (1189-1199).

THE new king, Richard I., was in many respects utterly unlike his father. Whereas Henry II. was, above all things, an administrator, a lawyer, and a diplomatist, Richard was a knight-errant possessed of great physical strength, courage, and love of adventure. At the time of his accession he was bent on joining the Third Crusade (1189-1192), and (*A*) was intent on getting money for this object by every means in his power. When he had obtained sufficient money he set out for Palestine, and (*B*) played an important part in the Third Crusade, but on his way back to England was held prisoner by the Emperor Henry VI. During Richard's absence the country was governed by (*C*) Justiciars, who met with much trouble from the hostility of Richard's brother John and Philip Augustus of France. On Richard's return to England he forgave his brother John, and (*D*) waged war on the King of France, leaving the government of England to (*E*) Hubert Walter, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Justiciar. In this reign (*F*) London gained its corporation, and many towns bought charters increasing their privileges. Special privileges were also given to the Jews. Richard died in 1199, while waging war against a rebellious vassal in the Limousin.

(*A*) RICHARD'S MEASURES TO GET MONEY FOR THE THIRD CRUSADE.

THE Third Crusade was rendered necessary by the exploits of the Sultan Saladin, who had practically destroyed the Christian kingdom of Jerusalem by capturing its capital in 1187. We have

seen that Henry II. levied the Saladin Tithe in England in 1188 with the object of taking part in the Crusade, but never set out for Palestine. The Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, Philip of France, and Leopold, Duke of Austria, had also "taken the cross," and Richard, when he became King of England, lost no time in obtaining money to join the crusade. With that object he made exactions from the Jews, sold charters to towns, and put up for sale the great offices in Church and State. Even the office of Justiciar was sold. Richard also sold to William the Lion of Scotland his release from the homage imposed on him by the treaty of Falaise, and declared that he would sell London itself if he could find a buyer.

(B) RICHARD'S PART IN THE THIRD CRUSADE.

In August 1190 Richard set sail from Marseilles. On his way to Palestine he touched at Messina in Sicily, and then proceeded to Cyprus, where he married Berengaria of Navarre, and deposed Isaac Komnenos, the piratical king of the island. In Cyprus he was met by Guy of Lusignan, who came to beg his support in obtaining the crown of Jerusalem, which was also claimed by Conrad of Montferrat. It was not till June 1191 that Richard landed at Acre, to begin his attack on the Holy Land.

Two months before this Philip of France had reached Palestine, but the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa was drowned in a Cilician river while leading his German troops to Palestine by an overland march. Though Richard and Philip captured Acre the two kings soon quarrelled and Philip returned to France, promising not to attack Richard's dominions as long as his rival was on crusade. Richard pursued his march towards Jerusalem, keeping near the coast in order to be in touch with the fleet. He captured the coast towns of Cæsarea, Joppa and Ascalon, defeated the Saracens at Arsuf, and three times drew within sight of the Holy City only to find it impregnable. At length, in 1192, he made a truce with Saladin, which left the coast-line between Joppa and Tyre in the hands of the Christians, and allowed pilgrims the right of access to Jerusalem. The truce was to hold good for three years, three months, three days, and three hours. Richard then set out for England, leaving Hubert Walter to bring back his army (October 1192).

The English king's difficulties had been great. At Acre he had quarrelled with Leopold of Austria, who thereupon had gone home, and he was unjustly suspected of participation in the murder of Conrad of Montferrat, the rival of Guy of Lusignan¹ for the throne of Jerusalem. To crown all, the news came that his brother John was plotting against him in England. Richard did not reach England for nearly eighteen months. Wrecked by a storm on the Italian coast, he attempted to pass through Germany in disguise, but was detected and arrested near Vienna by Leopold of Austria, with whom he had quarrelled at Acre. Leopold sent him to the Emperor Henry VI., the son of Frederick Barbarossa, who hated Richard for supporting his rival Henry the Lion, Richard's brother-in-law. Henry demanded the enormous ransom of 150,000 marks. This was paid in 1194, and Richard returned to England.

(C) THE GOVERNMENT OF ENGLAND DURING RICHARD'S ABSENCE
(1189-1194).

During Richard's absence from England the kingdom was not at all badly governed, though a certain amount of civil strife prevailed. The administrative system devised by Henry II. was carried on even in the absence of the sovereign. William Longchamp, Bishop of Ely, acted as regent. As a minister he was faithful to Richard, intelligent and energetic, but he made use of his position to gratify a grasping and avaricious nature, and thus aroused the enmity of the barons. While the Queen-Mother was in England or France and could exercise influence over John, Longchamp managed to maintain peace; but when Eleanor set out to join Richard in Sicily (whither she escorted Richard's bride), John, smarting under the fact that Richard had declared his nephew Arthur, the son of Geoffrey of Brittany, heir to the throne, joined with the discontented barons, brought together a great council at St. Paul's, and accused Longchamp of tyranny (1191). John's plans, however, were foiled by Walter of Coutances, Archbishop of Rouen, who produced a commission signed by Richard appointing him Justiciar in Longchamp's stead. The meeting at St. Paul's is interesting, because it was probably the first time that the magnates of England not being in rebellion

¹ Richard gave Cyprus to Guy of Lusignan.

came together without the royal sanction. Longchamp fell from power because he irritated public opinion, but the command of the absent king was sufficient to set another minister in his place.

Walter of Coutances' term of office (1191-1194) was marked chiefly by the attempt made by John to supplant his brother, and by the measures taken to raise the king's ransom. On hearing of Richard's captivity, Philip of France and John conspired, and the French king invaded Normandy. John seized several royal castles in England, but met with little support, for the goodwill of the nation was given to its warrior king.

(D) RICHARD'S RETURN TO ENGLAND. WAR AGAINST PHILIP.

In March 1194 Richard returned to England, but only remained two months. He soon captured John's castles and drove him to take refuge with Philip of France. With magnificent generosity he forgave the wrong done him by his brother, but he spent the rest of his reign fighting against Philip. He formed a league against the French king, consisting of Brittany, Otto iv., who became Emperor in 1197, and the Counts of Boulogne, Flanders, and Champagne. In one year he built a strong castle to dominate the Seine and protect Normandy from invasion. "Is not this a fine saucy year-old baby of mine?" jested Richard, and the castle became known as *Château Gaillard* (1197). These defensive measures enabled Richard while he lived to preserve the Angevin Empire against the attacks of Philip of France.

(E) THE GOVERNMENT OF ENGLAND BY HUBERT WALTER.

In 1194, just before Richard's return from captivity, Walter of Coutances was succeeded as Justiciar by Hubert Walter, Archbishop of Canterbury. Hubert Walter held office from 1194 to 1198. He was a statesman of the school of Henry II., and although his object was probably only to raise money for the king more readily, his administration marks a great advance in constitutional progress. He gave new powers to the itinerant justices, and he *enlarged the share taken by the people in self-government* by employing the jury

system in the assessment of taxes. The jury was thus made to take a prominent part in the financial as well as in the judicial business of each county. He reduced the power of the sheriffs by forbidding them to act as judges in their own counties, and gave part of their work to new officers called coroners, who were elected in the County Court.

But the king's perpetual want of money proved the downfall of Hubert. In 1197, at a great council of the barons held at Oxford, the archbishop asked the barons for a force of three hundred knights to serve the king for a whole year in Normandy. This demand was resisted by Hugh, Bishop of Lincoln, who asserted that the lands of his church owed military service only in England. This is the second instance since the Norman Conquest of opposition to the royal will in matters of taxation, and again the resistance is offered by a bishop. Hubert withdrew his demand, and shortly afterwards resigned the justiciarship. He was succeeded by a layman, Geoffrey Fitz-Peter, Earl of Essex, who proved an able administrator and a faithful servant of the king.

(F) LONDON. THE JEWS.

London had long been recognised as the capital of England, and had succeeded in obtaining many privileges. We have seen how much the support of the Londoners benefited Stephen. In the reign of Richard, London received a commune or corporation in return for assisting in the overthrow of Longchamp, and the government of the city law courts and the assessment of taxes were vested in the mayor and aldermen, who were elected by the citizens. Other places aimed at acquiring some of the privileges possessed by London, and in this reign charters conferring privileges were sold to many towns.

During this reign the Jews, who were the bankers and money-lenders of that period, were given laws and courts of their own. They lived apart in stone houses in special quarters of the town, known as Jewries, and wore a distinctive dress. At the beginning of Richard's reign massacres of Jews occurred in various places, but on the whole the Jews managed to buy protection from the king.

(G) RICHARD'S DEATH.

Richard met his death while besieging the castle of Chalus near Limoges, because its lord had refused to give up some treasure-trove found on his estate, which Richard claimed as his overlord. The king was shot in the shoulder by an archer whose father and two brothers had been slain by his orders. Richard forgave the archer, but on the king's death he was flayed alive.

Richard's surname, "the Lion Heart," bears testimony to his fame. He was a typical knight-errant, caring more about glory and adventure than about his duty to his people. Nevertheless his personal prowess and zeal for Christianity made him popular, and his absence from England did not withdraw his subjects' loyalty. There were no feudal insurrections during his reign, and the clergy, perhaps grateful for the king's crusading zeal, in general lent him their support. The system of government devised by Henry II. went on working in the king's absence, while the people learnt new lessons in self-government and began to assert the responsibility of ministers to govern well.

CHAPTER XVI.

JOHN (1199-1216).

ON the death of Richard his brother John obtained the throne. The claims of Arthur, the son of John's elder brother Geoffrey of Brittany, were passed over, and the English Crown was declared to be elective as it was in old English times. Arthur was but a boy whilst John was a man, and therefore more capable of ruling. The first part of John's reign is marked by (*A*) the loss of Normandy, which followed the death of John's mother Eleanor, and by (*B*) John's conflict with the Pope, which followed the death of Archbishop Hubert Walter. These disgraceful events, and John's bad government at home and further ill-success in France, (*C*) prepared the way for a national resistance, and led the barons to take up arms and to extort (*D*) Magna Carta from the king. John broke his promises, and the reign closes with (*E*) Civil War.

(*A*) THE LOSS OF NORMANDY.

IT was owing to the influence of his mother Eleanor that John succeeded to the Angevin possessions in France as well as to the crown of England. Eleanor was a true friend to her sons. In the reign of Richard she did much to keep John in order, and after John's rebellion she brought about a reconciliation between Richard and his brother. Now she threw all her great experience, energy, and diplomatic skill on the side of John, and opposed the claims of her grandson, Arthur of Brittany. Philip Augustus of France, however, at once took up arms on behalf of Arthur, just as he had taken up arms on behalf of John against Richard. The French

king by this time had succeeded in bringing under his direct rule a great deal of France, and his natural desire was to extend that rule over the whole of it, untroubled by the power of any great vassal. The predominance of the House of Anjou in France was still so great that Philip could rely on the support of his other great vassals against the head of that House—the English king. John was inferior as a soldier to Richard I., and was far inferior as a statesman to Henry II. Philip's prospects of success were therefore distinctly bright, but the self-seeking which he showed while advocating Arthur's claims alienated the latter's friends, who accordingly made peace with John. Philip then agreed to recognise John's claims to all the French provinces, and Louis, Philip's son, married Eleanor's granddaughter, Blanche of Castile. Before long John's own folly gave Philip another chance of interfering. John was already married to Hadwisa of Gloucester, but he resolved to divorce his wife and to marry an heiress named Isabella of Angoulême, who was betrothed to Hugh of Lusignan, Count of La Marche. Philip thereupon took up Hugh's cause and summoned John to appear before him to account for his conduct. John refused to come, and was declared to have forfeited his fiefs by his contumacy. Philip again formed an alliance with Arthur, who besieged his grandmother Eleanor in the castle of Mirabeau, but John came to Eleanor's rescue, captured Arthur, and threw him into prison. In April 1203 Arthur died in prison, and John was suspected of causing his death. Philip once more summoned John to appear before a court of great vassals and clear himself of the charge of murder. Once again John proved contumacious, and Philip undertook to bring him to account. In the ensuing campaign John's conduct was hesitating and weak, and the war went entirely in Philip's favour. While the English king remained inactive at Rouen, Philip captured Château Gaillard (March 1204), and Normandy lay open to attack. In the following month, April 1204, Queen Eleanor died, and John's cause lost its most powerful supporter. In the course of 1204 John lost Normandy,¹ Maine, Anjou, and Touraine. Of all the Angevin possessions in France he only retained Guienne and Gascony in the south-west.

The loss of the French provinces by John was an event of

¹ With the exception of the Channel Islands.

the greatest importance in the history of France and of England. Henceforward the French king was a powerful monarch who no longer needed to stand on guard against the House of Anjou, while the House of Anjou suddenly shrank into a comparatively insignificant power, retaining in France only the provinces most remote from England.

On the internal history of England the loss of the French provinces operated in three ways. (1) It threw the kings entirely on the goodwill of their English subjects, and led them in time to regard themselves as Englishmen and to identify themselves solely with English national ambitions. (2) The shameful way in which John had lost the French provinces dimmed the lustre of the Crown, and encouraged the barons to resist John's misgovernment of England. (3) Those barons who held estates both in Normandy and England now lost their French possessions, and their interests became exclusively English. This fact assisted the amalgamation of the two races, which had gone forward rapidly under the wise rule of Henry II. "The mingling of the two races which had been helped by the wisdom of Henry was perfected by the folly of John."

(B) JOHN'S CONFLICT WITH THE POPE.

Just as the loss of the French provinces followed on the death of Queen Eleanor, so the death of Archbishop Hubert Walter in 1205 was followed by another event disastrous to John,—a quarrel with the Pope. On Hubert's death the monks of Canterbury, who had the right of electing the bishop of the diocese, but who usually elected the king's nominee, secretly chose their sub-prior, Reginald, as archbishop and sent him to Rome for the pallium. John, however, heard of their action and forced the monks to elect John de Grey, Bishop of Norwich, who also went to Rome to get the pallium.

The conflict between the two parties gave the Pope, Innocent III., his opportunity. He was one of the ablest and most ambitious of mediæval Popes, and was anxious to assert the independence of the Church from royal interference. Moreover, both the candidates who sought his support were unsuitable for the great

office of Archbishop of Canterbury. Reginald was only a monk, John de Grey a mere politician. The Pope therefore put pressure on the monks who had been sent to represent the chapter of Canterbury at Rome, and procured the election of his personal friend, a learned Englishman named Stephen Langton, who was consecrated in June 1207. John refused to receive Stephen Langton as the lawful archbishop, and the Pope in retaliation placed England under an interdict (1208). The land was deprived of its religious services, the Mass ceased to be celebrated, and the new-born child and the dying were denied the offices of the Church. Religious people were terribly punished for the misdoing of their king, who himself cared little enough for religion and seized the property of the clergy who obeyed the Pope's orders. In the following year (1209) the Pope excommunicated John. This contest with the Pope seems to have roused the man who had lost the French provinces by his laziness, into feverish activity in more than one direction. He wreaked his vengeance still more harshly on the clergy, forced the King of the Scots to do homage, and compelled Llewelyn of Wales to make full submission to him. Moreover, he crossed over into Ireland and restored some semblance of order in that country. The barons of England felt the full weight of his reckless tyranny. Many a baron he treated with the greatest brutality, seizing his castles and taking his children as hostages. He is said to have starved the family of one rebellious vassal to death, and ladies of the highest rank were exposed to his insults.

As John still continued obstinate, the Pope, in 1212, threatened to issue a bull absolving his subjects from their allegiance (*i.e.* to depose John), and to call on Philip Augustus to carry out the sentence. Before this threat the king's courage gave way, and on May 13, 1213, at Dover, he made an abject submission to Innocent III., agreeing to recognise Langton as Archbishop, to restore the bishops' estates which he had seized, to pay an annual tribute, and even to give up the crown and receive it again as a vassal of the Pope. John had actually granted political supremacy to the Pope in England. Already the Pope's spiritual power was enormous, but now he was to be political overlord of England, just as much as John was political overlord of Wales. In return the king secured the protection of the Pope, not only against Philip but against his own people. Although,

in a sense, John was maintaining the national cause when he refused to let the Pope appoint the Archbishop of Canterbury, and although his greatest predecessors would certainly have refused the Pope this power, yet the king was by this time so distrusted that his quarrel with the Papacy only served still further to alienate the nation.

John had gained the protection of the Pope, but he lost the support of the Church, and brought to an end the alliance between the Church and the Crown which, on the whole, had existed ever since the Norman Conquest.

(C) THE IMMEDIATE EVENTS PRECEDING THE DEMAND FOR MAGNA CARTA.

Having submitted to the Pope, and in that way saved England from a French invasion, John now wished to invade France to recover the lost French provinces. He determined to attack Poitou; while his allies, the Emperor Otto iv. and the Counts of Flanders and Boulogne, invaded the north of France. But the northern barons refused to follow John to France, alleging that they were under no obligation to military service abroad (1213). Geoffrey Fitz-Peter then summoned a meeting at St. Albans (August 1213), and made promises of better government on behalf of John. It is interesting to note that to this meeting were summoned not only the magnates, but representatives from each manor on the royal domains. For the first time we find representatives of some of the Commons summoned to a great council, but they probably came—if indeed the assembly ever met—merely to give evidence on questions touching the royal domains, for the immediate object of the assembly was to determine what was due to the clergy for the losses they had sustained during the conflict between king and pope. Later on another council of barons was held at St. Paul's, where Archbishop Langton read the charter of Henry i. to the assembly and urged the barons to insist on its observance. The part played by Langton in the struggle for Magna Carta was of great importance. He it was who supplied the vaguely discontented barons with a "programme," and taught them to consider the needs of other classes than their own. The Pope's support of John was also counterbalanced by the archbishop's

sympathy for reform. In October 1213 died the able justiciar Fitz-Peter, the only man who might have succeeded in putting some restraint on John's tyranny. In the same year John was defeated in Poitou.

Now follows an interval of nearly a year, during which Philip won a great victory over John's allies and some English troops at Bouvines (July 1214). If the allies had gained the day at Bouvines affairs in England might have taken another course, but as it was the barons continued to organise their resistance, under the guidance of Langton.

When John returned from France, beaten and disgraced, in October 1214, the barons arranged to present their demands to him early in the new year. The king gained a respite till Easter, and in the meantime tried in vain to detach the support of the clergy from the barons by promising that freedom of election which his ancestors had so jealously refused. But the barons, the clergy, and the people were now all arrayed against John, and when at last the barons took up arms, John acceded to their demands at Runnymede, near Windsor, and the Great Charter (*Magna Carta*) was sealed on June 15, 1215.

(D) MAGNA CARTA.

Magna Carta marks an epoch in the history of England. It contained clauses dealing with the rights of all classes of society. The Church was to be free, and freedom of election¹ was granted to the clergy. Many clauses dealt with the feudal rights of the king, and the barons agreed to extend to their tenants the promises of a moderate and just use of feudal rights which John now made to them. An important clause stated that the king should take no scutage or aid, other than the customary aids, without the consent of the Great Council of the realm. The rights of London and other cities and towns were assured, and the interests of merchants safeguarded. Among the most important clauses in the charter are those dealing with justice. "To none will we sell, to none will we deny or delay, right or justice." "No freeman shall be taken, or

¹ In spite of this promise, however, the Crown continued to exercise great influence in the election of bishops.

imprisoned, or dispossessed, or outlawed, or banished, nor will we go upon him, nor send upon him, except by lawful judgment of his peers and by the law of the land." The charter, although it took the form of a grant of liberties by the king, was really a treaty of peace between the king and the barons, as the provisions for its maintenance prove. Twenty-five barons were chosen to see that the charter was carried out, and any four of their number had power to demand redress from the king for any infringement of its provisions. If redress was not granted within forty days the charter authorised the barons to put constraint on the king.

The place of Magna Carta in English History.—(1) Magna Carta marks the first great united political act of the whole English nation. It is true that the barons wrung the charter from the king, but they were supported by London and other towns, and had the sympathy of the clergy, although John was the Pope's vassal. It was Archbishop Langton who suggested to the barons that they should base their demands on the charter of Henry 1.

(2) In return for the support of the nation the barons demanded redress not only for themselves, but for all classes.

(3) The general character of the charter was conservative. It contained little that was new, was *distinctly feudal in character*, and was largely based on the charter of Henry 1. It simply provided for fair and reasonable government on the old lines, and left the king still supreme in the State.

(4) From this time forward Magna Carta served as a rallying point for all reformers in times of oppression.

(5) The way in which Magna Carta was obtained was of great importance. The precedent of national resistance to royal oppression had been set, and was to be followed in the reign of Henry III. and even in the reign of Edward 1.

(6) Magna Carta paved the way for Parliament. As time went on, and the charter was constantly broken, it was seen that its continued observance could not be secured by isolated rebellions on the part of the barons. The nation required a permanent council, representing not only the barons but the people, to set forth grievances and secure redress. This end was attained only when Edward 1. called the Commons to Parliament (see p. 133).

(E) CIVIL WAR.

John had no intention of observing the charter, and soon showed that he was more than a match for his opponents, for he induced the Pope to release him from his promises and raised an army of foreign mercenaries. The civil war that ensued went in favour of the king, so the barons called in Louis, the eldest son of Philip Augustus, who invaded England in 1216. While war was still raging John died (October 1216).

(F) CHARACTER OF JOHN.

John was ungrateful, treacherous, cruel, mean, and reckless. His indolence at times was almost incredible. "Let Philip go on," he cried, when that monarch was conquering Normandy, "whatever he takes, I will retake it in a day." At other times his activity was remarkable, and of his ability, had he chosen to use it consistently and for his true interests, there can be no doubt. William II. was a bad man, but he was a capable, if selfish, king. John proved himself an incapable ruler. He failed to withstand his wily antagonist Philip Augustus, or the determination of his own subjects to resist oppression and to make the king obey the laws. His private life was abominable. "Foul as it is, hell itself is defiled by the fouler presence of John," wrote the chronicler of his reign.

CHAPTER XVII.

HENRY III. (1216-1272).

IN the first period of his reign (1216-1234) (*A*) Henry was under tutelage, and the government was carried on first by William Marshall, and then by Hubert de Burgh, whose downfall was procured (in the year 1232) by his rival, Peter des Roches, Bishop of Winchester; in the second period of the reign (1234-1258), after the downfall of Peter des Roches (1234), Henry took the government into his own hands. (*B*) The period of the king's personal government is marked by the extortions of the Pope, the influence of foreigners, general mismanagement, and the growing discontent of the nation. The last period of the reign (1258-1272) is marked by (*C*) rebellion, and by the reforms of Simon de Montfort, who was ultimately defeated and killed at Evesham in 1265. The closing years of the reign were passed in tranquillity, owing to the wisdom of Henry's son, the Lord Edward, who took the leading part in defeating Montfort, but was opposed to the influence of foreigners and favoured just reforms. Although the political history of the reign was gloomy, (*D*) the coming of the friars gave an impetus to religion and had a great effect on learning at the universities. The reign in other ways was marked by national progress.

(*A*) PERIOD I. (1216-1234).—HENRY III. UNDER TUTELAGE.

ON the death of John, Englishmen had no sufficient reason for supporting a foreign prince, for the new king, a boy of nine, was not responsible for his father's crimes. The aged baron, William

Marshall, Earl of Pembroke (who had married Strongbow's daughter), was made "Rector regis et regni," and by republishing the *Great Charter* cut away the ground from under the feet of the nobles who had been fighting John. The important clauses relating to taxation and the Great Council were left out, but only that they might be dealt with more fully later on. This prudent step was taken by William Marshall with the approval of Gualo, the Papal Legate; for England, of course, was a vassal state of the Pope. The publication of the charter weakened the party of Louis, which had begun to break up. In 1217 he was defeated on land at Lincoln and on sea at Sandwich, and by the treaty of Lambeth agreed to leave England on receiving a large sum of money. His withdrawal was followed by the reissue of Magna Carta. William Marshall died in 1219, and henceforward Hubert de Burgh governed the country till his fall in 1232. Hubert de Burgh was hampered by difficulties arising from the Pope's constant interference with the affairs of his vassal kingdom, which reached such a pass that Stephen Langton went to Rome and induced the Pope to recall his legate, Pandulf. Difficulties also arose from John's foreign friends. Of these, the chief were Peter des Roches, Bishop of Winchester, and a mercenary soldier named Falkes de Breauté. Peter des Roches was jealous of the success of Hubert de Burgh, and went on crusade. Falkes de Breauté was driven abroad in 1224.

In 1224 the Pope declared Henry old enough to govern. Hubert de Burgh continued to be his chief minister until 1232, when Peter des Roches returned from exile and cleverly brought about his downfall.

Various causes contributed to the overthrow of Hubert de Burgh, in addition to the return of his rival. (1) His long administration had made him so powerful as to excite Henry's jealousy. (2) His antipathy to foreigners was marked. (3) He had countenanced resistance to papal exactions, which all this time had continued to increase. (4) He was not in favour of an active policy to recover the provinces lost by John; and (5) he increased the hatred of the barons by seeking to limit their powers and by imposing heavy taxes.

For a time (1232-1234) Peter des Roches took Hubert de Burgh's place as Henry's chief minister, but in 1234 the new

Archbishop of Canterbury—the saintly Edmund Rich—induced Henry to dismiss him and his foreign friends from office. With the fall of Peter des Roches, Henry's personal government begins.

(B) PERIOD II. (1234-1258).—HENRY'S PERSONAL GOVERNMENT.

When Henry took the administration into his own hands his character exercised great influence on the course of events. He was a man of piety possessing some ability and taste, with a real love of art, but he was totally devoid of practical statesmanship, and, like Charles I., was either so fully convinced of his absolute right as king, or so insincere that he could not be bound by any promise. In chronic want of money, he was unable to support a permanent body of mercenaries wherewith to enforce his will.

The period of personal government is marked by—

(a) *The king's attempt to rule without effective ministers.*—He tried to rule without a Justiciar, Treasurer, or Chancellor. He wished to hold all the threads of policy himself, and to rule through the instrumentality of foreign dependants. But Henry was quite unfit to govern the kingdom in this arbitrary and direct manner, and repeated demands were made that these offices should be filled.

(b) *The influx of foreigners.*—(1) Des Roches' influence had brought in many Bretons who obtained offices at the court. (2) Provençals and Savoyards flocked into the country after Henry's marriage to Eleanor of Provence in 1236. (3) Then came the Poitevins after the overthrow of Henry's stepfather, Hugh of Lusignan, Count of La Marche.

On the death of John, Isabella had returned to France and married her old lover, Hugh of Lusignan. They now made use of Henry as a tool, and, when Louis IX. attacked Hugh, Henry led an expedition to Gascony in support of his stepfather (1242). Henry was defeated at Taillebourg and Saintes, and Hugh's power was overthrown. A swarm of Poitevins thereupon flocked to Henry's court, there to live at the expense of the English.

The king's government was also marked by—

(c) *Gross extravagance* in order to supply the needs of himself, his foreign favourites, and the Pope, whose exactions were enormous, and were countenanced by the king in spite of the discontent of

the clergy. The papal taxation had grown heavier because Pope Gregory ix. required funds for his war against the Emperor Frederick ii. The clergy were heavily taxed, and the Pope issued *provisors* setting aside the rights of English patrons or electors and placing his own nominees in English benefices. The English clergy groaned under this oppression, but the king did nothing to help them; indeed, he shared the plunder of the English Church with the Pope. Thus: (1) The *whole nation* resented his extravagance and misgovernment. (2) The *nobles* hated his foreign favourites, who were enriched by grants of estates in England and by marriages with great English heiresses. (3) The *clergy* were furious at the exactions of the Pope and the wholesale placing of Italians into English benefices.

(C) PERIOD III. (1258-1272).—DISCONTENT LEADS TO REBELLION.
—THE WORK OF SIMON DE MONTFORT.—HIS DEATH AT
EVEHAM, AND THE CLOSING YEARS OF THE REIGN.

The national discontent reached its height in the year 1258. It was accentuated by a compact which Henry made with the Pope, arising out of the struggle between the Empire and the Papacy. The Emperor was not only overlord of all Germany and direct ruler of some parts of it, but he had more or less authority in the north of Italy, and in the south of Italy was lord of the kingdom of the "Two Sicilies," which the Pope claimed to be a papal fief. The Pope was thus shut in by the Emperor both in the north and south, and after the death of Frederick ii., in 1250, seized the opportunity of breaking up the Imperial dominions by offering the Sicilian Crown to Henry for his second son Edmund (1254). In return Henry agreed to allow the Pope to wage war against the Emperor in Sicily at his expense. Now, Sicily was useless to England, and Manfred, a brave and popular ruler, had obtained possession of it. Moreover, this pact with the Pope involved England in immense expense, and resulted in still heavier taxation and in the gross oppression of the clergy both by the Pope and the king. Under these circumstances the Great Council or Parliament assembled at Westminster in April 1258, and refused to grant Henry money until he assented to their demands. They forced him to consent to

the appointment of twenty-four commissioners, twelve to be chosen from the royal council and twelve from the baronage. This commission was to draw up reforms and carry them out before Christmas. Parliament then adjourned, but met again at Oxford in June. To the Oxford Parliament the barons came with armed followers, and owing to the turbulence which marked their proceedings the assembly has been called the *Mad Parliament* (1258).

The Mad Parliament drew up the *Provisions of Oxford*, which set up nothing less than a new constitution for England. (1) It created a new and permanent council of fifteen to control the king, the king's officers, and the administration of the realm. (2) Three times a year this council was to confer with a committee of twelve chosen by the whole baronial body. (3) All aliens were to lose their offices, and the proper ministers were to be appointed.

Thus the barons attempted to give the king an elective council, and to place the administration under their direct control. Probably also they wished to avoid the inconvenience of attending frequent parliaments which led to no result. But the constitution thus devised contained fatal blemishes. It limited the actual authority of the king, but it was too complicated and, above all, it represented not the nation at large, but only the baronial body. The danger was that in place of an absolute monarchy an oligarchy of barons might be set up; and though the baronage had by this time lost its old turbulent character, it was still liable to be absorbed in class interests and to neglect the welfare of the nation as a whole.

Simon de Montfort.—The two leaders of the baronial party were Simon de Montfort and Richard of Clare, Earl of Gloucester. Gloucester was influential owing to his wealth and station, but he was content to use the baronial victory for the expulsion of foreigners, and was not anxious to carry out other reforms. Moreover, his views were oligarchical. Simon de Montfort, however, although a foreigner by birth, aimed at a truly national policy and wished "to make tyranny for the future impossible, whether from the side of the king or from that of the barons." But Simon was masterful and difficult to work with, and was regarded as a new-comer and a foreigner by his opponents.

Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, was the son and namesake of a famous French nobleman who had conducted a ruthless crusade

against the heretic *Albigenses* of Southern France. The younger Simon de Montfort first came to England to prosecute certain claims to the Leicester estates. He not only obtained the coveted estates, but also the hand of Henry's sister Eleanor (1238), and must, at first, have been regarded by Englishmen as a mere foreign adventurer. From 1248–1252 he was seneschal of the province of Gascony, but his strong government was distasteful to the unruly Gascon knights, who made complaints which Henry was foolish enough to countenance. Henry dismissed Simon, and henceforward the ex-governor of Gascony took a leading part in the baronial opposition in England, where he numbered among his friends Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln, and many of the mendicant friars (see p. 119).

Notwithstanding the issue of the Provisions of Oxford in 1258, England still continued in an unsatisfactory condition. It is true that the aliens were expelled, that Henry's compact with regard to the Sicilian Crown was promptly repudiated, and that peace was wisely made with France (Treaty of Paris, 1259,) whereby Henry renounced all claims over Normandy, Anjou, and Poitou, and did homage to the French king for Gascony. But domestic reforms were still delayed, and Henry sought to widen the division which existed between Gloucester and Simon de Montfort. Yet, though Simon wanted to enlist the people in the struggle against the king, and Gloucester looked only to the interests of the barons, both agreed in calling to an assembly at St. Albans three knights from every shire (1261). Henry ordered the knights to come not to St. Albans but to Windsor. Thus the conflict between the king and the barons was already leading to the growth of the principle of representation. Meanwhile Henry was negotiating with the Pope for absolution from his promises.

In 1262 Gloucester died. His son Gilbert made up the quarrel with Montfort and for a time passed completely under his influence. The schism in the baronial party was thus healed, and although Henry had received absolution from his promises from the Pope he now proceeded to ratify the Provisions of Oxford again. But no trust existed on either side. The king would evidently not submit to a nominal kingship, while the barons could not recede from their position. This state of things was bound to end in civil war.

Henry's cause had been much strengthened by the ability of his son, the Lord Edward. Edward was in favour of a certain amount

of reform, and for a time he had worked harmoniously with Montfort. He was no friend of foreign favourites, nor did he approve of his father's misgovernment, but on the other hand he did not wish to see the power of the Crown destroyed, so he soon broke with Montfort and raised up a royalist party in support of his father.

In the summer of 1263 Henry felt strong enough to repudiate the Provisions, and Montfort and his followers took up arms. For the moment a peace was patched up, and the dispute referred to the arbitration of Louis IX. of France, whose upright character had earned him the title of St. Louis. Louis' sympathies were naturally with Henry, for he believed in the necessity of bringing a feudal aristocracy into subjection. His decision was given in the *Mise of Amiens* (January 1264). (1) He annulled the Provisions of Oxford, and everything done to enforce them. The king could employ what persons he liked, and entrust castles to whom he pleased. (2) The liberties of the realm established by charter, law, or custom were not to be set aside. (3) A complete amnesty was to be granted on both sides.

The *Mise of Amiens* illustrates the danger of arbitration. Montfort and his followers were put in a false situation. If they accepted Louis' award they would have to give up everything for which they had striven. They therefore declared that they had no intention of submitting the alien question to the arbitration of the French king. They also said that the reference to arbitration was not the work of all the barons, still less of the whole community. Nor was a pledge that the king should abide by the charters of any great value. *Magna Carta* had not prevented the king from misgoverning the country in the past.

The barons therefore set aside the *Mise of Amiens* and took up arms. Victory fell to them at the battle of *Lewes* (May 14, 1264) where Henry was captured, and on the following day Edward surrendered to the victors. This victory was followed by a new settlement known as the *Mise of Lewes*, which embodied the terms of the baronial party. The king's power was transferred to a committee of nine by a Parliament held at Oxford in 1264, in which sat four knights from each shire. It was impossible, however, for the barons to counteract the deep-rooted instincts of the community and the force of tradition against them, or to hold Henry

always virtually a prisoner. The king did not lack friends, and, in France, the queen was collecting forces for him, while the Papal Legate strongly anathematised the popular leaders and their followers. Moreover, harmony began to be precarious between Leicester and the younger Gloucester. Accordingly Montfort decided to strengthen his position by appealing to the people for support. In January 1265 he summoned his famous Parliament, which included: (1) the barons and bishops; (2) two knights from each shire, and two citizens from each of the chief cities and boroughs. Representatives of shires and towns had been called to Parliament before, but never before had representatives both of the towns and shires been summoned together.

But this Parliament was "but the expedient of the moment." It was not till thirty years later that the representation of cities and boroughs in Parliament became part of the English constitution, and then it was established by Edward 1., with all the weight of the monarchy at his back, whereas Simon de Montfort was, after all, only a great party leader.

Simon de Montfort's representative Parliament achieved no great results. Before long Gloucester like his father before him, quarrelled with Montfort, and went over to the royal party. In 1265, the Lord Edward having escaped from captivity joined Gloucester, and civil war broke out anew. Gloucester had great influence among the lords of the Welsh march, which Montfort sought to counteract by an alliance with Llewelyn of Wales. The Welsh prince, however, gave Montfort no real support, but served his own ends by taking advantage of the divisions of the English to conquer territory from the lords marcher. Edward was therefore able to overthrow Montfort, and gave the first proof of his military ability by his victory at the battle of Evesham, where Montfort was slain (August 4, 1265). But Montfort did not die in vain. The most valuable part of his work, the calling of the Commons to a share in the national council, was revived in the following reign by his victorious nephew, and Edward, with all the prestige of the royal authority on his side, was able to make permanent what Montfort may have regarded as a temporary expedient mainly devised to replace the support which was slipping away from him when the powerful Gloucester and other great nobles deserted the popular cause.

Montfort was a foreigner, and at the beginning of his reign somewhat of an adventurer, but he favoured the expulsion of the aliens from power, and the popular songs of his time paint him as "Sir Simon the Righteous," and as a martyr to the cause of English freedom.

After the death of Montfort his followers held out for some time, but the struggle was ended in 1266, when Kenilworth Castle surrendered. The *Dictum de Kenilworth* both annulled the acts of Simon and acknowledged the king's obligation to keep the charters. In 1267 peace was made with Llewelyn of Wales, who, by the treaty of Shrewsbury, was allowed to keep many of his conquests.

The rest of Henry's reign passed peacefully. The old king had learnt wisdom, and Edward's influence made itself felt. By 1270 the country was quiet enough for Edward to go on crusade, and he was absent in Sicily when Henry died in November 1272.

(D) THE FRIARS.—THE UNIVERSITIES.—NATIONAL PROGRESS.

The reign of Henry III. is a dreary period of misgovernment, but it has its brighter side. In these troubled times the mendicant friars first came to England.

A friar differed from a monk in one important respect: whereas a monk shut himself off from the world in religious retirement in order to save his soul, a friar sought his own salvation by going out into the world to save others. There were two chief orders of friars, the followers of Francis of Assisi who were called Franciscans, and the followers of St. Dominic who were called Dominicans. Both orders were pledged to absolute poverty and to work amongst the poor; but whereas the Franciscans tended the bodily wants of the sick and the outcast, the Dominicans aimed at dispelling their ignorance and combating heresy. Both orders on their arrival in England soon formed settlements at Oxford, and played an important part in the development of the university. The friars produced many theological scholars and philosophers, and even men learned in science, notably Roger Bacon.

Robert Grosseteste, afterwards Bishop of Lincoln, was the Rector of the Franciscan convent at Oxford, and a faithful friend of Montfort. The friars supported the popular cause in the struggle between the

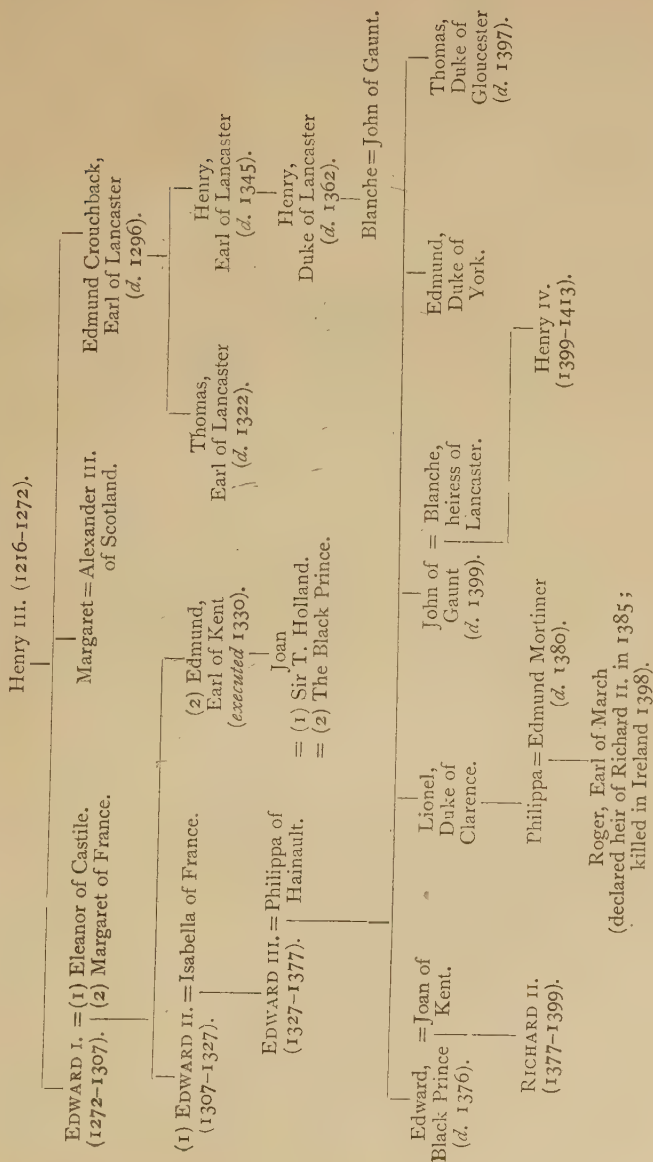
barons and the king, but some of them subsequently rose to high positions in the English Church. In the reign of Edward 1. two friars, named Robert Kilwardby and John Peckham, in turn occupied the see of Canterbury. For about fifty years the friars continued to do good work by supplementing the labours of the parish clergy among the poor, but as time went on they broke their rule of poverty, acquired riches, and gradually lost their enthusiasm.

At Oxford, where a university had arisen, probably in the twelfth century, the coming of the friars gave a great impulse to learning, and, in imitation of the friars' establishments, colleges began to be built wherein the students, who came from all parts of England, might be housed together.

Gathered from all classes of society, and many of them poor, the students came to Oxford to attend the lectures of famous teachers. Frequent fights took place between them and the townsmen, but the students gradually acquired many privileges. The subjects studied at the university were Theology, Law, Medicine, and Arts, and it took seven years for a student to become Master of Arts. At Cambridge a university had also arisen, and the friars had made settlements there; but Cambridge did not play so important a part as Oxford in the intellectual life of England until Tudor times. Thus the reign of Henry III. saw a revival both in religion and learning.

The reign is also famous for the marked development of English Gothic architecture, which is seen at its best in Salisbury Cathedral. Commerce grew, town-life increased in importance, and national sentiment increased in strength. No longer did the baronage regard themselves as members of an alien race. They rose in rebellion to resist the favour shown to foreigners, and the best men among them, like Montfort, fought for truly national objects.

THE LATER ANGEVIN KINGS (SOMETIMES CALLED PLANTAGENETS) (1272-1399).



CHIEF CONTEMPORARY RULERS.

SCOTLAND.	FRANCE.
Alexander III. (1249-1286)	Philip III. (1270-1285)
Margaret, Maid of Norway (1286-1290)	Philip IV. (the Fair) (1285-1314)
John Balliol (1292-1296)	Louis X. (1314-1316)
Robert I. (grandson of Robert	Philip V. (1316-1322)
Bruce, one of the competitors	Charles IV. (1322-1328)
for the Crown in 1292) (1306-1329)	Philip VI. (1328-1350)
David II. (Bruce) (1329-1371)	John II. (1350-1364)
Robert II. (1371-1390)	Charles V. (1364-1380)
Robert III. (1390-1406)	Charles VI. (1380-1422)

CHAPTER XVIII.

EDWARD I. (1272-1307).

TRAINED in war and politics in the troubles of his father's reign, Edward I. was the greatest of the Plantagenets, and one of the greatest of the English kings. He sought to unify Britain. He conquered Wales and attempted the conquest of Scotland. A great lawyer—"the English Justinian"—he sought unity also in law and administration and fixed the type of the later English constitution.

The first period of Edward I.'s reign was marked by (*A*) the conquest of Wales, and by (*B*) legislation. The second period of the reign began in 1290, and was marked by (*C*) war with Scotland and France. Difficulties arising from the war led to the constitutional development expressed in (*D*) the Model Parliament, and (*E*) the Confirmation of the Charters.

(*A*) THE CONQUEST OF WALES.

EDWARD I. conquered and annexed not Wales, but that part of Wales which still belonged to a native Welsh prince. Since the Norman Conquest the greater part of south and central Wales had been acquired by English barons, who were known as the lords of the Welsh March, and who held their estates in semi-independence. The turbulence of the marcher lords was a source of trouble to the English king, but before Edward I. came to the throne some of them had lost territory to the vigorous native Welsh prince—Llewelyn ap Gruffydd. This prince, in the reign of Henry III., had assisted Simon de Montfort, and, after Simon's death, had obtained very favourable terms from Henry's son, Edward, in the *Treaty of Shrewsbury* (1267). By that treaty Llewelyn agreed to pay

an indemnity, but had been suffered to keep much of the territory he had conquered. He was even allowed to keep the district between



Conway and Chester known as the Four Cantreds (Four Hundreds),—a district which Henry III. had granted to Edward. On the accession of Edward I. Llewelyn let the indemnity fall into arrears,

and repeatedly refused to do homage. Perhaps the Welsh prince was led by the Treaty of Shrewsbury to overestimate his strength, certainly his spirit of resistance was strengthened by the glorious songs of the Welsh bards; for the Welsh were a musical and poetical race, though they lacked discipline and unity. Matters were not improved in 1275, for in that year Edward detained at court Llewelyn's affianced bride, Eleanor, Simon de Montfort's daughter, who had been captured at sea. Yet it was not till 1277 that Edward took the field against the Welsh prince. Llewelyn was starved into surrender. The English army shut him up in the mountainous region around Snowdon, the English fleet cut off his retreat to Anglesea, and his brother David supported the English king. By the *Treaty of Conway* (1277) Llewelyn lost the Four Cantreds; he was compelled to do homage and to pay an indemnity. Next year he was allowed to marry Eleanor, and Edward attended the wedding.

In the Four Cantreds Edward set up the English law, not heeding the proud Welsh spirit of the inhabitants. "Are the Welsh worse than Jews?" they asked; "yet the Jews follow their own law in England." By 1282 the Four Cantreds were in revolt, and Llewelyn, assisted this time by his brother David, again took up arms and headed a national resistance to the English. The struggle was hopeless. Llewelyn was killed in a skirmish on the Wye (1282), David was captured and condemned to death by the Parliament of Shrewsbury (1283).^{*}

In 1284, by the Statute of Wales, Edward organised the territory taken from the Welsh prince. He divided it into the counties of Anglesea, Carnarvon, Merioneth, Cardigan, Carmarthen, and Flint.¹ In these counties Edward set up the English law, English judges, and the English system of local government; but, taught by the revolt of the Four Cantreds, he let the Welsh retain some of their own customs. Edward secured his conquests by a number of strong castles, such as Conway, Carnarvon, Caerphilly, and Carmarthen, and in 1301 gave the Welsh a new Prince of Wales—his son Edward of Carnarvon. Archbishop Peckham set to work to improve the Welsh Church, by building churches, training the clergy, and restoring ecclesiastical discipline.

¹ The Welsh March, however, was not divided into counties till Tudor times (1536).

(B) LEGISLATION.

Edward I. in his legislation aimed at strengthening the orderly government of the king. Taught by the troubles of his father's reign, he endeavoured to reduce to harmlessness the feudal privileges of the barons, and to counteract the feudal organisation of society. He wished to control the clergy and to impose upon them a share of the burdens of the State. He sought to improve the military and judicial administration. His legislation benefited the nation at large, but contained little that was new. Both in legislation and constitutional development Edward utilised and made clear the best ideas of the age that had just passed. "His age was an age of definition." Edward's first great statute (*Westminster the First*, 1275) illustrates this process. It restates the best clauses of Magna Carta and adds to the reforms conceded by Henry III. "It covers almost the whole field of legislation."

(a) *The barons*.—The *Statute of Gloucester*, 1278, struck at the feudal privileges of the barons. It authorised the judges to inquire by what title (*Quo Warranto*) many barons had *franchises*, i.e. held private law courts and assumed jurisdiction over certain districts. When the commissioners examined Earl Warrenne that nobleman produced a rusty sword. "My ancestors," he cried, "came over with William and won their lands with the sword,—with the same sword I will keep them." Edward did not destroy many franchises, but he took care that no new ones were created, and in course of time feudal franchises died out. Other legislation in this reign affected the barons. The importance of the great lords was diminished when Edward increased the number of knights and added to his heavy cavalry by ordering every freeholder possessing an estate of £20¹ a year to receive knighthood. (*Distraint of Knighthood*, 1278.)

Another blow was dealt to feudalism in 1290 by the *Statute of Westminster the Third*, or *Quia Emptores*, which enacted that when a man sold an estate the purchaser should hold it of the seller's lord, who, not seldom, was the king himself. The number of tenants holding land direct from the king was thus increased, and a check was placed on the feudal practice of *subinfeudation*, by which great lords had sub-let their estates to persons who became their dependants.

¹ £300 in our money.

All these reforms were destined to undermine feudalism and to reduce to the position of ordinary nobles the feudal chiefs, who possessed powers and privileges clashing with those of the central authority.

(b) *The clergy*.—The *Statute of Mortmain*, 1279, was aimed at the clergy, who owned a great part of the land. The lands of the Church escaped many of the feudal dues,—for each cathedral and monastery was a corporation. A corporation never dies—its hand is always rigid (Mortmain = dead hand); an estate, once granted to the Church, never went back to its original owner (*escheat*), and did not pay succession duties (*reliefs*). Men too gave estates to the Church and then continued to occupy them, thus escaping the full weight of feudal dues. Hence both king and nobles found their revenues diminished by grants of land to the Church. For the future such grants were forbidden without the king's licence.

In 1285 Edward confined the power of the Church courts by the writ *Circumspecte Agatis*, which limited their action to cases concerning clergymen, morals or religion, or arising out of wills or divorce. We shall see also how Edward forced the clergy to share in the financial burdens of the State.

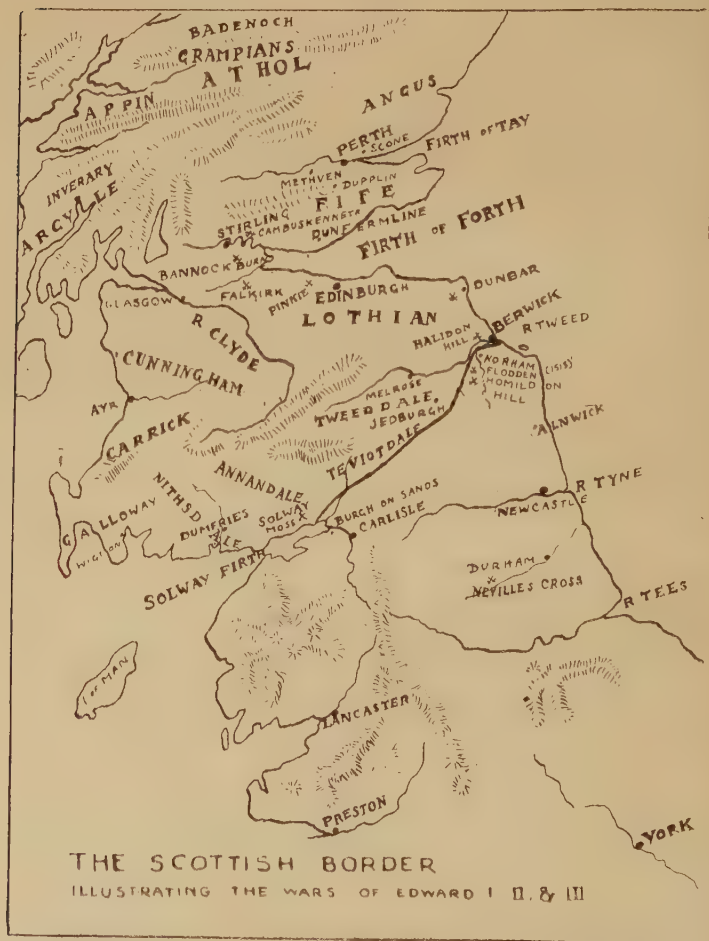
(c) *Other legislation*.—Other legislation dealt with the maintenance of order, or assisted traders to recover their debts, or re-enacted that every man should bear suitable arms (cf. Assize of Arms, 1181), or dealt with the circuits of judges, or organised the three central courts of justice, the offshoots of the Curia Regis—the Courts of King's Bench, Common Pleas, and the Exchequer.

(C) WAR WITH SCOTLAND AND FRANCE.

The year 1290 marks the beginning of the second period of Edward's reign. He had already conquered Wales; now he was gradually drawn into an attempt to conquer Scotland, and war broke out with France.

On the death of Alexander III., King of Scotland, in 1286, the Scottish throne passed to his young granddaughter—Margaret, the Maid of Norway. Edward saw the opportunity of uniting the thrones of England and Scotland under one ruler. He accordingly arranged to marry his son Edward of Carnarvon to the Scottish queen

(*Treaty of Brigham*, 1290), but on her way from Norway to Scotland Margaret died (1290).

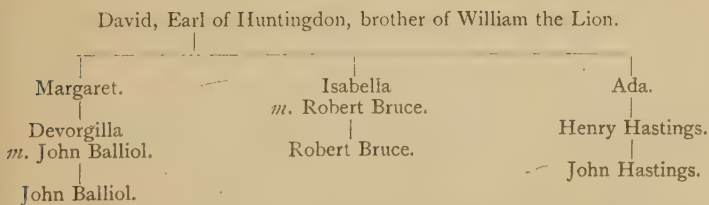


The death of the young queen produced a swarm of claimants to the Scottish Crown, and to avoid civil war their claims were referred to the arbitration of Edward. Before Edward undertook to give a

decision he required an acknowledgment from the Scottish barons and the claimants that he was overlord of Scotland.

It is difficult to decide the justice of Edward's claim to the overlordship of Scotland. As far back as 924 the King of Scots had taken the English king Edward "to father and lord," but in the course of nearly four hundred years legal and political ideas had changed, and the expression "to father and lord" did not originally imply the full feudal dependence which Edward I. now demanded. Homage had been done to different English kings by kings of Scotland, but that may have been for fiefs held in England, *e.g.* the earldom of Huntingdon. In 1174 the treaty of Falaise forced William the Lion to become the vassal of Henry II., but Richard I. sold the Scottish king his release from this homage. Whatever its merits, Edward's claim could not be decided by legal considerations only. The different elements which composed the Scottish nation—Gael, Welsh, Normans, English—were beginning to be conscious of a national unity, and Edward I.'s attacks were destined to strengthen this feeling.

His right to be overlord of Scotland, however, having been acknowledged, Edward established a court to decide between the claimants. The descent of the principal claimants is set out in the following table.



John Balliol and Robert Bruce possessed the best claims. Balliol was the grandson of the eldest daughter of David, Earl of Huntingdon; Bruce was the son of the second daughter. In those days the rules of inheritance to the Crown were doubtful. Balliol had the best claim by descent, but Bruce was a generation nearer Earl David by blood. Edward was scrupulously fair: he refused a proposal to partition Scotland, and the judges decided in favour of Balliol (*Award of Norham*, 1292), who did homage to Edward and

was crowned King of Scotland. Balliol soon found that Edward intended his overlordship to be a reality. The King of England introduced an innovation by entertaining appeals from the Scottish law courts, and summoned the King of Scotland to Westminster. Before long the Scots were in revolt (1295).

War with France.—The revolt of the Scots was assisted by Edward's difficulties in France. Philip iv. of France (Philip the Fair, 1285–1314) was anxious to destroy the great French feudal nobles—of whom the King of England was the most formidable. Edward held Gascony in the south-west of France as a vassal of the French king, and Philip determined to exercise to the utmost his rights as Edward's feudal superior, just as Edward was doing in the case of Balliol. He accordingly refused to surrender to Edward certain lands¹ which his predecessor St. Louis had ceded to Henry iii. Fighting at sea between Anglo-Gascon and French sailors enabled Philip to summon Edward to answer for the misdeeds of his subjects. Edward sent his brother Edmund to represent him at the French court, and Edmund agreed, as a matter of form, to hand over Gascony to the French king for the space of forty days. Once in possession Philip refused to give Gascony back. Edward had been tricked, and resolved on war with France (1294). In the following year the Scottish revolt broke out. At this juncture, faced by a French and a Scottish war, and also by a Welsh revolt, Edward sought the support of the nation and called the Model Parliament (1295) (see p. 132). It was but natural that the French and the Scots should conclude an alliance against their common foe—England. For three centuries this understanding continued, and whenever an English army invaded France the Scots would attack England.²

War with France and Scotland.—The Welsh revolt was crushed in 1295, the navy was reorganised, and an unsuccessful expedition was sent to recover Gascony. Edward in person marched into Scotland. He captured Berwick, and compelled the surrender of *Dunbar* (1296). Balliol gave in and was sent prisoner to England, while Edward determined to rule Scotland himself. Now that Scotland appeared to be conquered, Edward hoped to deal with Philip. Just as Philip

¹ Limoges, Cahors, and Périgueux.

² “If France you would win,
Then with Scotland first begin.”

had formed an alliance with the Scots, so Edward had formed an alliance against Philip with Guy, Count of Flanders, an insubordinate vassal of the French king. For nearly a century afterwards England and Flanders were usually in alliance against France, and the alliance was made natural by the fact that England supplied the cloth-manufacturing Flemish towns with wool. Edward's coalition against Philip also included Savoy and Aragon. The king, however, required money before he could set out for France, and his efforts to obtain it led to *difficulties with the clergy*. Edward held that the clergy should be taxed like other people, and demanded a contribution from the Church; but Archbishop Winchelsey and the clergy pleaded that they had two lords, the king and the Pope, and that they were forbidden by the bull *Clericis Laicos*, which Pope Boniface VIII. had just issued (1296), to pay money to secular princes. The king thereupon outlawed the clergy, so that any man could injure a priest with impunity. The clergy soon gave in, and by making a voluntary contribution to the expenses of the State regained its protection.

Edward also had *difficulties with the barons*. He proposed to go to Flanders himself and to send the Constable, Humphrey Bohun, Earl of Hereford, and the Marshal, Roger Bigod, Earl of Norfolk, with an army to Gascony. Both these officers refused to go, saying their duty only compelled them to follow the king in person. "By God," cried the king to the marshal, "you shall either go or hang." "By the same oath, O king," answered Norfolk, "I will neither go nor hang." Edward set out for Flanders without his chief nobles. He was soon recalled by terrible news from Scotland.

The Scottish *nobles*, many of whom had estates to lose in England, had submitted after the fall of Dunbar. Now the *people* of Scotland were up in arms. Led by *Sir William Wallace*, the Scots at the battle of Stirling Bridge, or Cambuskenneth, defeated Earl Warenne, Edward's warden of Scotland, and slew his treasurer, Cressingham, whose skin they tanned into leather for sword belts (1297).

Edward, who fortunately had made a truce with Philip, hurried to Scotland. At the battle of *Falkirk* (1298), Wallace was defeated. Lacking the support of the Scottish nobles he was deficient in cavalry, and was forced to rely on his spearmen. These he drew up in four rings or squares, placing his archers between the squares. "I have brocht you to the ring," he told his troops, "now hop (dance) gif

ye can." Edward ordered his Welsh archers to make gaps in the Scottish squares, but the Welsh would not advance, and the king won the battle by cavalry charges. Yet the victory of Falkirk did not prove decisive, for the Scottish nobles now formed a regency under John Comyn and continued the resistance. It was not till the fall of Stirling in 1304 that Scotland was again secured for Edward.

In 1299 Edward made peace with Philip and married his sister Margaret (Truce of Chartres), but four years elapsed before Philip, embarrassed by his struggle with the Flemings, gave up Gascony to Edward. By the *Treaty of Paris* (1303) Edward abandoned the Flemings, while Philip abandoned the Scots, and a marriage was arranged between Edward, Prince of Wales, and Isabella, the French king's daughter.

Edward, however, was compelled to face one more rising in Scotland. In 1306 Robert Bruce, grandson of the claimant, murdered Comyn, the nephew of Balliol, and had himself crowned king at Scone. His wife told him he would be but "a summer king," and indeed his first rising failed (1306). In 1307, however, he was active again, and Edward, while marching north to crush him, died at Burgh-on-Sands, near Carlisle. Edward had conquered the Principality and saved Gascony, but his Scottish policy was doomed to failure. The Welsh were disunited, their land and their numbers were small, and they were hemmed in between the Welsh March and the sea. The Scots, however, were in a stronger position, geographically and nationally, and Edward's policy only put an end to a long period of friendly relations with England, roused a national spirit among the Scots, and threw that nation into the arms of France.

(D) THE MODEL PARLIAMENT.

In the crisis of the year 1295, faced by a Welsh revolt and by Scottish and French wars, Edward, in sore need of money, called the famous *Model Parliament*. To this Parliament a special summons brought, as of old, the prelates, abbots, and greater barons. But now the bishops were to bring also representatives of the lower clergy—the deans and archdeacons, one proctor to represent the clergy of each cathedral and two proctors for the parish clergy of each diocese. Further, the sheriffs were to send two knights elected from each

shire, two citizens from each city, and two burgesses from each borough, who were to be chosen in the County Courts. Edward had thus summoned a Parliament representing the three *estates* or classes of the realm—the clergy, the nobility, and the commons—and had utilised the idea of representation long familiar to Englishmen in the working of the shire courts and jury system. The main business of Parliament was to grant money to the king, and as the clergy preferred to tax themselves in their own assembly—Convocation—the lower clergy soon dropped out of Parliament. From this time forward, however, a normal Parliament contained representatives of the commons. Hence the Parliament of 1295 is called the Model Parliament, for it fixed the type of future assemblies. It is supposed that the commons at first sat together with the greater lords, to whose wealth and superior political experience they bowed, but the knights and the burgesses were drawn together by their common interests. Simon de Montfort had summoned representatives of the towns and counties to his Parliament of 1265, but they had been members of his own party only. His pupil Edward I. could appeal to the whole nation with the whole weight of the royal authority. “What toucheth *all* should be looked to and agreed upon by *all*, and common dangers should be met by measures agreed upon in common,” wrote Edward. In the time of trouble Edward took his people into partnership with him.

(E) THE CONFIRMATION OF THE CHARTERS.

The people proved no “passive partners.” Strong king as he was, Edward found that he must make concessions to the national feeling he had himself nursed. 1297 was a critical year. Edward had outlawed the clergy till they furnished him with supplies; and the barons, represented by the Marshal and Constable, had refused military service in Gascony. Edward had seized the wool of the merchants, which he only restored on being paid a heavy tax (*maletot*), and had levied forced provisions for his army. Then the king set out for Flanders, “putting himself in jeopardy” for his people, and promising to restore on his return what he had been forced to take.

In the king's absence the Marshal and the Constable marched on London, and forced Prince Edward, who was acting as regent, to

agree to the *Confirmation of the Charters*, a document which not only confirmed the old charters, but stated that Edward's recent exactions should not be made a precedent. The king was only to levy the old customary taxes. *For any new tax the consent of Parliament was necessary.* Edward signed the document at Ghent (November 5, 1297).

(F) CHARACTER OF EDWARD.

Edward looked, as indeed he was, a great king. Tall, big, and strong, he delighted in riding, the tournament, and the chase. He would ride down a stag and slay it with his sword. He was brave as a lion. He went into the battle of Falkirk suffering from two broken ribs. At Stirling his horse was slain by a bolt. "A thousand shall fall at my side and ten thousand at my right hand, but it shall not come nigh me," cried Edward, and would not withdraw from danger. His family life was pure, his religious zeal strong; he wished, had he lived, to lead a Crusade to the Holy Land, and there his heart was to be buried. He did not always "keep troth"; for he had a lawyer's mind, and sometimes observed his word only in a legal sense. But he curbed his passionate Plantagenet temper, and directed his energy for his country's welfare.

NOTE ON THE EXPULSION OF THE JEWS.

In 1290 Edward I. expelled the Jews, who were very unpopular owing to (1) their privileges (see p. 101), (2) their religion, (3) their foreign extraction, (4) the usury they exacted for loans of money, *e.g.* to Crusaders. Many Jews had come to England at the Norman Conquest. They had often supplied the English king with money, and enjoyed, in return, his protection and their special privileges. The clergy made the king a special grant in return for his expulsion of the Jews, but the king's position was financially weakened for a time. Henceforward the king applied to Italian bankers for loans of money.

CHAPTER XIX.

EDWARD II. (1307-1327).

RETROGRESSION marks the reign of Edward II. The king's weak will plunged the country into misgovernment and misery, and led him to rely on favourites. His reign can almost be summed up in the tragic history of his favourites. (*A*) The magnates revolted against his first favourite, Piers Gaveston, and, before consulting the Commons, placed the government in the hands of the Lords Ordainers. (*B*) The battle of Bannockburn made apparent the loss of Scotland, and (*C*) the revolt of the nation against Edward's later favourites, the Despensers, caused the king's downfall, and enabled Parliament to declare its power to depose as well as elect kings.

(*A*) PIERS GAVESTON AND THE LORDS ORDAINERS.

PIERS GAVESTON was a Gascon knight and the king's foster-brother. Banished by Edward I., he was at once recalled on the accession of the new king, who made his "idol" his "brother Piers," Earl of Cornwall, and gave him his niece—the sister of the Earl of Gloucester—in marriage. When Edward II. crossed to France to fetch his bride Isabella, daughter of Philip the Fair, he made Gaveston regent, and on his return neglected his bride for his favourite. Gaveston possessed courage and a reckless talent, but he was a foreign upstart. The magnates resented his position near the king, which of right belonged to them; they hated being beaten by him in tournament; they hated being referred to Piers when they sought a favour of the king. Their dignity was hurt when Gaveston's lively Gascon tongue fastened nicknames on

them. Thomas of Lancaster was "the old pig" or "the mummer"; the Earl of Pembroke, "Joseph the Jew"; his brother-in-law, the Earl of Gloucester, was "the cuckoo"; and Guy of Warwick, "the black dog of Arden." Gaveston was destined to feel the black dog's teeth.

Under the weak king and the reckless favourite the country was hopelessly misgoverned, and before long the barons, headed by Thomas of Lancaster, took upon themselves to avenge their own wrongs on the plea of ending bad government and favouritism. Gaveston had already been banished and recalled from banishment when, in 1310, Edward was forced to surrender the royal power to the *Lords Ordainers*, a committee of twenty-one prelates and barons. This committee was to make ordinances for the reformation of the government. In their work of reform the barons, like the barons in 1258, acted alone, holding that they represented the nation. Unlike Earl Simon and Edward I., they did not call the Commons into partnership; they aimed at establishing a limited monarchy, controlled not by Parliament but by the magnates. The Ordainers, however, published their decrees in a full Parliament (1311). They dealt with the privileges of the Church, the observance of the charters, and irregular taxation. They demanded annual parliaments and the reform of justice. They forbade the king to levy war or choose ministers, even in Gascony, without the consent of the barons. Moreover, Gaveston was to be banished for all time as "a public enemy of the king and kingdom." To their demands Edward could not well refuse his assent, but in 1312 he restored his friend to his estates. Thereupon the barons besieged Gaveston in Scarborough Castle. Gaveston surrendered on conditions, but Warwick secured his person and ignored the pledges of his captors; the "black dog of Arden," having "the wolf by the ears," would not let him go "to hunt him again." Gaveston was brutally beheaded at Blacklow Hill near Warwick (June 1312). His death was avenged in time by that of the leader of the barons, Earl Thomas of Lancaster.

Earl Thomas of Lancaster, in spite of his incapacity, was marked out by his rank and possessions as leader of the barons. First cousin of the king, for he was the son of Edward I.'s brother Edmund, Lancaster by 1311 held no less than five earldoms—

Lancaster, Leicester, Derby, Lincoln, and Salisbury. But he was destitute of political ability, fitter to lead in opposition than to construct a policy when in power. Moreover, he was lacking in patriotism. In the campaign of 1314 against the Scots, Lancaster took no part.

(B) THE BATTLE OF BANNOCKBURN (1314).

On the death of his father, the feeble Edward II. had abandoned the Scottish campaign, and, while the king had been quarrelling with the barons, Bruce had made himself master of Scotland. Even the Scottish nobles, who had been jealous of Bruce (a mere Earl of Carrick) and had sworn allegiance to Edward II., now joined the national party. By 1314 Stirling Castle alone was left to the English. Edward raised a huge army for its relief, and, unfortunately (for he was an utterly incompetent general), led it in person. At the battle of *Bannockburn*, Bruce drew up his forces in three squares protected by marshy ground and by artificial pits from the full force of cavalry charges. The English archers began the attack, but were routed by a flank charge of Scottish cavalry. Then the English cavalry advanced to the charge in three "battles." But the days of unsupported cavalry charges—the favourite tactics since Hastings—had passed. The first English "battle" was broken by the pits and hurled back by the enemy's pikemen. The second "battle" was not able to reach the foe. The English, including the king, took to flight. Scotland was utterly lost.

Edward Bruce, brother of Robert Bruce, attempted to establish himself as King of Ireland. He was slain at Dundalk in 1318; but henceforward, until the time of the Tudors, Ireland was quite out of hand.

(C) THE DESPENSERS AND THE DOWNFALL OF EDWARD II.

The catastrophe at Bannockburn rendered the incapable Lancaster more powerful than ever. Yet he did nothing to check the raids of the Scots, and the Ordainers were as inefficient as Edward. Meanwhile the king had found new favourites—the two

greedy and self-seeking Despensers, father and son. The father of the elder Despenser was Simon de Montfort's chancellor. The Despensers were neither adventurers nor foreigners, and for that the barons hated them the more, and in 1321 procured their banishment¹ by Parliament. Then followed a sudden change. The king, deprived of his friends, roused himself and took up arms. Lancaster was defeated and captured by Sir Andrew Harclay at Boroughbridge in Yorkshire. He was beheaded as a rebel and a traitor, being the first prince of the blood since the Norman Conquest to suffer execution.

The Despensers now ruled England. They saw the mistake the Ordainers had made in neglecting the Commons. In 1322 the Parliament of York revoked the ordinances, because they had been originally made before Parliament was consulted. Henceforward all laws were to be made in Parliament "by our lord the king," and by the consent of the clergy, earls, and barons and "the *commalty* of the realm." The Commons had asserted their claim to a share in legislation. The squabbles of the king with the barons had increased their power. They were soon to take part in a king's deposition.

The overthrow of Edward II. was brought about largely by his wife. Queen Isabella hated the Despensers. They estranged her husband, set spies over her, and humiliated the "she-wolf of France." The king even put her on an allowance of a pound a day. In 1325, however, Edward allowed the queen to take her son, Edward, to do homage for Aquitaine to her brother Charles IV.—the new French king. In France she fell in with Roger Mortimer, an exiled supporter of Lancaster. Isabella and Mortimer formed an unholy alliance, and, assisted by the Count of Hainault, to whose daughter Isabella betrothed her son, they raised troops and landed in England. As avengers of Lancaster and enemies of the Despensers they met with much support. Edward took to flight, the Despensers were hanged, and in 1327 a Parliament summoned by the young Edward declared the king unfit to govern. Edward II. resigned in favour of his son (January 1327).

Meantime the King of France took advantage of these troubles to get possession of a great part of Gascony.

¹ The younger Despenser turned pirate in the Channel.

(D) CHARACTER OF EDWARD.

Edward's incompetence lost him the throne. Though his will was weak and his idleness great, he inherited his father's athletic frame, which he decked in fine clothes; for, like many knights of his time, he was a fop. "Lions in hall are they now, and hares in the field." He was fond of music and plays, and devoted to his dogs, to horses, and to rowing. His constitution, indeed, was too strong to be crushed in captivity by the devices of his tormentors. It was by the foulest of murders that he was at last done to death under Mortimer's orders, in Berkeley Castle, Gloucestershire (September 1327). His piteous death perhaps obscured his faults, for men went on pilgrimage to his beautiful tomb in Gloucester Cathedral.

CHAPTER XX.

EDWARD III. (1327-1377).

THE reign of Edward III. cannot be said to have begun before (*A*) the overthrow of Isabella and Mortimer. Then followed (*B*) the outbreak of the Hundred Years' War. The war was checked for a time by the (*C*) Black Death, which had important economic results; but it probably assisted (*D*) English trade, which made great progress in this reign. The war also helped to produce (*E*) important constitutional changes which increased the power of the Commons; it accentuated (*F*) the growing dissatisfaction with the Church and (*G*) strengthened national feeling.

(*A*) THE OVERTHROW OF ISABELLA AND MORTIMER.

EDWARD ascended the throne at the age of fifteen, and from 1327 to 1330 Isabella and the worthless Mortimer really controlled the government. In their dealings with foreign powers they recognised unpopular but accomplished facts. Thus, in 1327, by the Treaty of Paris, they made peace with Charles IV. of France on condition that he restored some portion of Gascony, which he had seized during the closing years of Edward II.'s reign. The "shameful" *Treaty of Northampton*, in 1328, recognised Robert Bruce as King of Scotland, and arranged a marriage between Robert's son David and Joan, the young sister of Edward III. Mortimer behaved like a "May-Day king." He enriched himself with the Despencers' estates. He sought to acquire supreme influence in the Welsh March, and obtained the new title of Earl of March. He even procured the execution of the king's uncle, the Earl of Kent; but in 1330, Edward, influenced by Henry of Lancaster, the brother

and heir of Thomas of Lancaster, entered Nottingham Castle by a secret passage and seized and hanged Mortimer. Isabella was forced to spend the rest of her life "in honourable retirement."

(B) THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR.

Edward III. was the "mirror of chivalry." Himself a famous knight who would go disguised into a tournament in order to fight without advantage, he lived in an age when true knights yearned to do a deed of arms to win fame or a lady's love. Chivalry indeed ruled Europe, with its fair ideals of respect to women, of courtesy and good faith among all men of knightly rank. The classes outside its pale chivalry despised, yet these inferior classes were destined to give the system its deathblow. But practical considerations led Edward to gratify the knightly love of fighting by embarking on the great war with France. The war which broke out in 1338 fills the greater part of Edward's reign, and, though there followed a period of peace (1375-1415), yet peace was precarious and ill-observed, and ended in the great final struggle (1415-1453).

As in Edward I.'s time, the trouble which led to the Hundred Years' War arose out of the French king's determination to expel the English king from French soil, and the English king's determination to be overlord of Scotland. It was Edward's interference in Scottish affairs that gave the French king his opportunity.

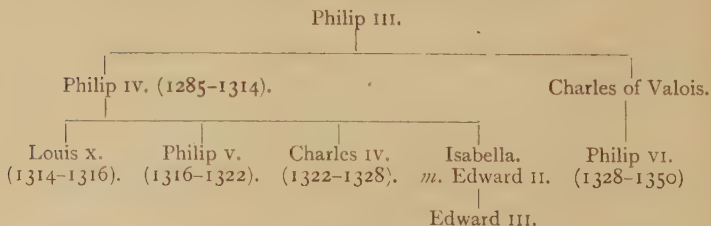
Scottish war.—On the death of Robert Bruce in 1329 the Scottish throne fell to a minor—David Bruce, son of Robert Bruce and brother-in-law of Edward. But Edward Balliol, son of the deposed King John, wrested the throne from David by the victory of his followers, the *Disinherited*,¹ at *Dupplin Moor*, 1332. Seeking English support, Balliol agreed to recognise Edward III. as overlord of Scotland, and to cede Berwick (Treaty of Roxburgh). In a few months, however, Edward Balliol was a fugitive in England, and Edward III. won the first of his magnificent victories at *Halidon Hill* and captured *Berwick* (1333) in the process of restoring Balliol to his throne. It was all to no purpose. Like his grandfather, Edward I., the English king treated the Scottish king as a puppet and underrated the national spirit of independence. Balliol was again

¹ Barons who had lost their estates when Robert Bruce became king.

driven from Scotland; in 1336 the French king invaded Gascony, and by 1341 King David Bruce had returned from his refuge in France.

French war.—Philip vi. of France had harboured David of Scotland and assisted the Scots, but this was not the only cause of quarrel. The French king was determined to drive the English out of Gascony. French and English sailors were fighting at sea, and Edward and Philip had fallen out over Flanders. The French king was supporting a Count of Flanders, who was at strife with his subjects and who was seeking to ruin English trade with the Flemings. At that time the cloth-manufacturing towns of Flanders, Bruges, Ghent, and Ypres formed a market for the raw wool of England. The Count of Flanders was a vassal of the French Crown, but the wealthy Flemish cities defied his authority and, when the count turned to the French king for support, the Flemish cities, under the guidance of James van Artevelde, the wealthy brewer of Ghent, entered into alliance with Edward. Thus there were three main causes of the outbreak of the Hundred Years' War: (1) Gascony, (2) Scotland, (3) trade with Flanders. The war was partly a war for trade, though it developed into a fight for a throne. It was not till 1340 that Edward took the title of King of France, and Edward's claim to the French Crown was not a main cause of the war. War had always been inevitable, if the English king was not prepared to surrender Gascony.

EDWARD'S CLAIM TO THE FRENCH THRONE.



Three brothers of Edward iii.'s mother Isabella occupied the French throne in succession, and the last of them, Charles iv., like his brothers, died without male heirs (1328). Isabella thereupon

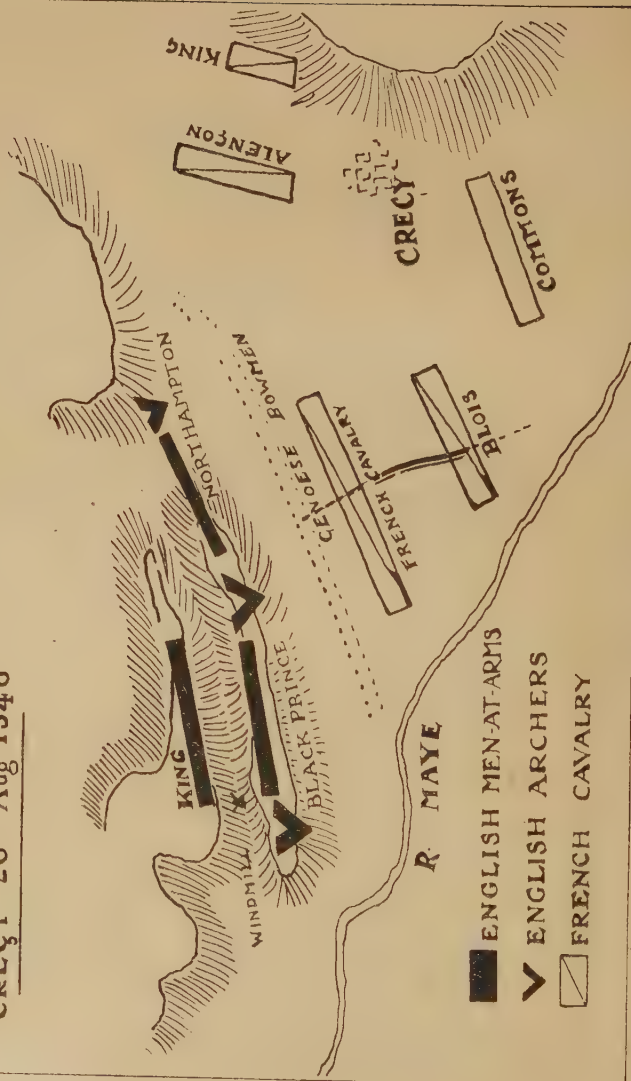
had asserted her son's right to the French Crown. Precedent excluded women from the French throne, but Isabella held that she could pass her claim on to her son. Edward was the nephew of Charles iv., and therefore nearer to him by blood than Philip of Valois, who was only his cousin (cf. Award of Norham). The legal ideas of the time rendered Edward's claim plausible, but Frenchmen preferred to be ruled by a French prince. Philip of Valois became Philip vi. of France, and in 1329 Edward had done homage to him for Aquitaine. When Edward, in 1340, assumed the title of King of France he did so partly to please the Flemings, who could then claim to be following their rightful king.

First stage of the war.—The early years of the war (1338-1340) were marked by Edward's alliances with Lewis the Emperor and certain princes of the Netherlands, e.g. his brother-in-law the Count of Hainault, and by unsuccessful attempts to invade France from the north-east. It was not till the year 1340 that the English won their first great victory. In that year a fierce sea fight at *Sluys*—they fought “from noon to the hour of prime next day”—gave the English the command of the Channel. Another great victory in 1346 showed the English supremacy on land. Master of the Channel, Edward suddenly decided to land at La Hogue in Normandy. Burning and plundering, he crossed through Normandy, reached the Seine, and advanced almost as far as Paris. Crossing the Seine, he struck northwards, forded the Somme at Blanchetaque, near its mouth, and drew up his forces on the crest of a hill in his own territory of Ponthieu¹—at *Crécy* (August 26, 1346). In the ensuing battle the English applied the lessons learnt in the Scottish wars. The men-at-arms were drawn up on foot in three divisions—two bodies in front and one body in reserve. The English archers formed wings to each body of men-at-arms. Below the English position there lay a valley. Late in the afternoon the French, who outnumbered the English by three to one, but who were weary with marching, appeared on the crest of the opposite hill. Despising the foe, they decided to fight at once.

The evening sun shone full in the faces of the hired Genoese archers whom the French told off to open the attack. Their bow-strings were wet, and their crossbows did not carry as far as the

¹ Ponthieu—part of the dowry of Edward i.'s wife, Eleanor of Castile.

CREÇY 26th Aug 1346



English long-bows. Beaten back by the English archers, the Genoese impeded the first cavalry charge of the French. But no cavalry charges availed against the fast and deadly English arrows, which fell "like flakes of snow." The proud French knights were completely routed by the English archers and by men-at-arms fighting on foot. In this battle at Crécy the king's eldest son Edward the "Black Prince" "won his spurs." The king had remained with the reserve that day, placing the Prince of Wales in charge of the right wing.

The French war was intertwined with the Scottish war. In the year of Crécy David Bruce invaded England, but Queen Philippa collected an army, and David was defeated and captured at *Neville's Cross* (October 1346).

From Crécy Edward marched to besiege *Calais*. After a heroic defence, which lasted nearly a year, the town surrendered (August 1347). Till the loss of Calais in 1558 the English were entrenched on both sides of the Straits of Dover. Calais became an English port, serving the English both as a gateway into France and as a centre of foreign commerce.

In 1347 Edward concluded a truce with France, but fighting still went on, and in 1350 the English won a naval victory off Winchelsea (*Espagnols sur mer*), this time over the fleet of the King of Castile, who was friendly to France. Serious operations, however, were hindered by a plague known as the Black Death, which first broke out in 1348.

In the *second stage of the war* the chief fighting took place in the south of France. Setting out from Bordeaux, the Black Prince in 1355 led a plundering raid to the shores of the Mediterranean. In the following year he turned northwards, advanced to the Loire, and then began to retire with his booty. At *Poitiers* he found his retreat barred by the French king John, whose father, Philip vi. had died in 1350. Once more the English faced fearful odds, once more the feudal forces of the French were beaten. The English again were drawn up on a hill. Their left was protected by the marshes of a stream, their rear by a wood. Across the front of their position ran a hedge, which was lined with English archers. The hedge was pierced by a narrow lane, along which some French cavalry charged to open the fight, only to be driven back

by the English archers shooting from the shelter of the hedge. Then the four main lines of the French attacked in turn. The lesson of Crécy had been partly learnt, for this time the French knights fought on foot. But their armour was heavy and tired them as they toiled forward. Fighting desperately, the English archers and men-at-arms beat back the French knights, and a flank attack by the Captal de Buch finished the fight. Poitiers was an overwhelming English victory. John of France was made prisoner, and for a time the French fighting power was broken. In 1360 Edward III. even besieged Paris. In the same year the *Treaty of Bretigny* closed the second stage of the war. Edward renounced his claim to the French Crown, but received Calais and Ponthieu in the north and the whole of Aquitaine in the south, no longer as a vassal but in full sovereignty. Edward had won a quarter of France.

Causes of English success.—The success of the English had been due to various causes. It was partly due to the leadership of Edward and his son the Black Prince, but it was even more due to the English command of the sea, and to the superiority of the English military system. The French armies were of the old feudal type, in which the knights despised the services of the common soldier and the archers were mercenaries; but in the English armies, knights, archers, and light-armed troops worked together on the field of battle. The English armies were voluntarily enlisted, the soldiers were picked men serving for good wages—an archer received sixpence¹ a day, a man-at-arms more. The English long-bow was a terrible weapon; and the English archers, trained since boyhood on the village greens, were then the best in the world.

The territories in the south of France ceded to the English by the Treaty of Bretigny were governed by the Black Prince, whom Edward created Prince of Aquitaine. But in the eyes of the people of Aquitaine the English king and his son were foreigners. "We will accept the English with our lips, but never with our hearts," said the notables of La Rochelle. The King of France "hands us over like orphans to the hands of the stranger," cried the consuls of Cahors. France, however, for the moment was powerless. Disbanded soldiers formed themselves into "free companies" and ravaged the land. The French king was a prisoner in England.

¹ Equal to seven shillings and sixpence in our money.

The death of the captive King John in 1364 gave the French throne to his son Charles v. The new king adopted new military tactics. He relied on soldiers of fortune, like Bertrand du Guesclin, rather than on the feudal chiefs, and, waging desultory war, avoided pitched battles with the English. He soon found an opportunity of ending the peace.

Third stage of the French war.—Pedro the Cruel, King of Castile, had been expelled from his throne by his half-brother, Henry of Trastamara, who received French aid. Pedro thereupon sought help from the chivalrous Black Prince, who led an army into Spain, won a great victory at *Navarette* (Nájera) in 1367, and restored the tyrant to his throne. In the campaign, however, the health of the Black Prince was ruined. He lost many men and his expenses remained unpaid by Pedro, who was again driven from his throne by Henry of Trastamara in 1368. To meet his expenses the Black Prince imposed a hearth-tax on his French subjects, who thereupon appealed to Charles v. for help. The French king, ignoring the Treaty of Bretigny, summoned the Black Prince to Paris to answer for his conduct. "I will come," replied the Prince,—"but with sixty thousand men at my back."

Now followed the period of English disaster (1369-1377). Ruined in health, the Black Prince was soon compelled to return to England, not before he had sullied his name by a cruel massacre of the men of Limoges (1370). In 1372 the Spaniards revenged the victory of Navarette by defeating the English off Rochelle, and Edward lost command of the sea. John of Gaunt, brother of the Black Prince, led a fruitless expedition across France from Calais to Bordeaux in 1373, but the enemy avoided pitched battles. By 1374 almost all the English possessions in France were lost except Calais, and the districts round Bordeaux and Bayonne. Edward III.'s possessions in France were smaller at the end of his reign than at its opening.

Causes of English failure.—The peace of Bretigny could not last, for England was not strong enough to hold down France. The English armies were costly to maintain, and even the English victories, in one sense, assisted the French, for they humbled the French feudal nobles, who were an obstacle to true patriotic feeling. As the English conquests extended, the cost of maintaining

garrisons in the conquered districts became great, and garrison duty diminished the number of men in the field. Moreover, the inhabitants of the districts annexed were hostile to the English, and, as the war went on, the French remodelled their armies and avoided pitched battles, in which the English excelled.

(C) THE BLACK DEATH (1348-1349).•

After the capture of Calais in 1347 Edward III., in need of money and repose, made a truce with France. This truce was followed, in 1348, by the first appearance in England of the Black Death, which prevented serious military operations for a time. The Black Death, originating in China and first heard of in Europe in the Crimea (1346-1347), entered England through Dorsetshire in 1348. In one year this terrible pestilence swept away from one-third to one-half of the population. The eastern counties, where the industrial population was then thickest, suffered most severely. Norwich, formerly the second city in the kingdom, sank to the position of sixth. Two-thirds of the parish clergy of Norfolk died. Indeed, the Black Death affected the position of the clergy and perhaps assisted the rise of the Lollards, whose founder Wycliffe lived in this and the following reigns. Possibly the visitation sowed doubt and mistrust in men's minds; certainly it lowered the intellectual standard of the clergy, whose ranks had to be filled up by men of inferior education.

The social and economic results of the Black Death were of immense importance. The pestilence was "the great watershed of English economic history." For some time past lords of manors had been commuting forced services for money. Men, who formerly paid for their land by so many days' work on their lord's estate, had been allowed to give money instead of labour. With this money the landlord hired labourers, whose work was probably better than the grudgingly-given forced labour which it displaced. But the scarcity of labour resulting from the Black Death caused the labourers to demand higher wages. Parliament in vain tried to check this demand by the *Statute of Labourers* (1349), which practically forbade landlords to give or labourers to demand wages higher than those formerly paid. Landlords, however, sometimes paid more than the

legal rate rather than let their crops rot; labourers refused to work at all at the old rates. But the general result of the Black Death was that landlords attempted to enforce all those old claims to services which the manorial records contained, and in the next reign this was one of the causes of the Peasants' Revolt, the results of which must be considered as, in part, the results of the Black Death.

Another result of the Black Death was the conversion of much tilled land into pasture land. A sheep farm required fewer hands than a tilled farm, and English wool commanded a ready sale. For more than a century we find complaints that sheep have taken the place of men in England. Indeed, after the outbreak of the Black Death, England was not so populous again till the time of Elizabeth.

(D) PROGRESS OF ENGLISH TRADE.

Edward III. has been called the "father of English commerce." Like Edward I. he was anxious to extend foreign trade, which at his accession was practically confined to a trade in wine with Gascony and a trade in wool with Flanders. The woollen trade with Flanders was an important cause of the Hundred Years' War. The capture of Calais benefited English trade by rendering English shipping in the Channel more secure. Under the patronage of the king and his queen, Philippa of Hainault, Flemish weavers settled in England, and the English began to learn the art of weaving finer cloth. But Edward III.'s most important commercial regulation was the *Ordinance of the Staple*¹ (1353), which enacted that wool should only be sold for export under definite supervision and in certain ports (or in towns having easy access to ports), such as Newcastle, York, Norwich, London, Bristol, Carmarthen, and Dublin. Ten years later the Staple was removed to Calais. This ordinance ensured the better collection of customs, and the maintenance of the quality of the goods sold, while it brought the merchants of the Staple under the direct control of Parliament. Formerly the king had obtained money by making his own bargains with the merchants. It tended to the growth of English liberty that the king should bargain only with Parliament.

¹ Staple=scaffold on which goods were sold,

(E) IMPORTANT CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES.

Parliament increased in power by supplying the necessities of the king. Thus, in 1340, before the battle of Sluys, when the first enthusiasm for the French war had worn away and no great victory had yet been won, the king agreed that "no charge or aid should henceforth be made" without the consent of Parliament. Parliament thus claimed the control over direct taxation. In 1362 Parliament also attempted to control indirect taxation by asserting that no tax should be set on wool except by itself, and, in 1373, it formally granted the king *Tunnage and Poundage*, i.e. the duties imposed on every tun of wine and every pound of merchandise. Previously these duties had been arranged with the merchants by the king himself. Theoretically Parliament thus gained fairly complete control over taxation, and the Commons played a leading part in obtaining that control. It is in this reign that the Commons are first recorded to have deliberated apart from the peers (1332). In this reign also we find the first instance of a conference between the two Houses. We even find the king consulting the Commons on questions of foreign policy. Thus in 1348 the Commons refused to give advice on the conduct of the war, "as being so ignorant and simple." In 1376 Parliament forged a new weapon wherewith to check the wrongdoing of the king's ministers—*impeachment*.

The latter years of Edward III.'s reign were marked not only by ill-success in France, but by ignominy at home. The king had sunk into his dotage, and was ruled by a favourite named Alice Perrers; the Black Prince was broken in health; and his brother, John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, who had married Blanche, the heiress of Henry of Lancaster, was seeking the chief control of the State, and was thought to be aiming at the succession to the Crown. Under these circumstances the *Good Parliament* met in 1376. Supported by the Black Prince, this Parliament impeached the royal ministers, i.e. the Commons accused them, and the House of Lords acted as judges. Two of the most corrupt ministers, Latimer and Lyons, were imprisoned for misusing public money, and Alice Perrers was banished from court. Thus the responsibility of the king's ministers to Parliament was asserted. The death of the Black Prince in 1377 weakened this Parliament. When it

separated, John of Gaunt imprisoned the *speaker* of the Commons, Sir Peter de la Mare, released Latimer and Lyons, and recalled Alice Perrers to court.

The Statute of Treason was passed in 1352. It declared treason to consist in compassing the death or disgrace of any member of the royal family, in counterfeiting the great seal or the coinage, or in slaying the great ministers "being in their place doing their offices."

(F) THE CHURCH.

The French war affected ecclesiastical affairs as well as commercial and constitutional progress. From 1305 to 1376 the Popes for the most part resided, not at Rome, but at Avignon. During this period, which is known as the *Babylonish Captivity*, some of the Popes were bad men; in any case, they were thought to be under the influence of England's enemy—the French king. Accordingly, in 1366, Parliament repudiated the tribute¹ which John had agreed to pay to the Pope. "The King of England," Parliament stated, "was subject to no earthly jurisdiction whatever."

The interference of the Pope in England was dealt with by the Statute of Provisors, 1351, and the Statute of Præmunire, 1353. The Statute of Provisors attempted to prevent the Pope filling up English benefices with his foreign nominees—by providing a successor to the benefice during the lifetime of an incumbent. The Statute of Præmunire admonished men in an indirect manner that they would incur forfeiture of their goods by carrying appeals from the Church courts to Rome. These anti-papal statutes were frequently re-enacted but were not strictly carried out.

It was significant that the clergy as well as the Pope were losing influence in England. The clergy were no longer the only educated class. Thus in 1371 we find the king's clerical ministers displaced by laymen. Among the clerical ministers removed was William of Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester, the founder of Winchester School and of New College, Oxford. John of Gaunt was the leader of an anti-clerical party. He sought only to plunder the clergy, but managed to make a tool of *John Wycliffe*—a famous Oxford scholar who had been selected to argue against paying tribute

¹ It had not been paid since 1333.

to the Pope, and who held that endowments were a hindrance to the Church, and that if the clergy misused their property the king had a right to deprive them of it. In February 1377 Wycliffe was summoned to St. Paul's to answer before the bishops a charge of erroneous teaching. The court broke up in an unseemly brawl between Wycliffe's protector, John of Gaunt, and Bishop Courtenay of London. The citizens of London showed their regard for their bishop by plundering John of Gaunt's palace in the Savoy.

(G) NATIONAL FEELING.

In June 1377 Edward III. died. The success of the first part of his reign was due to the king's wonderful activity rather than to his ability. When his animal vigour decayed disgrace overtook the king and the realm. A typical knight, Edward loved the tournament and the battle-field. His wars indirectly produced certain permanently good results. Political and religious liberty advanced, and the growth of national consciousness was accompanied by the rise of a national literature. Langland's *Piers the Plowman* was published in this reign. The next reign was marked by the English works of Wycliffe and Chaucer. English was also substituted for French as the language of the law courts.

CHAPTER XXI.

RICHARD II. (1377-1399).

A CHRONICLER present at the coronation of Richard II. compares the attractive fair-haired boy of ten to Absalom, and, like Absalom, Richard was doomed to misfortune by his own waywardness. The reign of the son of the Black Prince was marked by difficulties, and ended in the deposition of the king and a grave constitutional revolution. During the minority of Richard, (*A*) John of Gaunt proved loyal to the Crown, but difficulties arose from the teaching of Wycliffe and from (*B*) the Peasants' Revolt. Later on (*C*) the barons attacked Richard's advisers, Michael de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, and Robert de Vere, Earl of Oxford, and coerced the king by means of the Lords Appellant and the Merciless Parliament. Then followed (*D*) the period of Richard's government, at first peaceful, but later tyrannical, which ended in the king's overthrow by his cousin, Henry of Bolingbroke, son of John of Gaunt. This inglorious reign saw the birth of modern English literature.

(*A*) JOHN OF GAUNT.—WYCLIFFE.

(*a*) *JOHN OF GAUNT*.—The fear that John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, would seize the throne on the death of Edward III. proved to be unfounded. Lancaster was true to the knightly ideals of his age and, notwithstanding his arrogance, did not aim at usurpation. The accession of his nephew brought his own open domination to an end. He was excluded from the royal Council, in which, however, some of his followers had places, and was reconciled to William of Wykeham. Peter de la Mare was

released from prison and elected speaker of Richard's first Parliament (October 1377). This Parliament, remembering John of Gaunt's treatment of the Good Parliament, claimed that "no act made in Parliament should be repealed save by the consent of Parliament." This body also claimed, and for a time exercised, the right of appointing the king's chief ministers, and, when money was voted for the French war, which was renewed in 1377, Parliament appointed two London merchants, Walworth and Philpot, to superintend its expenditure. Parliament therefore had for a time established control over the chief ministers and asserted a claim to appropriate supplies. It claimed also to reform the Council. Accordingly, some of Lancaster's followers were dismissed from that body, and Lancaster himself retired to his estates, and for some time took little part in public affairs. Richard's mother, the Princess of Wales, probably exercised much influence. She was on the side of moderate counsels, and was favourably disposed towards the reformer—John Wycliffe.

(b) *John Wycliffe*.—Towards the close of the reign of Edward III., John Wycliffe, the famous Oxford scholar, had vigorously attacked Church endowments. In the reign of Richard II., Wycliffe's views advanced, and he proceeded to attack not only the organisation but also the doctrine of the Church.

In the year 1377, Pope Gregory XI. returned from Avignon to Rome, and the "Babylonish Captivity" came to an end. But, in the following year, Gregory XI. died. His successor, Urban VI., was an Italian. The French cardinals thereupon elected a Pope of their own, a Frenchman, Clement VII., who returned to Avignon and thus brought about the "Great Schism." For nearly forty years the allegiance of Europe was divided between two Popes. France and Scotland supported the French Pope; England and the north of Europe (Flanders, Germany, etc.) supported the Italian Pope (1378–1417).

The year of schism (1378) was a turning-point in Wycliffe's career. Even before the schism Wycliffe had been a critic of the Papacy, now, when the Papacy was degraded, Wycliffe became its declared opponent, and even assailed the priestly as well as the papal power. In 1380 he publicly denied the doctrine of transubstantiation, *i.e.* he denied that the bread and wine in the

Holy Communion suffered any material change after consecration. Wycliffe, however, believed in the real presence of the body and blood of Christ in the sacrament. The Western Church had accepted the doctrine of transubstantiation for centuries, and Wycliffe's heresy lost him the support of many of his powerful friends. John of Gaunt told some of Wycliffe's followers that "they were no better than men possessed, their views on the sacrament were detestable, and he would have nothing more to do with their cause."

Two other events are associated with the name of Wycliffe,—one, the translation of the Bible into English; the other, the sending out of his "poor preachers." Wycliffe wrote many tracts in the English tongue, and, with the help of his followers, translated the Latin version of the Bible (the Vulgate) into English. In doing this Wycliffe followed the tendency of the age. English literature had sprung into life; English had been introduced as the language of the law courts (1362), and Parliament had been opened with an English sermon (1381). Wycliffe's "poor preachers," many of whom were Oxford scholars, spread through the country, giving simple religious instruction in the mother-tongue, and it is possible that Wycliffe's teaching was distorted by ignorant and unscrupulous men, and that it indirectly assisted the Peasants' Revolt of 1381. But Wycliffe himself undoubtedly played no part in inciting the Peasants' Revolt, and died, unmolested, after the trouble was over (December 31, 1384). Wycliffe was careful to state his most revolutionary views in a guarded way and only in the Latin tongue, but some of his teaching seemed to favour the view that all things belonged to the righteous, and he held that "dominion was founded on grace," *i.e.* that only good men could exercise rule or hold property.

(B) THE PEASANTS' REVOLT.

A poll-tax levied by the government in 1381 brought about the outbreak of the Peasants' Revolt, but the real causes of the rising lay deeper. Ever since the Black Death a conflict had been raging between landlord and labourer. The free hired labourers refused to accept the wages which the Statute of Labourers had assigned to

them. They formed associations to defeat the statute, and resented the efforts of strong landlords to enforce it. The villeins, or tenants bound to the soil, were jealous of the better lot of the free labourers, and resented the attempts of the landlords to enforce the old customary services due from them for their holdings instead of accepting money payments. This rural discontent was fanned into flame by the preaching of fanatics like John Ball, who incited the people to plunder their richer neighbours by holding forth on such texts as—

When Adam delved and Eve span,
Who was then the gentleman?

In the towns also there were various causes of discontent. Towns like St. Albans and Bury St. Edmunds were anxious to win charters and privileges such as other towns had obtained, but which their ecclesiastical landlords grudgingly withheld. In some places, such as Winchester, Canterbury, and Norwich, the local government had fallen into the hands of a privileged class, and the unprivileged classes were eager to throw off this domination. In London and other large towns a struggle was going on between the employers and the employed. Apprentices found that their masters made it difficult for them to start in business for themselves, and a class of discontented journeymen had arisen and bound themselves into leagues. There were, therefore, rural and urban classes ripe for revolt, but the most important element of the revolt was the rural one. Finally, there was a general detestation of taxation, and bad government had resulted in heavy taxation. The French war, renewed in 1377, was unsuccessful. The remnant of the English possessions in Aquitaine—the districts round Bordeaux and Bayonne, connected by the Landes, a long narrow neck of sandy soil—offered an extensive frontier difficult to defend. It had been necessary to raise an English fleet, for the French had attacked the Isle of Wight, Hastings, Gravesend, and other English ports, and the English had interfered unsuccessfully in Brittany. To meet the expenses of the war the Commons resolved in 1380 to impose a poll-tax, *i.e.* a tax of so much a head which every person was bound to pay. Parliament wished the labourers to share in the expense of government, and asserted that “all the wealth of

England had gone into the hands of labourers and workmen." Yet arrangements for payment were made whereby "the strong should help the weak"—the poor man was to be helped by his richer neighbour. The tax, however, was so shamelessly evaded that the government sent commissioners into many counties to collect the arrears; and the revolt began, towards the end of May 1381, with an attack on the commissioners sent to Brentwood in Essex. By June 1381 the rebellion was raging from Kent to Yorkshire. The rebels of the eastern counties were eventually subdued by Despenser, Bishop of Norwich; but the men of Kent, headed by Wat Tyler, and the men of Essex, headed by Jack Straw, marched into London. The London mob admitted the rebels, and John of Gaunt's palace, the Savoy, was burnt; as also were the house of Hales the Treasurer, and the rolls and records contained in the Temple. A proclamation issued by the rebels ordered the execution of all lawyers. Amid all the horrors of mob-law the boy-king kept his nerve, and even met the rebels in conference at Mile End (June 14). The demands of the rebels included the abolition of villeinage, land at fourpence an acre, and a free pardon. The king ordered charters conceding these demands to be drawn up for the rebels, many of whom then returned home. But a large number of the more determined remained in London and took the Chancellor, Sudbury, Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Treasurer, Robert Hales, out of the Tower and beheaded them. Again the king met the rebels at Smithfield, where Wat Tyler behaved so insolently to one of Richard's train that Walworth, the Mayor of London, stabbed him (Saturday, June 15). "I will be your captain," cried the young king, as Tyler's angry followers bent their bows; "follow me to the fields without." Soon soldiers surrounded the rebels and forced them to disperse. But the charters which the rebels had received were worthless. Richard would keep no promise made under duress. "Villeins ye are still, and villeins ye shall remain," he said, and Parliament approved of the annulling of the charters. Many of the rebels were tried and suffered death, and the object for which most of them had striven, the abolition of villeinage, only triumphed from economic causes in course of time. But in the years immediately following the first great conflict between capital and labour the landlords still

continued to put pressure on their villeins to enforce the old customary services.

(C) THE ATTACK ON THE KING'S ADVISERS.

The fact that John of Gaunt had been especially detested by the rebels probably improved his position at court; but he had married, as his second wife, Constance, the daughter of Pedro the Cruel, and in 1386 he left England to prosecute a claim to the Crown of Castile, and was absent till 1389. During his absence the king's chief advisers, Michael de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, and Robert de Vere, Earl of Oxford, became objects of attack. Suffolk was an old and tried statesman who believed that the country could be well governed only by strengthening the hands of the king; and Oxford (whom the king created Duke of Ireland) was a member of the old nobility, and, though perhaps foolish, must not be classed with Piers Gaveston, the favourite of Edward II. But the government of the country was a failure, and the English policy in France unsuccessful, so that Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester, the king's youngest uncle, who was angry at his exclusion from power, seized the opportunity to raise a party in opposition to the Crown. Gloucester was joined by Henry of Bolingbroke, son of John of Gaunt, and the Earls of Nottingham, Warwick, and Arundel. Taking up arms, they appealed (accused) Suffolk, Ireland, and other friends of the king of high treason, and were therefore known as the *Lords Appellant* (1388). A Parliament known as the Merciless Parliament (1388) did the bidding of the Lords Appellant, and condemned the courtiers as traitors, though Suffolk and Ireland managed to escape abroad. The Lords Appellant resemble the Lords Ordainers of 1311; but, though their action shows the immense power still possessed by the great lords, the Lords Appellant, unlike the Lords Ordainers, acted through Parliament and made use of the new Parliamentary device of impeachment.

(D) THE KING'S PERSONAL RULE.

Within less than a year (January 1389) Richard resumed the government. He was now in his twenty-third year, and he informed

Gloucester and his friends that he was old enough to manage his own affairs. But Richard prudently did not recall his friends from exile, and chose, as his ministers, tried statesmen like William of Wykeham, whom he created Chancellor. Some of the Lords Appellant were allowed to remain in the Council. From 1389 to 1397 the government of the country was prudently carried on, and John of Gaunt, who returned from Spain in 1389, helped his nephew with good advice, and perhaps kept peace in the royal family. The king in return procured an Act of Parliament legitimising John of Gaunt's children¹ by Catherine Swynford, whom John of Gaunt now took as his third wife. During this period a truce was wisely made with France, which was fixed for twenty-eight years in 1396, when Richard took as his second wife Isabella, the young daughter of Charles VII. of France.

But Richard had never forgotten or forgiven the action of the Lords Appellant, and in 1397 he felt strong enough to take his revenge. Two of the Lords Appellant, Bolingbroke and Nottingham, had now joined the king's party, and the king suddenly arrested the others, Arundel, Warwick, and Gloucester, on a charge of high treason, and had them tried in a packed Parliament. Arundel was beheaded, his brother, the Archbishop of Canterbury, was banished; Gloucester was found dead in prison at Calais, and Warwick saved his life by an abject submission. The turncoats, Bolingbroke and Nottingham, were rewarded; the former was made Duke of Hereford, and the latter Duke of Norfolk. The two dukes, however, soon quarrelled, and Richard seized the opportunity to banish both of them (1398).

Meanwhile the king induced the same packed Parliament, now assembled at Shrewsbury, where it could be overawed by Cheshire archers devoted to himself, to delegate its authority to a standing committee of eighteen. As the members of this committee were prepared to do the king's bidding Richard was now absolute, and boasted that "the laws were in his mouth or in his breast."

John of Gaunt died in 1399, and Richard seized his vast estates. Henry of Bolingbroke, Duke of Hereford, in company with a fellow-exile, Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury, thereupon landed at Ravenspur in Yorkshire to claim his father's duchy (July 1399).

¹ The Beauforts.

Meeting with much support, notably that of Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, Bolingbroke resolved to claim the throne. The king was absent in Ireland,¹ whither he had gone, in May 1399, to restore order. When Richard landed in England at Milford, in July, he found that the whole country had deserted him. No course but submission was possible. The king's abdication of the throne was read in Parliament; Henry of Bolingbroke claimed the throne; and Parliament passed a statute settling the Crown on Henry iv. and his heirs (October 1399), though the Earl of March was the nearest heir to the throne by blood (see p. 162).

(E) RICHARD'S CHARACTER.

Richard's fall was a constitutional revolution. It came at a time when "the realm was in point to be undone for default of governance and undoing of the laws," and his successor was a conqueror, approved by Parliament, but not the nearest heir to the throne by blood. Richard tamely surrendered his throne as being "insufficient and useless," yet it is impossible to style a coward the man who had, in his boyhood, borne himself so bravely before Wat Tyler's horde. Some historians think he was a little mad, but his madness did not, at any rate, lack method. After a period of eight years' self-restraint, in which he rightly put an end to the French war, turned his attention to Ireland, won over John of Gaunt and formed a loyalist party, Richard not only savagely revenged himself on his old enemies, but attempted to make himself absolute. His appropriation of Henry of Bolingbroke's estates must have scandalised the nation. No man's property appeared safe. Richard was probably a "creature of moods," prone to irritating and ill-timed boasts, though not in practice cruel. He appears to have possessed warm affections, and after the death of his first wife, Anne of Bohemia, pulled down the palace of Sheen, in which she had died. He was undoubtedly a man of violent passions. When Arundel came late to the funeral of

¹ Richard had visited Ireland once before, in 1394. In Edward iii.'s reign the Statute of Kilkenny had been passed (1366) to prevent the Anglo-Irish from marrying natives or adopting Irish customs. Ireland, however, remained in a most unsettled condition. In 1394 Richard held a Parliament at Dublin, and received the homage of the native chiefs and promises of obedience from the English Pale.

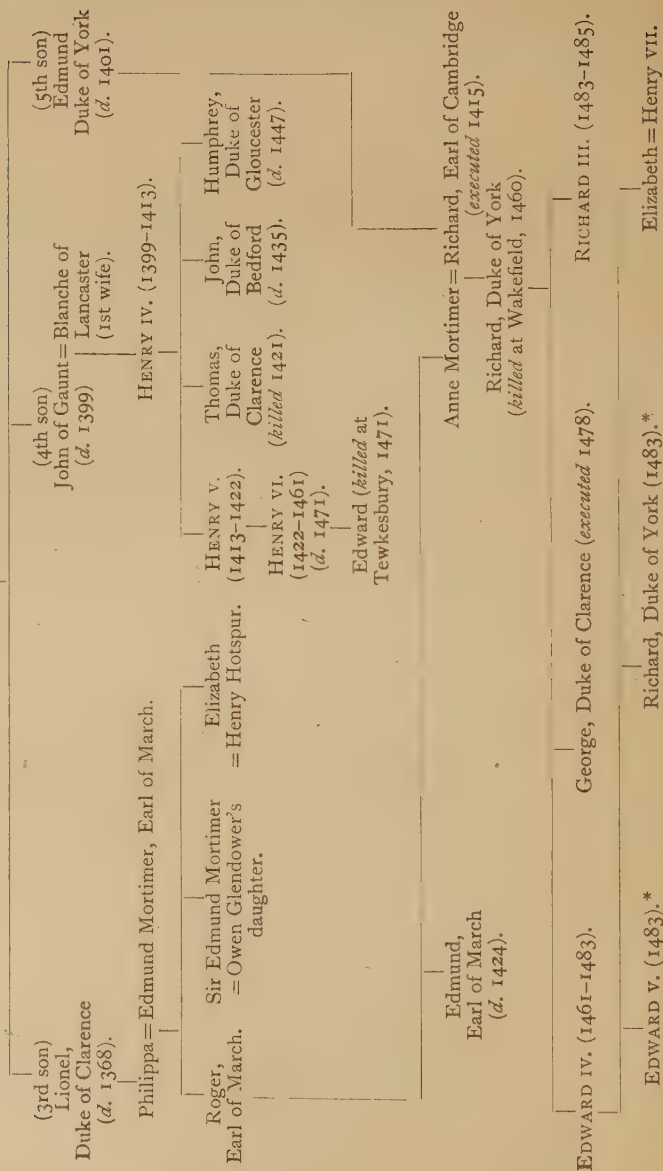
“Good Queen Anne,” Richard revenged the insult by striking him in the face with a wand, causing the blood to gush forth.

(F) ENGLISH LITERATURE.

In this gloomy period of political history the glorious birth of modern English literature took place. Wycliffe in his English prose tracts, and Chaucer (1340-1400) in his “Canterbury Tales,” fixed the future literary forms of the English language. Both wrote in the dialect of the Southern Midlands. Chaucer’s “Canterbury Tales” not only possess great poetical merit, but depict for the historical student types of various classes of society in the writer’s days: the “very perfight gentil knight,” the squire, the yeoman, the prioress, the monk, the friar, the merchant, are only a few of the pilgrim band which Chaucer paints for us with sympathetic tolerance in the Prologue to the “Canterbury Tales.” But we get a better idea of the grievances of the time in the “Vision of Piers Plowman,” written by the moralist, William Langland (1330-1400). Langland’s diction is archaic, but he states the shortcomings and scourges the deficiencies of the national life of his time, sparing neither the discontented workman nor the worthless knight.

THE HOUSES OF LANCASTER AND YORK.

Edward III.



* (Supposed to have been murdered in the Tower, 1483).

CHIEF CONTEMPORARY RULERS.

SCOTLAND.	FRANCE.
Robert III. (1390-1406).	Charles VI. (1380-1422).
James I. (1406-1437).	Charles VII. (1422-1461).
James II. (1437-1460).	Louis XI. (1461-1483).
James III. (1460-1488).	Charles VIII. (1483-1498).

CHAPTER XXII.

HENRY IV. (1399-1413).

THE deposed despot vainly hoped that his cousin "would be a good lord to him." Early in 1400, after the failure of the plot of the FOUR EARLS (Huntingdon, Kent, Salisbury, and Despenser) to kidnap the new king at Windsor, it was announced that Richard had died at Pontefract. He perished "heart-broken, fettered, and denied common nourishment."

The new king, Henry IV. (the founder of the Lancastrian dynasty), was the son of John of Gaunt, *fourth* son of Edward III. The nearest heir to the throne by blood was Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March, who was descended from Lionel, Duke of Clarence, *third* son of Edward III. (see Genealogical Table, page 162). The young earl, however, was passed over, just as Arthur of Brittany had been passed over in 1199. In reality, Henry IV. had won the Crown by conquest, with the support of (A) Parliament, (B) the Church, and (C) certain great nobles, notably Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland. To all these supporters Henry now made concessions, but his reign was troubled by rebellions at home and (D) the attacks of foreign foes.

(A) PARLIAMENT.

PARLIAMENT sanctioned the Lancastrian dynasty, and supplied, though often grudgingly, its frequent demands for money. In return, the Lancastrian kings handed over too much of their power to Parliament. The Parliaments of the Lancastrian period were not well enough informed and were too short-lived to take

the place of the king as the real ruler of the State. During Henry iv.'s reign Parliament claimed (1) that the king should redress their grievances *before* they granted supplies (1401); (2) that they should know how the money was spent (audit of accounts, 1406); (3) that money grants should originate in the Lower House, be assented to by the Lords, and be reported by the Speaker (1407); and (4) that the king should nominate his Council in Parliament. But the days when the body that makes the laws (the legislature) should appoint the ministers to carry them out (the executive) were as yet far distant. The ministers continued to be answerable to the king, who really appointed and dismissed them.

(B) THE CHURCH.

The Lancastrians were loyal sons of the Church. Henry iv., who before his accession had journeyed three times to the Holy Land, and had gone on crusade against the heathen of Lithuania, was not averse to persecuting the Lollards, or followers of Wycliffe, who were not only heretics but supporters of Richard II. Henry pleased the militant Archbishop Arundel, the companion of his exile, by assenting to the statute *De Heretico Comburendo*, which ordered the sheriffs to burn to death persons convicted in the Church courts of heresy (1401). The cruel continental practice of burning heretics now reached England. The first victim of the flames was William Sawtré, rector of St. Osyth's, London. He was taken to Smithfield, and "there he was chained standing to a post in a barrel, packed around with faggots, and burned to ashes."

(C) NORTHUMBERLAND.

Though the king lavished gifts and honours on Northumberland, that greedy and unscrupulous feudal magnate remained unsatisfied. At first, however, the Percies rendered the king great services. Henry Percy (Hotspur), Northumberland's dashing son, fought against the Welsh, and at the battle of *Homildon Hill* (1402) the Percies routed the Scots and took many prisoners. Soon they turned traitors and joined Owen Glendower.

Owen Glendower.—In the autumn of 1400 broke out a great

Welsh revolt. It originated in a dispute about lands between Owen Glendower and his English neighbour, Lord Grey of Ruthin. The House of Lords refused justice to a "bare-footed Welsh buffoon," so Owen, who was really an educated man with the gifts of a statesman, following the fifteenth-century fashion, had recourse to private war. This private war swelled into a great national rebellion. Glendower, who was descended from Llewelyn, the last Welsh prince, set up the old Welsh standard, the golden dragon, and his fellow-countrymen flocked around him to fight for their independence. Even the Welsh students at Oxford forsook their books to follow him.

Henry's efforts against Glendower were crippled by lack of money. For several years Glendower was successful. He captured the strong castles of North Wales, Hawarden, Flint, Conway, and Radnor, but withdrew before the expeditions sent against him into his mountain fastnesses, cut off the stragglers, and let the wild weather and difficult country defeat his foes. The English soldiers thought he was a wizard. Soon Glendower's conquests stretched into South Wales.

But the most dangerous moment of the rebellion was the summer of 1403, when the Percies joined Glendower. In 1402 the Welsh leader had captured Edmund Mortimer, uncle of the young Earl of March and brother-in-law of Hotspur (see Genealogy, page 162). The king, suspecting Mortimer of treason, refused to ransom him, so Mortimer joined the Welsh and married Glendower's daughter. The discontented Percies, who had already quarrelled with Henry about the ransom of the prisoners captured at Homildon, threw in their lot with Glendower, induced Douglas the chief of their Scottish captives to support them, and proclaimed the Earl of March king. But at the battle of *Shrewsbury* (July 1403), fought partly in a field of peas, Henry defeated and slew both Hotspur and Douglas, while Glendower tarried in South Wales.

Very gradually the English began to gain the upper hand. Glendower received some assistance from the French, but the young Prince of Wales—the future Henry v.—won back all South and Central Wales, and, by enduring a youth of hardship, gained the military experience which was to triumph at Agincourt. Glendower himself held out till his death early in the next reign.

Northumberland.—Spared by the king, the "slippery" North-

umberland (in 1405) took arms again, joining with Scrope, Archbishop of York, in the *Rebellion of Mowbray*, Earl of Nottingham, who had been badly used by Henry. Mowbray and even the archbishop were executed. Northumberland escaped, only to be slain on the snowclad field¹ of *Bramham Moor* (February 1408) whilst leading a raid from Scotland. Henry had triumphed over all his English foes.

(D) FOREIGN FOES.

Henry suffered much at the hands of the *French*. The two remaining English possessions in France—Calais in the north and Guienne in the south-west—were objects of attack. French privateers frequently harassed the English coasts. In 1403 a French fleet sacked Plymouth. The French, too, assisted Glendower; but during the latter years of Henry's reign the struggles of two rival factions, the Burgundians and the Orleanists,² began to rend France. Henry seized his chance and allied first with the Burgundians (1411) and then with the Orleanists.

The battle of Homildon, won by the Percies in 1402, was not the only fight with the Scots, but in 1406 Henry secured a hostage who removed danger from *Scotland*. English privateers captured Prince James of Scotland, the heir to the Scottish throne, who was on his way to France to be educated. "I know French well enough to teach him," laughed Henry. For seventeen years James remained a captive in England.

(E) HENRY IV.'S CHARACTER.

Thus Henry triumphed over all his foes. His great tact, his extraordinary energy, even the unscrupulousness which sometimes got the better of his merciful nature, had won the day. But the task soured him and wore out his strength. He died in 1413, and it remained to be seen whether the dynasty he had founded could endure.

¹ The winter was very severe, "almost the whole race of blackbirds and thrushes perished."

² The Orleanists were also called Armagnacs after the assassination of Louis of Orleans (1407). The name was derived from Bernard of Armagnac, father-in-law of the young Duke Charles of Orleans.

CHAPTER XXIII.

HENRY V. (1413-1422).

HENRY IV. wore himself out in the task of establishing his dynasty, but his son, Henry v., continued his work. Like his father, the new king (*A*) made concessions to Parliament, (*B*) heartily supported the Church, and (*C*) defeated plots. He succeeded in distracting attention from home affairs by (*D*) war with France.

(*A*) PARLIAMENT.

IN 1414 the king granted the request of the Commons that their petitions should be turned into statutes (laws) without alteration. Formerly the Commons, when granting supplies, had petitioned the king for the redress of grievances, but the king could modify the proposals before they became law. Henceforward the king must reject the proposals altogether or accept them as they stood. Thus the share of the Crown in legislation was diminished.

(*B*) THE CHURCH.

Henry v. was an orthodox religious fanatic. He joined Archbishop Arundel in intensifying the persecution of the Lollards, and struck at the head of the movement, Sir John Oldcastle (Lord Cobham). Oldcastle was a brave military leader and the king's personal friend. It is possible that the higher clergy, anxious to divert men's minds from the ideas of the Lollards and from criticism of the Church, supported the king's project of a French war; at any rate, they did nothing to discourage it.

In this reign Parliament for the first time laid hands on the

property of the Church. In 1414 it granted the king the property of alien priories which sent English money to their headquarters abroad and benefited the foes of England.

(C) PLOTS.

Oldcastle escaped from the Tower after being convicted of heresy. He then took part in a rising of the Lollards, which was promptly suppressed by the king at St. Giles' Fields, London (January 1414). Three years later, Oldcastle was captured in the Welsh March. He was hanged as a traitor and then burnt as a heretic (1417). Tradition distorted this brave scholarly man into the Falstaff immortalised by Shakspeare. In 1415, at Southampton, just as he was setting out for France, Henry was informed of a plot hatched by Richard, Earl of Cambridge, Lord Scrope, and Sir Thomas Grey to place the Earl of March on the throne. The Earl of March had a better claim to the throne by blood than Henry v. (see Genealogy, page 162), and was the brother-in-law of Cambridge. The king was informed of the plot by the Earl of March himself, who had been released from the Tower and restored to his estates by Henry. The leaders of the conspiracy suffered death. Nevertheless, the grandson of Cambridge, Edward iv., was destined to overthrow the Lancastrian dynasty.

(D) WAR WITH FRANCE.

In 1415 Henry attacked France, taking advantage of the insanity of the French king, Charles vi., and of the French civil wars between the Burgundians and Orleanists. Henry was supported by (1) the Church, by (2) the nobles, who were eager to attack their ancient foe, and by (3) the nation at large, for national feeling had been roused by the attacks of the French privateers in the preceding reign. No lavish offers by the French—Aquitaine, the hand of the French king's daughter Catherine, a large dowry—could turn Henry from his purpose. His ambition was fortified by his religious fanaticism. He regarded himself as the instrument of God appointed to chastise France for her sins. "It is God Almighty," said Henry, "blessed be His name, who has inspired me and given me the will to enter this realm, for the punishment of its people, and to have its lordship

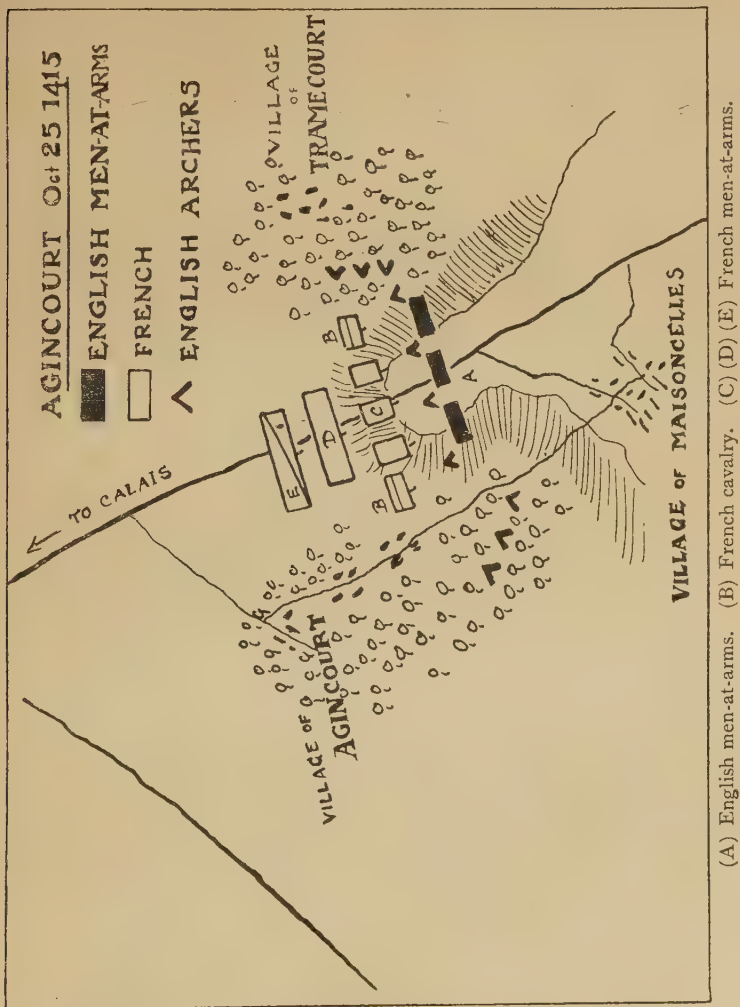
as king." In this mingled spirit of ambition and religious enthusiasm he revived Edward III.'s claim to the French throne, though that claim, such as it was, could now only belong to the true heir of Richard II.—the Earl of March. "You have no lordship even in this kingdom of England, which belongs to the true heirs of the late King Richard II.," one of the French ambassadors told Henry.

Henry's first campaign (1415) revealed his military genius. He struck at the north of France. While Orleanists and Burgundians continued their feuds he captured *Harfleur*, at that time the port nearest to Paris. Then he set out, with forces diminished, to march overland to Calais. He proved himself a tactician by winning the battle of *Agincourt* (October 25, 1415) against a French force at least three times, and perhaps six times, as large as his own. 5,000 Frenchmen were killed; only about 6,000 Englishmen took part in the fight, of whom less than 200 fell.

Agincourt was an astounding victory, won by hand-to-hand fighting in the open field. The French were drawn up in three dense lines, one behind the other, in a narrow space shut in by the enclosures of the villages of Tramecourt and Agincourt. This arrangement prevented them using their vastly superior numbers in surrounding the English, who were drawn up in three bodies, side by side, each body flanked by archers. Two squadrons of French cavalry who were stationed in front of the first French line opened the attack. The English archers had planted stakes in front of their position, and their arrows beat back the French cavalry. The first two main bodies of the French consisted of dismounted knights. In the sodden ploughed land of the battlefield the heavy armour of these knights was a great disadvantage. The first French line was beaten back by the lightly armed English soldiers and by the English archers, who left the shelter of their stakes and attacked the enemy with hatchets and maces. The French fought in a crowded, helpless mass. Soon their second line was routed—their rear-guard fled.

Henry's second campaign (1417–1420) is really more important than his first. One by one he captured the chief towns of Normandy. The fall of *Rouen*, in 1419, marked the complete conquest of the old duchy. Henry appears to have wished to model Normandy on English lines. English settlers were introduced into

the district and English institutions were copied, but the English were expelled from France before the experiment had time for success.



Meantime the feud of Burgundians and Armagnacs continued. In 1419 the latter faction invited John, Duke of Burgundy, to a con-

ference, and, in the presence of the Dauphin, murdered him on the bridge of Montereau-sur-Yonne. Philip the Good, the new Duke of Burgundy, now openly joined the enemy, so that the English were in alliance with a half of France. Paris supported the Burgundians, who controlled the imbecile French king, and in 1420 the *Treaty of Troyes* was made. The English king was to marry Catherine, the French king's daughter, and was to be regent of France during Charles vi.'s lifetime and king after his death. Henry then returned to England with his queen, but was called back to France by the news that his brother Clarence had been beaten and slain at *Beaugé* (1421) by a force of French and Scots. In his third and last campaign (1421-1422) Henry completely conquered the district round Paris, but when only thirty-five years of age he fell ill and died at Vincennes (August 1422). Henry had achieved wonders, yet at his death France, south of the Loire, was still holding out for the French king's son—the Dauphin Charles.

(E) CHARACTER OF HENRY V.

Henry's religion, though narrow, was sincere. He seconded the Emperor Sigismund's efforts to end the papal schism at the Council of Constance (1414-1418), where Martin v. was appointed sole Pope. Henry intended, once he had captured France, to lead a crusade against the Turks and to "re-edify the walls of Jerusalem." He was industrious, a great general, a great administrator, blameless in private life, generous and humane as a rule, but sometimes rather spiteful. The men of later days, remembering the shame of the Wars of the Roses, looked back with pride to the glories of this reign, and regarded Henry v. as the typical English hero-king. Henry, indeed, was a great warrior; but he was not a great statesman, for he set England a task beyond her strength—the conquest and occupation of France. He attacked France for no just reason when that country was torn by civil war. In the end, the ill-success of the English in France in great measure brought about the English civil wars—the Wars of the Roses—and the overthrow of the Lancastrian dynasty.

CHAPTER XXIV.

HENRY VI. (1422-1461).

IN the reign of Henry VI. England paid the price for the attack on France. While our country was exhausted by the strain on her resources, French national spirit revived to rout the foreign invader, and English patriotism, corrupted by long warfare and final defeat, was lost in faction fights. The king, in his manhood, manifested his French grandfather's mental taint. He was liable to fits of insanity, and, though a good and pious man, was quite unfit to govern in troublous times,—in fact, he never really governed. At his accession Henry VI. was a babe, nine months old; the government therefore was placed in the hands of his uncle, (*A*) the Duke of Bedford, who was destined to see the beginning of the loss of the French provinces, and who was troubled by (*B*) the rivalry, in England, of his brother Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, and his uncle, Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester. The death of these two rivals saw their feud survive in (*C*) the quarrels of the Duke of Somerset and Richard, Duke of York; finally, (*D*) the rivalry of York and Henry's queen, Margaret, led to the Wars of the Roses, the defeat of Henry, and the accession of the Yorkist king, Edward IV.

(*A*) REGENCY OF BEDFORD AND LOSS OF THE FRENCH POSSESSIONS.

THE death of Henry V. was soon followed by that of the French king, Charles VI., and France, south of the Loire, hailed the sluggish Dauphin as king. North of the Loire, however, the English were secure, and Bedford, supported by the Burgundian alliance,

continued Henry v.'s policy of conquest. At first he was successful, for the English regent possessed his elder brother's energetic character and military skill, but in 1429 he was confronted by the rising



national spirit of France. This was due, to some extent, to the appearance of *Jeanne Darc*, a simple country maid who had been inspired by heavenly voices to offer her services to Charles vii.

Clothed in the garments of a man, Jeanne Darc raised the siege of Orleans¹ (1428), and, though she was at length captured by the Burgundians and burned by the English as a witch at Rouen (1431), she had then fulfilled her mission. Charles VII. had been crowned at Rheims, the appearance of Jeanne had put heart into the French soldiers, and "withdrawn the courage" of the English soldiers "in marvellous wise." Bedford, however, won successes even after the death of the Maid. It was the fact that the Duke of Burgundy made peace with the French at the *Congress of Arras* (1435), and that almost simultaneously Bedford died, which rendered the final defeat of the English inevitable. No great English leader succeeded Bedford in France. True, Normandy for a time was successfully defended by the Duke of York, and in 1444 the *Truce of Tours* was made with France; but the French broke the truce, and by 1450 Normandy was lost (battle of *Formigny*). Three years later (1453), Guienne and Gascony were finally lost (battle of *Castillon*). Of all the English conquests in France, Calais alone remained. In the course of the war the French had developed a greater sense of national unity, and the result of the war was the establishment of a despotic monarchy in France. The French, too, had improved in their methods of warfare, especially in the use of artillery, while the task of holding down the conquered territories had drained England of men and money. In spite of the humiliation of defeat, it was on the whole advantageous to England to be rid of the "dangerous inheritance of the Plantagenets."

(B) THE RIVALRY OF BEAUFORT² AND GLOUCESTER.

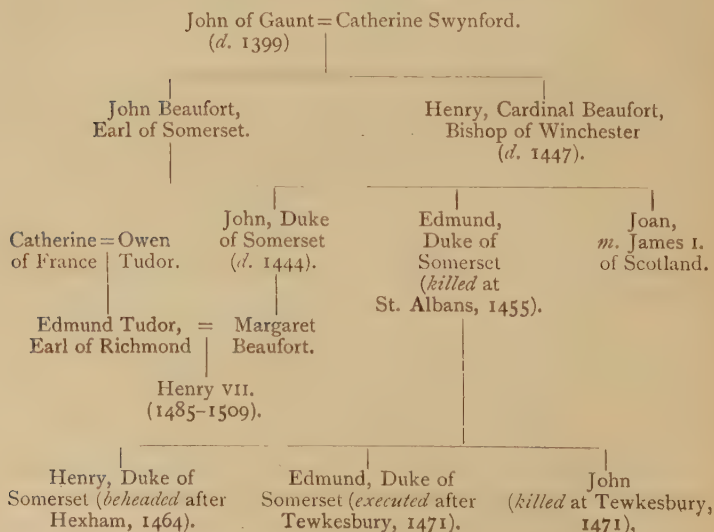
While Bedford was absent in France, his brother Gloucester and his uncle Beaufort were quarrelling; and Bedford, more than once, had to return to England to make peace between them. Gloucester was rash and unprincipled, and although a patron of learning, and in after days styled "the Good," he was no statesman. His uncle Beaufort, though equally ambitious, was a more prudent

¹ Orleans, "situated at the northernmost point of the great curve of the Loire, threatened the heart of the English possessions."—See George, *Relations of Geography and History*, p. 161.

² See page 176 for Genealogy of the Beauforts.

statesman, and he frequently helped the dynasty with loans of money. After Bedford's death (1435) there was no one to restrain the conflict of ambition and principles between Beaufort and Gloucester. The king's Council was divided into two parties: but Beaufort scored a success for his policy of peace when, in 1444, his follower, the Earl of Suffolk, arranged the *Truce of Tours*. By this truce it was agreed that Henry should marry Margaret of Anjou, the French king's niece, and give up Anjou and Maine to his father-in-law, the Duke of Anjou. This was done in the hope of retaining Normandy and the remnant of the English conquests in France. Gloucester was bitterly opposed to a peace policy, but in 1447 he was arrested, and a few days later died in prison. Gloucester possibly died of grief; but Queen Margaret and Suffolk were suspected of having caused him to be murdered. If they did so, it was a blunder as well as a crime, for the Duke of York, failing the birth of an heir to the king, was next in succession to the throne, now that Gloucester was dead. Within a few weeks Beaufort also died (1447). Suffolk, supported by the queen, then became the king's chief adviser.

GENEALOGY OF THE BEAUFORTS.



Suspected of the death of Gloucester, unpopular owing to his peace policy and the cession of Anjou and Maine, Suffolk was the butt of national hatred, and when Normandy had been lost at the battle of Formigny (1450), popular clamour procured his banishment. On his way to the continent he was captured by the master of the king's ship, Nicholas of the Tower, and his head was struck off by an Irishman, "one of the lowest in the ship," "within half a dozen strokes" of a rusty sword. His body was laid on the sands of Dover "and his head on a pole by it."

(C) THE QUARRELS OF SOMERSET AND YORK.

Suffolk's successor in the confidence of the queen was the incompetent *Duke of Somerset*, who had lost Normandy to the French. Richard, Duke of York, filled Gloucester's place as head of the opposition. York was the grandson of Edmund of Langley, Duke of York, the fifth son of Edward III. His father was the Earl of Cambridge, who was executed at Southampton in 1415; his mother was Anne Mortimer, sister of the Earl of March (see *Genealogy*, page 162). On the death of the Earl of March, York therefore possessed the best claim by blood to the throne, and, till Henry VI. had a son, was, in any case, heir-apparent. But York came forward, at first, not as a claimant to the throne, but as a reformer excluded from his rightful place in the Council, though he was a prince of the blood. The time was ripe for reform. Popular discontent with the government, which was deep in debt and had failed in France, was shown in the rising of Kent under *Jack Cade* (1450). Unlike the Peasants' Rising in 1381, this was, in the main, a political and not a social revolt. The rebels complained of the weight of taxation, of the loss of France, of the friends of Suffolk. "The king's merchandise is lost, the sea is lost, France is lost." Cade professed to be acting on behalf of York. The rebels defeated the king's forces at *Sevenoaks*, though they "kept no order among them, for as good was Jack Robin as John-at-Noke." Cade then entered London, and executed Lord Say the Treasurer; but when the rebels began to plunder the citizens of London turned on them, and meeting this slight resistance the rebellion suddenly collapsed.

In 1453 the birth of a son to Henry shut off York from the

succession, but York still retained his rôle as a reformer, and, as yet, did not come forward to claim the throne. In the following year York scored a triumph over Margaret and Somerset. Guienne had been finally lost, and the king had become insane. Accordingly York was appointed Protector, and Somerset thrown into prison. In 1455, however, Henry recovered, and Somerset was recalled to power. In self-defence York took up arms. The Wars of the Roses had commenced.

(D) THE RIVALRY OF YORK AND MARGARET.—THE WARS
OF THE ROSES.

The Wars of the Roses resulted not only in the downfall of the Lancastrian dynasty, but also in the eclipse of Parliament. The House of Commons, in spite of its newly won privileges, was unable to keep order when the great nobles began to quarrel. Indeed, this "series of brief civil wars" was carried on by the nobles and their retainers. In those days the great nobles surrounded themselves with armies of retainers—men who wore their lord's livery and followed him to battle. Thus supported the nobles had waged private wars, ignoring the weak king and the laws. In the Wars of the Roses the bulk of the nobility, loving weak rule, supported the Lancastrian king, but York was backed by the two powerful Nevilles—his brother-in-law, the Earl of Salisbury, and Salisbury's son, Warwick, "the King-maker." After a time the Yorkists gained the support of the inhabitants of the larger towns in the south and east of England, because they were more likely than Henry to supply strong government and benefit trade; but in the main this series of wars was a cruel blood feud between great nobles, in which the leaders on both sides were treated with great inhumanity. York won the opening skirmish, the *first battle of St. Albans* (1455), where his rival Somerset was slain. Henceforward Queen Margaret was York's chief opponent. After the battle of St. Albans Henry again fell insane, and York was once more made Protector, but the king soon recovered and resumed the government. It was not till 1459 that the war was renewed. In that year Margaret attacked York's brother-in-law, Salisbury, who defeated her at *Bloreheath* in Staffordshire; but at *Ludford* on the Severn the Yorkists were seized with panic, and York, Warwick,

and Salisbury fled the country. In their absence they were attainted by the Parliament of Coventry (1459). All three were to suffer the penalties of high treason and forfeit their estates. This severe treatment turned the war into a struggle not for reform, but for life and death. Returning to England in 1460, Warwick defeated and captured the king at *Northampton*.

This victory marks the beginning of the second stage of the war. York now claimed the Crown, but consented to a compromise. Parliament accepted him as Henry's successor. Queen Margaret's victory at *Wakefield* (1460), where York was slain and Salisbury taken prisoner and executed, did not check her enemies. York's son, Edward, Earl of March, took up his father's claims. The queen marched south and defeated Warwick at the *second battle of St. Albans* (February 1461), but Warwick succeeded in joining Edward, Earl of March, who had won a victory at *Mortimer's Cross*, near Leominster. With their combined forces the two leaders entered London, and Edward was proclaimed king. Without waiting to be crowned, Edward pushed after Margaret, who had retreated to Yorkshire. At the battle of *Towton*, fought in a blinding snowstorm on Palm Sunday, 1461, the Lancastrians were utterly crushed. Henry and Margaret fled to Scotland; Edward returned to London and was crowned king.

CHAPTER XXV.

EDWARD IV. (1461-1483).

THOUGH England had been virtually won for Edward iv. by the battle of Towton, (*A*) the Lancastrians still caused trouble in the north. After the defeat of the Lancastrians (*B*) Edward quarrelled with Warwick, but the king was finally victorious. The reign is marked by (*C*) the king's personal rule and the diminished importance of Parliament.

(*A*) DEFEAT OF THE LANCASTRIANS OF THE NORTH.

MARGARET, disregarding English national feeling, sought help from France and Scotland. In return for support she promised to cede *Berwick* to the King of Scots and *Calais* to the new King of France, the able Louis xi. In 1464, however, her followers were vanquished by Warwick's brother, John Neville, Lord Montague, at *Hedgeley Moor* and *Hexham*, and Margaret fled to France. In 1465 Henry vi. was captured and lodged in the Tower.

(*B*) QUARREL OF EDWARD AND WARWICK.

The powerful support of Warwick, the King-maker, had raised Edward iv. to the throne. Warwick therefore expected to control the policy of the State. He owned enormous estates and commanded a host of followers in different parts of the country. His brother George became Chancellor and Archbishop of York. His brother John became Earl of Northumberland, and obtained the forfeited lands of the Percies, who loyally supported the last of the Lancastrian kings. Indeed, the Nevilles stood to Edward iv. much as the Percies had stood to Henry iv. They had made the new

king and expected to control him. But, like Henry iv., the new king was determined to be no puppet. He deliberately broke with Warwick, who wished him to make a French alliance by marrying the sister of Louis xi. Warwick had actually opened negotiations with the French with this object when Edward announced that he was already married to an English lady, Elizabeth Woodville (1464). Her first husband, Lord Grey, had fallen on the Lancastrian side at the second battle of St. Albans, and the Woodvilles were supporters of the Lancastrians. Edward, however, determined to raise the Woodville family to high positions, hoping to set them up as a counterpoise to the Nevilles. He thereby displeased many of his old Yorkist followers. Lament was heard that "the king receiveth such of this country as have been his great enemies and oppressors of the Commons, and such as hath assisted his Highness be not rewarded." In 1468 Edward still further departed from Warwick's policy of a French alliance, by marrying his sister Margaret to Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, the enemy of the French king. Further, he forbade the marriage of his brother George, Duke of Clarence, to Warwick's daughter Isabel. The marriage nevertheless took place at Calais, and Warwick and Clarence forsook the king and took part in rebellions in England. In 1469 the rising of *Robin of Redesdale* (incited by Warwick), and the defeat of the royal troops at *Edgecote*, near Banbury, caused Edward to surrender to George Neville, Archbishop of York; but before long the king was able to raise an army and to defeat a new rebellion in Lincolnshire at *Iosecoat Field* (1470). Warwick and Clarence, finding that Edward had proof of their treason, fled the country. In France, Warwick and Queen Margaret were reconciled by the French king, Louis xi., who resented Edward's support of Burgundy. A marriage was arranged between Margaret's son, the Prince of Wales, and Warwick's younger daughter Anne. In September 1470 Warwick landed at Dartmouth, and Edward fled to Flanders. The weak-minded Henry vi. was restored to the throne, where he sat like "a sack of wool." Warwick, now the real master of England, controlled the puppet king, but his sway only lasted six months. Edward obtained help from his brother-in-law, Charles the Bold of Burgundy, the ruler of Flanders, and returned to England. Like Henry iv., he landed at Ravenspur in Yorkshire;

like Henry iv., he pretended that he came merely to claim his private estates. Then Clarence, who saw no chance of getting the throne for himself if Warwick fought for Margaret's son, deserted Warwick and joined Edward. Edward advanced on London. At the battle of *Barnet* (April 14, 1471) Warwick was slain. That very day Margaret landed at Weymouth, but her march to Wales, where she hoped to find support, was intercepted by Edward at Tewkesbury. At the battle of *Tewkesbury* (May 4, 1471) the Lancastrians were crushed, Margaret was captured, and her son Edward was slain, "crying in vain for succour to his brother-in-law, the Duke of Clarence." Within a month Henry was murdered, but it was given out that the old king had died in the Tower, "out of pure displeasure and melancholy." Edward's younger brother, Richard, Duke of Gloucester, has been suspected of complicity in Henry's death.

(C) EDWARD'S GOVERNMENT OF ENGLAND.

(1) *Foreign policy*.—Edward soon took his revenge on the French king for supporting the Lancastrians. He agreed to attack Louis xi. in conjunction with the Duke of Burgundy. Accordingly, in 1475, he marched out of Calais with a strong force, but as the Duke of Burgundy failed to join him with an army Edward sordidly made peace with the French king at *Pecquigny*, a village on the Somme (1475). Louis paid Edward 75,000 gold crowns (about £15,000), promised him an annual pension of 50,000 gold crowns, and agreed to betroth the Dauphin to Edward's daughter Elizabeth. Thus Edward, having obtained money from his subjects to make war, now also obtained money from his enemies to make peace. Towards the close of his reign Edward made war with Scotland, and his brother, Richard, Duke of Gloucester, captured Berwick (1482), which had been in the hands of the Scots since 1461.

(2) *The diminished power of Parliament*.—Unlike the Lancastrians, Edward iv. seldom called Parliament, which, indeed, usually met only to carry out his commands. Parliament had shown itself impotent during the Wars of the Roses, and Edward now rendered himself independent of it by securing an independent income. This he did by confiscating his opponents' estates, by exacting heavy fines for breaches of the law, and by instituting *benevolences*. These

were, in form, free gifts made by individuals to the king; in reality they were forced loans. Edward also made money by trading. A merchant himself, he won the confidence of the trading classes; but as time went on it was seen that the country was still miserably governed.

(D) EDWARD'S CHARACTER.

Edward possessed great gifts: he was a skilful ruler and a born general; he possessed the burly presence, the bluff, hearty manners beloved of the crowd, and withal a cruel, reckless heart. He got Parliament to declare his troublesome and scheming brother Clarence guilty of treason, and had him secretly put to death in the Tower (1478). Hard work Edward never loved, though he could do great things when necessity compelled him. He was interested in literature, and patronised William Caxton, who set up the first printing press in England in 1477. But Edward iv. was essentially a bad man. His licentious pleasures shortened his life. He died in his forty-third year (1483).

CHAPTER XXVI.

EDWARD V. (1483, APRIL-JUNE) AND
RICHARD III. (1483-1485).

THOUGH Richard, Duke of Gloucester, had probably not anticipated that Edward iv. would die in his forty-third year, yet the temptation to seize the throne on his brother's death proved irresistible. Richard, accordingly, (*A*) overthrew the Woodvilles and seized the person of young Prince Edward. Then (*B*) he obtained the throne himself, and murdered Prince Edward and his brother. Finally, (*C*) he was slain at the battle of Bosworth by the Lancastrian Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond, who was supported by a coalition of Lancastrians and discontented Yorkists.

(*A*) OVERTHROW OF THE WOODVILLES.

THE young prince Edward, eldest son of Edward iv., a youth barely thirteen years of age, was in the charge of the Woodvilles at Ludlow when his father died. He set out for London to be crowned, escorted by his Woodville relations—his uncle Earl Rivers, and his half-brother Sir Richard Grey; but on the journey Gloucester seized Rivers and Grey, and subsequently had them put to death. Richard's attack on the unpopular Woodvilles did not offend public feeling. He was supported both by Lords of the Council like the Earl of Hastings, and by members of the old nobility like the Earl of Buckingham.

(*B*) RICHARD OBTAINS THE THRONE AND MURDERS THE PRINCES.

In May 1483 the Council appointed Gloucester Protector. But Richard now aimed at the throne. He scandalously executed the

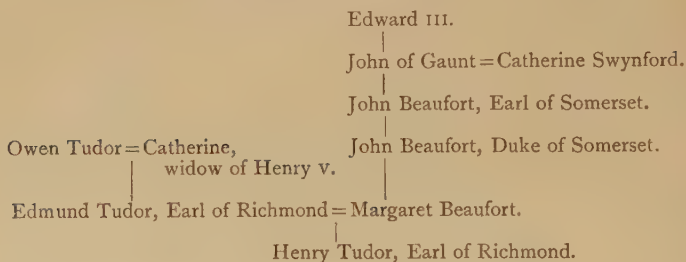
Earl of Hastings, who would go no further in support of his foul ambition, and then, supported by Buckingham, spread the story that the marriage of his brother Edward iv. to Elizabeth Woodville had been invalid because he had previously been betrothed to another lady, and that his children were illegitimate. The children of his other brother Clarence, he said, were debarred from the succession by their father's attainder. A kind of Parliament was persuaded by Buckingham to accept this story, and Richard was crowned king (July 6, 1483). Meantime young Edward v. and his younger brother Richard of York had been lodged in the Tower. There they were secretly murdered by Richard's orders, and buried under a staircase. Their skeletons were discovered in the reign of Charles II.

(C) OVERTHROW OF RICHARD.—BATTLE OF BOSWORTH.

The murder of the young princes was a blunder as well as a crime. The news leaked out, and shocked the nation's conscience, blunted though it was by the atrocities of the Wars of the Roses. Up to this time Richard had probably been regarded as a wise administrator and a brave general. In spite of his shrivelled left arm he had shown his bravery in many a fight; he had never played the traitor to his brother Edward iv., and he had successfully waged war against the Scots (see page 182). Above all, the nation had preferred Richard's rule to that of a child ("Woe to thee, O land, when thy king is a child"). But the murder of the young princes proved Richard's undoing. Even the Duke of Buckingham turned against him. Persuaded by Morton, Bishop of Ely, a friend of Hastings, Buckingham raised a rebellion in favour of Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond, who was now the eldest surviving male representative of the House of Lancaster. Richmond was to be made king and to unite the houses of York and Lancaster by marrying the Lady Bessy—Elizabeth of York, daughter of Edward iv. Buckingham's conspiracy, however, met with no success, and its author was executed (1483).

A glance at the genealogy below will show that Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond, was descended on his mother's side from John of Gaunt, fourth son of Edward III.

GENEALOGY OF HENRY VII.



On his father's side Richmond was descended from a simple Welsh squire, Owen Tudor, who had shocked the court of Henry VI. by marrying Catherine of France, Henry V.'s widow. Supported by the French king, Charles VIII., Richmond returned from his exile in France, and landed at Milford Haven in August 1485. His Welsh countrymen flocked to his support, and he marched into England gathering strength as he went. At the battle of *Bosworth*, near Leicester (August 22, 1485), Richard was defeated and killed while fighting desperately to get at his rival. Two of his prominent supporters, Thomas and William Stanley, played him false. William Stanley deserted to Richmond during the battle; Thomas Stanley placed Richard's crown on the brow of the victor. Thomas Stanley was the second husband of Margaret Beaufort, Richmond's mother..

(D) CHARACTER OF RICHARD.

Richard's courage and ability were great. In his short reign he took measures to assist trade, to clear the roads of robbers, and to improve the administration of justice. He declared against his brother's practice of benevolences, but was compelled to take forced loans himself. His talents could not counterbalance his crimes, which inspired dismay and disgust, and he was finally overthrown, not by the Lancastrians alone, but by a combination of Lancastrians and disaffected Yorkists.

CHIEF CONTEMPORARY RULERS.

SCOTLAND.	FRANCE.	SPAIN.	THE PAPACY.
James III. (1460-1488). James IV. (1488-1513). James V. (1513-1542). Mary (1542-1567). James VI. (1567-1625).	Charles VIII. (1483-1498). Louis XII. (1498-1515). Francis I. (1515-1547). Henry II. (1547-1559). Francis II. (1559-1560). Charles IX. (1560-1574). Henry III. (1574-1589). Henry IV., (1589-1610). of Bourbon.	Ferdinand and Isabella (Ferdinand, King of Aragon, 1479-1516. Isabella, Queen of Castile, 1474-1504). Charles I. (1516-1556). (Emperor Charles V. in 1519). Philip II. (1556-1598). Philip III. (1598-1621).	Innocent VIII. (1484-1492). Alexander VI. (1492-1503). Julius II. (1503-1513). Leo X. (1513-1521). Adrian VI. (1522-1523). Clement VII. (1523-1534). Paul III. (1534-1549). Julius III. (1550-1555). Marcellus II. (1555). Paul IV. (1555-1559). Pius IV. (1559-1565). Pius V. (1566-1572). Gregory XIII. (1572-1585). Sixtus v. (1585-1590). Urban VII. (1590). Gregory XIV. (1590-1591). Clement VIII. (1592-1605).

CHAPTER XXVII.

HENRY VII. (1485-1509).

HENRY VII.'s first task was to secure his dynasty on the English throne, and to restore order after the anarchy of the Wars of the Roses. He put down (*A*) the dynastic rebellions of Lord Lovel, and of two pretenders named Lambert Simnel and Perkin Warbeck, who personated Yorkist claimants to the throne. He (*B*) broke the strength of the baronage, whose unbridled power had led to the Wars of the Roses, and took measures to obtain the support of the middle classes, who approved of his almost despotic rule. He strengthened his hold (*C*) over Wales, and sought to improve the state of affairs in Ireland, and English relations with Scotland. In his (*D*) foreign policy Henry sought to keep England out of serious wars, to make her alliance of importance to European rulers, and to strengthen his dynasty by means of important marriage alliances. Thus his son Arthur married Catherine, a Spanish princess, and his daughter Margaret married James IV. of Scotland. Henry's reign was marked by (*E*) important geographical discoveries, and by the beginning of the influence of the New Learning which had spread more quickly over Europe after the capture of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453. His reign begins the age of the Tudors, which marks (*F*) the dawn of modern history, and is characterised not only in England but in Western Europe by the growth of national feeling centring in the persons of strong monarchs.

(A) REBELLIONS.

A COMBINATION of Lancastrians and disaffected Yorkists had enabled Henry to defeat Richard III. at Bosworth, but Henry claimed the throne "by just title of inheritance," as well as by "the true judgment of God in giving him victory over the late usurper." Parliament accepted Henry as king, and the Pope confirmed his title by a Papal Bull. Though Henry had arranged to marry Elizabeth of York, the daughter of Edward IV., he was resolved to make clear that he claimed the throne by his own right and not on account of his marriage with Elizabeth. Indeed, some months elapsed before the marriage was celebrated, and the queen was not crowned till 1487.

But the new king, like Henry IV., found it more difficult to retain the crown than to win it. Numerous descendants of the Yorkist House were still living, and Henry at once imprisoned Edward Plantagenet, Earl of Warwick, the son of Edward IV.'s brother Clarence. Before long the Yorkist faction caused trouble, for the House of York still possessed many friends, not only in England but also in foreign countries.

(1) The rule of Richard, Duke of York, in Ireland, in the days of Henry VI., had left a deep impression, and the Irish were always ready to assist a Yorkist pretender.

(2) Margaret, the sister of Edward IV., had married Charles the Bold of Burgundy, and although she was now a widow she possessed great influence.

(3) Any occasion of causing trouble to England would be welcomed by the Scots.

Thus it will be seen that a Yorkist rebellion in England was assured of foreign support. Henry, however, easily suppressed the first Yorkist rising of his reign, which took place in 1486, and was headed by the Yorkist Lord Lovel, who escaped to Flanders.

It was difficult for the Yorkists to find a fitting head for their party, for their natural head, Elizabeth of York, was the king's wife, and the Earl of Warwick was a prisoner in the Tower. Accordingly, in a short time they put forward a pretender (1487). This was *Lambert Simnel*, a young man of humble origin who personated the imprisoned Earl of Warwick. Henry was able to show the Londoners that Lambert Simnel was an impostor, by bringing the

real Earl of Warwick out of the Tower. But Simnel found support in Ireland from the lord deputy the Earl of Kildare, and Margaret of Burgundy sent him German troops, while the exiled Lord Lovel joined him. Simnel was then able to land in Lancashire, only to be defeated and captured by Henry's troops at Stoke in 1487. The king in contempt made him a turnspit in his kitchen. Lord Lovel escaped, but died of starvation at Minster Lovel, in Oxfordshire.

Between 1492-1499 Henry was troubled by yet another impostor named Perkin Warbeck, who personated Richard, Duke of York, the younger of Edward iv.'s two sons whom Richard III. had murdered in the Tower. Perkin was a native of Tournay in Flanders, and was first taken up by Margaret, Duchess of Burgundy. Then he went to Ireland and obtained general support, and from Ireland crossed to France, where he was recognised by the French king, Charles VIII., with whom Henry was at war. But when Henry made peace with the French king by the Treaty of Étaples (1492), Charles dismissed Warbeck, who thereupon went back to the Duchess of Burgundy in Flanders. Henry's diplomacy, which had driven Warbeck from France, also caused his expulsion from Flanders. In 1495 Warbeck put to sea, but failed in a descent on Kent. He tried his luck once more in Ireland, but that island had now passed under the strong rule of Sir Edward Poynings, and Warbeck met with little support. From Ireland he crossed to Scotland, where James IV. received him, and married him to his cousin the Lady Catherine Gordon.

Meanwhile in England, in 1495, Sir William Stanley had taken part in a Yorkist conspiracy. He was an old follower of Henry, and had saved his life at the battle of Bosworth. His brother, now Earl of Derby, was the king's stepfather, and had helped Henry to gain the throne. Probably, like Hotspur in Henry IV.'s reign, Stanley was disappointed with the reward given him by the king, who had benefited by his services. But his past services availed him nothing when Henry discovered the plot, and in 1495 he was executed. In Henry's treatment of Stanley we see illustrated the prompt and relentless way in which the Tudors dealt with serious danger.

In 1496 the Scots actually invaded England on behalf of Warbeck, but met with no success and retired without fighting a battle.

In 1497 Henry's demands for money for the Scottish wars led to a rebellion which was not dynastic in its origin. The Cornishmen were far removed from danger from Scotland, and, resenting the heavy taxation, they marched to Blackheath, where they were dispersed by artillery. Warbeck determined to take advantage of the discontent of the Cornishmen, and landed in Cornwall. James iv. of Scotland had again attempted to lead an army into England on his behalf, but at this time Spain was anxious to win the alliance of England, and the Spanish ambassador induced James to come to an arrangement with Henry (1497).

In the west Warbeck failed to revive the insurrection, and, after displaying much cowardice, was captured and sent to the Tower (1497). In 1499 he was executed, together with the Earl of Warwick, for plotting to capture the Tower and to overthrow Henry. During the rest of his reign the king was untroubled by serious Yorkist revolts, and there was no danger of reversing the verdict of Bosworth Field. Henry, however, feared danger from Edmund, Earl of Suffolk, the son of Elizabeth, sister of Edward iv., and all his foreign enemies played on his fears. At last he succeeded in getting the Earl of Suffolk delivered up to him, on the understanding that he should spare his life (1506), but this promise was not held to be binding on his successor, and in 1513 Suffolk was put to death by Henry viii.

(B) HENRY'S MEASURES TO BREAK THE POWER OF THE NOBILITY
AND TO GAIN THE SUPPORT OF THE MIDDLE CLASSES.

All through his reign Henry vii. aimed at breaking the power of the feudal baronage, and in this object he received the support of the nation at large. Under the feeble rule of Henry vi. the lawlessness of the powerful nobility had passed all bounds. Men were murdered on the highways, and juries were intimidated by rich landowners to give unjust verdicts in their favour. Rival claimants to property waged civil war and set the laws of the land at defiance. All this anarchy, Parliament, in spite of the privileges it had gained from the Lancastrian kings, had been powerless to check. When the lawlessness of the barons culminated in that series of faction fights known as the Wars of the Roses, the impotence of Parliament

stood revealed. It was no wonder, then, that men ceased to place trust in Parliaments, and tacitly gave Henry VII. and the Tudors a free hand in governing the country. England needed the government of one strong ruler, and men felt that one master was better than many. Hence Henry VII. and his successors are sometimes said to have established a despotic government. It is true that the Tudors governed despotically, but they did so with the consent of the nation. Theirs was a popular despotism maintained without military force (for the Tudors had no real standing army) and acquiesced in by the majority of the nation, because men believed that the Tudors were actuated by a desire for the welfare of England. The Tudor dictatorship sometimes pressed hardly on individuals, but the nation at large benefited by it.

Henry VII. therefore was supported by the sympathy of the nation in his attempts to resist the nobility. The Wars of the Roses had "attenuated the power and prestige" rather than the numbers of the great nobles, but Henry VII. took various measures to bring them thoroughly under the control of the government.

(1) He revived the statutes against *Livery and Maintenance*, which had been passed in previous reigns, but which the great nobles had disregarded. Henceforward no great nobleman could with impunity surround himself with a large number of retainers who wore his *badge* and were ready to participate in his quarrels, nor *maintain* the quarrels of his dependents in return for their support.

(2) He instituted a new court (1487) "to bridle stout noblemen" in which the judges were for the most part members of the King's Council. Such a court was not to be terrorised even by the greatest noblemen, and its verdicts were carried out with the full power of the government. This new court was afterwards known as the "Court of Star Chamber."¹

(3) The king made a practice of keeping the nobles out of political employment and reducing them to the rôle of mere courtiers.

¹The Star Chamber was a court set up by statute. It exercised legally many of the powers which the Royal Council had exercised and continued to exercise by Prerogative. By the Act of 1487 seven individuals were made members of the court, an eighth (the Lord President of the Council) being added in the reign of Henry VIII. By the time of Elizabeth it had practically become a committee of the Royal Council.

His chief ministers were clergymen of humble origin, whom he rewarded for their services by preferment in the Church. Thus he made his Lord Chancellor, Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury, and procured his appointment as a cardinal.

But if Henry was anxious to depress the political power of the nobles, he wished to make them feel secure in the possession of their lands. Accordingly, in 1489, the Statute of Fines or Limitations was passed, which gave all holders of land indisputable right to their estates after five years' possession, and in 1495 the *De Facto* Statute enacted that no one who obeyed the king for the time being should be liable to the penalties of treason.

While depressing the disorderly element of society—the nobility—Henry took care to encourage the orderly middle class. The commercial classes had grown in importance even during the turmoil of the Wars of the Roses, and they now looked to the king to give the country order and to ensure prosperity. The king did not fear that the squire, the trader, and the yeoman would enter into competition with the Crown, for they had nothing to gain by a revolution. Accordingly Henry and his successors utilised the services of the squires as local justices of the peace, and thus gave them a gradual training in political experience which they, later on, turned to account in resisting the government of the Stuarts. Henry VII. promoted commerce by commercial treaties with foreign countries. He lessened the privileges of foreign merchants in England, while he extended his encouragement to English trading companies, such as the Merchants of the Staple and the Merchant Adventurers.

But Henry, though he aimed at the welfare of his subjects, was yet resolved to be their master. He wished not only to free himself and the nation from the tyranny of the nobles, but to concentrate all power in his own hands, and to shake off the control of Parliament. In order to make himself independent of Parliament, Henry resolved to acquire an independent revenue. Money was one form of political power, and he knew that the Lancastrian dynasty had collapsed largely through want of funds. Parliament in the past had acquired its power by supplying the necessities of the king and demanding in return grants of privileges from the Crown. Henry decided to amass a treasure which would free him from the necessity of calling frequent Parliaments. He achieved his object by the following means:—

(1) He practised economy in administering the finances.

(2) He obtained much money by forfeitures and fines, e.g. he fined the Earl of Oxford, his own particular friend, £15,000 for disregarding the law of livery and maintenance.

(3) He revived the practice of taking benevolences, which had been declared illegal in Richard III.'s reign. The legislation of that reign, however, was held to be invalid, because Richard had been declared a usurper.

(4) He obtained a large sum of money from his subjects to make war with France, and then took a large sum of money from the French king to make peace ('Treaty of Étampes, 1492).

(5) On the whole he kept out of expensive foreign wars, and after the early years of his reign was wise enough to give up the idea of recovering the lost English possessions in France.

(6) He raised money by extortion. Two lawyers named Empson and Dudley were the instruments of his exactions and were much hated by the people.

By these means Henry built up a large treasure and made himself independent of Parliament, which he only summoned six times in the course of his reign. When it met Parliament merely carried out the king's wishes.

(C) HENRY'S RELATIONS WITH WALES, IRELAND, AND SCOTLAND.

Wales gave Henry VII. no trouble. His grandfather, Owen Tudor, was a Welshman, and the Welsh had assisted him to gain the throne. Henry's eldest son Arthur bore the name of the great Welsh hero, Arthur of the Round Table, and was set in charge of the Principality.

In Ireland Henry's task was more difficult. The English kings had long followed the policy of handing over the government of Ireland to one of the Irish barons. At the beginning of Henry's reign the Earl of Kildare was deputy, but the support which Kildare gave Warbeck rendered it necessary for Henry to deprive him of his office.

Henry replaced him by an Englishman named Sir Edward Poynings, who in 1494 induced the Irish Parliament to pass the famous Act known as *Poynings' Law*, which remained in force till

1782, and fettered the independence of the Irish Parliament by decreeing that all existing English laws should hold good in Ireland, and that the Irish Parliament should henceforth make no laws without the previous consent of the English Privy Council. But Henry was soon forced to reinstate Kildare as Deputy of Ireland, and the land remained in a state of disorder throughout his reign.

We have already seen that James iv. of Scotland supported Warbeck against Henry, but in 1502 he married Henry's eldest daughter Margaret, a marriage which, more than a hundred years later, led to the union of the English and Scottish thrones.

(D) FOREIGN POLICY.

While England was rent by the Wars of the Roses, a great change had taken place in Western Europe which profoundly altered England's position on the continent. The period is marked by a great increase in the power of France and Spain.

(a) France rose to greatness under the rule of Louis xi. (1461-1483), whose bad character was compensated by his ability. He kept his country out of great wars, restored order, and amassed great wealth. He brought under the sway of the Crown the lands of various great vassals (*e.g.* Burgundy), whose interests had conflicted with those of the king and had impaired the national unity of France. At the close of Louis' reign, only one great vassal, the Duke of Brittany, remained virtually independent. Louis left France rich, powerful, and compact.

(b) Spain had hitherto been a sort of world to itself. Its history had chiefly turned on the conflict between Moslem and Christian. The Iberian peninsula contained four Christian kingdoms—Castile, Aragon, Navarre, and Portugal, but in the south lay the Mohammedan state of Granada. In 1469, Ferdinand, the heir of Aragon, married Isabella, the heiress of Castile, and paved the way for the union of Spain under one monarchy. By 1492 Granada was conquered, and in 1513, when Henry viii. was King of England, Navarre was annexed.

In 1504 Ferdinand¹ secured the kingdom of Naples, and, as he possessed the islands of Sardinia and Sicily already, he became king

¹ King of Aragon since 1479.

of the "Two Sicilies." The discovery of the New World in 1492 by Columbus, who was employed by Spain, ultimately brought great riches into the Spanish treasury.

Now that France and Spain had become so powerful, England with her inferior resources was forced to abandon the dream of foreign conquest, but it was still possible for her to exercise considerable influence in Europe by clever diplomacy, for the chief rulers of Europe desired her support in their conflicts against one another. An English alliance might turn the scale between two great contending princes, and we now enter on a period when to maintain the "balance of power" in Europe becomes a recognised principle in English diplomacy. Though Henry was anxious to keep England out of foreign wars, he was forced soon after his accession to interfere in the affairs of Brittany. On the death of Louis XI., Charles VIII. (1483-1498) had succeeded to the French throne. The French government was determined to absorb Brittany, the only great duchy in France which now retained its virtual independence. Francis, Duke of Brittany, died in 1488 at enmity with Charles of France. His only daughter Anne was a girl of twelve, and the question arose as to who should marry her. The French were determined that Anne should marry Charles VIII., but Anne had already been betrothed to Maximilian of Austria, King of the Romans. Maximilian's first wife was the daughter of Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, and on her death he had claimed the government of the Burgundian possessions, *which included the Netherlands*, in the name of his son Philip. Henry was not anxious to increase the power of Maximilian, but he wished to see Brittany virtually independent. Brittany was the traditional ally of England, and its absorption by the French Crown would greatly improve the French position on the English Channel and further strengthen the French monarchy. Accordingly Henry entered into an alliance against France and on behalf of Brittany with Maximilian and Spain.

(1) The object of Spain in entering this combination against France was to recover the two provinces of Roussillon and Cerdagne, in the south of France and north of Spain, which had been pledged to Louis XI. and had since been retained by France.

(2) Henry's object in joining the alliance was not only to

embarrass France by maintaining the independence of Brittany, but to secure a marriage alliance between his eldest son Arthur and the Spanish princess Catherine of Aragon, and thus to raise his dynasty to a level with the older dynasties of Europe.

The results of this Triple Alliance were disappointing. Maximilian invaded Hungary; Ferdinand and Isabella were selfish allies. Accordingly Charles was able to overrun Brittany, and in 1491 he compelled Anne to marry him, and finally annexed Brittany to the French Crown.

In the following year (1492) Henry invaded France and captured Boulogne, but he was not eager to spend money in useless warfare, and soon came to an arrangement with Charles. By the Treaty of Étaples (1492) Charles promised to pay Henry 745,000 golden crowns, and agreed not to harbour rebels against him. Warbeck was thus deprived of the support of the King of France, and Henry, who had obtained supplies from his subjects for the war, now also obtained a price from the enemy for making peace. In the following year Spain attained her object by the Treaty of Barcelona, when Cerdagne and Roussillon were ceded to her, and, having obtained these two provinces, she displayed no eagerness for the English marriage alliance. Maximilian detested England for deserting him, and made peace with France by the Treaty of Senlis, but he was able to cause Henry much annoyance by lending his support to Perkin Warbeck. The reason why Charles VIII. had hastened to make peace and buy off his enemies was that he was anxious to invade Italy.

Italy.—In 1494 Charles set out for Italy to enforce his claim to the Crown of Naples. Naples was in possession of a line derived from Aragon, and Ferdinand interfered at first to support the Aragonese dynasty and then to secure Naples for himself. For more than thirty years there followed a great contest between France and Spain for domination in Italy. In this struggle England had no direct interest, nor could she attempt to send an army to Italy to assist either combatant. But the rivalries of her neighbours made her alliance of value. She was mistress of the Channel, and by joining first one side and then the other she was able to hold the balance of power in Europe.

In the reign of Henry VII., however, England, on the whole,

supported Spain, for there was a tradition of enmity towards France, whereas the relations between England and Spain had long been friendly. Spain also was the ally of *Maximilian*, the ruler of the Netherlands, and the English trade with the Netherlands was of great importance. Philip, the son of Maximilian, married Joanna, the daughter and heiress of Ferdinand and Isabella.

When Spain realised the danger of French domination in Italy, she renewed negotiations for the marriage of Prince Arthur to Catherine of Aragon, and induced Maximilian to give up his support of Perkin Warbeck. In order to force Maximilian to abandon Warbeck, Henry had for a time prohibited trade between England and Flanders. Maximilian therefore made a commercial treaty with Henry, known as the *Magnus Intercursus*, by which trade was resumed and a mutual expulsion of rebels agreed on (1496). In 1506 Maximilian's son Philip signed another commercial treaty named the *Malus Intercursus*, because its terms were so unfavourable to the Flemings. Philip also agreed to surrender Suffolk to Henry on condition that his life should be spared.

In 1498 Charles VIII. died, but Louis XII. (1498-1515) renewed the French aggression in Italy, and Spain became eager to secure Henry's support by the long-delayed marriage alliance. In 1501 the marriage at last took place, but Arthur died in 1502, and Henry, anxious to keep Catherine's dowry, procured a dispensation from the Pope allowing his son Henry to marry her. The friendship of Spain also enabled Henry to marry his eldest daughter Margaret to James IV. of Scotland (1502). Towards the end of his reign Henry contemplated a second marriage for himself. He even proposed to marry Joanna, the widow of Philip, who died in 1506, although the lady was insane.

(E) GEOGRAPHICAL DISCOVERIES AND THE NEW LEARNING.

In the reign of Henry VII. men's minds began to be widened by geographical discoveries and by new studies. In 1492 Columbus discovered America. A few years later (1497-1498) a Portuguese named Vasco de Gama rounded the Cape of Good Hope and discovered the sea route to India. In the same year, two Venetians, John and Sebastian Cabot, set sail from Bristol and reached Newfoundland.

A new world was thus opened to men's energies, and in course of time the trade routes of the world were altered. In former times the Mediterranean was the great thoroughfare of commerce. Thither came overland much merchandise from the East, which was distributed over Europe through the Italian seaports. But the discovery of America turned the commerce of Europe westwards. Italian ports such as Venice and Genoa lost their glory, and seaports with access to the Atlantic, such as Cadiz, Lisbon, Bordeaux, Antwerp, London, and Bristol, grew in importance. Before the end of the Tudor period a great contest arose between England and Spain, largely as the result of the struggle for trade with America.

The *New Learning*, or the Renaissance, was gradually spreading from Italy to England. In 1453 Constantinople was captured by the Turks, and many scholars fled to Italy, bringing with them the knowledge of Greek, which, during the Middle Ages, had faded away in Europe. Though a desire for new ideas had already manifested itself in Europe, especially in Germany, the study of Greek philosophy and of the Greek Testament opened men's minds and caused them to reject the old traditional learning of the Middle Ages and to think for themselves. The invention of printing reinforced the power of the New Learning by the rapid multiplication of books. All departments of human knowledge gradually fell under the stimulating spirit of the New Learning, and the independence of thought which now arose in Europe had most important results. In the realm of knowledge the Renaissance marks the dawn of modern times.

(F) THE DAWN OF MODERN HISTORY.

With the Tudor age modern history begins. All through the Middle Ages two bonds had held society together in Western Europe—one was the bond of feudalism, the other was the bond of Catholicism. Feudalism had tended to separation, to the dispersion of the power which belonged to the king among a number of great semi-independent vassals. Catholicism had tended to centralisation, and attempted to knit together the nations of Europe in one spiritual Commonwealth. Feudalism had now been undermined by the invention of gunpowder. Artillery reduced the armoured knight to an equal footing with the common soldier in the battlefield, and

rendered feudal castles no longer impregnable. The growth of commerce, bringing with it the increased power of wealth, also acted as a solvent of feudalism. Catholicism was being undermined by the Renaissance, or revival of learning, which led men to revolt against the authority of the priesthood and to evolve their own religious views. While the power of feudalism and Catholicism was decaying, men turned to the despotic ruler of the State as the sole guarantee of law and order. The Tudor age is marked in the west of Europe by the growth of strong nationalities—like Spain, France, and England—and the spirit of nationality supplied a new bond of society in place of the old decaying bonds.

CHARACTER OF HENRY VII.

Henry VII. was a great administrator who possessed excellent business qualities. He was prudent, hardworking, and thrifty, and has been accused of avarice; though we have seen how much the possession of money meant to the monarch. He was his own chief minister. He swept his rivals remorsefully from his path, but was merciful when clemency did not involve danger to his dynasty. He was suspicious and reserved, and the experience of his early years taught him to work for his own interests. Nevertheless he served England well, for he put an end to an age of anarchy, and inaugurated a period of strong government.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

HENRY VIII. (1509-1547).

I.

FROM HENRY'S ACCESSION TO THE FALL OF
WOLSEY (1509-1529).

(A) In the early years of Henry VIII.'s reign domestic affairs were less important than foreign affairs. Accordingly, (B) Wolsey, who possessed special gifts for diplomacy, obtained great power and helped to shape (C) Henry's foreign policy. But in 1527, towards the end of this period, domestic affairs became more important than foreign affairs, and two years later Wolsey, who was no longer wanted, and who could not gratify the king's desire for (D) a divorce from his wife Catherine of Aragon, fell from power.

(A) EARLY YEARS (1509-1529).—DOMESTIC POLICY.

THE early years of Henry VIII.'s reign were marked by much display and magnificence, for the new king freely spent the wealth which his father had hoarded. Henry was only eighteen at his accession, and presented an attractive figure. Tall, handsome, athletic with pleasant, kingly manners, he was a master of the art of gaining popularity. He was also a man of mental cultivation. He knew Latin, and spoke French, Italian, and Spanish. He had studied theology, and was skilled in music and the writing of verses. From the outset of his reign he took an active part in the business of government, and though he utilised the abilities of his ministers,

he never allowed himself to be dominated by them. For "bluff King Hal" possessed a cold, selfish nature with great stubbornness of will, and as he grew older his bad qualities increased in strength.

(a) In domestic affairs Henry pursued his father's policy, though, as a sop to public feeling, he sacrificed the instruments of Henry VII.'s exactions—Empson and Dudley, who were put to death, not for extortion, but on a trumped-up charge of treason (1510).

(b) Henry fulfilled his father's plans by marrying Catherine of Aragon (1509). Catherine was six years older than Henry, but she was pious, accomplished, and attractive, and Henry admired her father Ferdinand, the powerful Spanish prince.

(c) This period is marked by high-handed executions of possible claimants to the throne. Thus in 1513 Henry executed Edmund, Earl of Suffolk, the son of Elizabeth, sister of Edward IV. Suffolk had been delivered up to Henry VII. in 1506 by Philip, Archduke of the Netherlands, on condition that his life should be spared.

In 1521 Henry executed the Duke of Buckingham, whose father had first assisted and then rebelled against Richard III. Buckingham was of the royal house, and seems to have talked rashly about the possibility of succeeding Henry, and to have criticised unfavourably the policy of Henry and Wolsey. His fall proved that Henry meant to continue his father's policy of depressing the great nobles, who were discontented because the king excluded them from office and relied on ministers of humble origin (*e.g.* Wolsey), whom the nobles regarded as upstarts. Yet Buckingham was tried by his peers, who either were convinced of his treason on very slender evidence or feared to disoblige Henry.

(d) Henry VIII. not only continued his father's policy of depressing the nobles, but, like Henry VII., he managed to keep popular opinion on his side without calling frequent Parliaments. Before Wolsey rose to power three Parliaments were called, but during the period of Wolsey's influence only one Parliament was summoned (1523). This Parliament resisted the government on the question of taxation, but its members blamed the king's minister Wolsey, and not the king, for the proposals to which they objected. By 1523 Henry had exhausted most of the treasure bequeathed to him by his father. He required money for his war with France, of which the Commons approved so long as it cost them little. But when Wolsey

demanded from Parliament the enormous sum of £800,000, the Commons objected to the proposal, and the speaker, Sir Thomas More, although he supported the court, insisted on Wolsey's withdrawal from the House while the matter was being debated. Wolsey made his demands arrogantly, and the blame for the proposals fell on his shoulders. Henceforward he was hated by the people as well as the nobles. But Wolsey was quite content to bear odium in his master's service,—“because every man layeth the burden from him,” he wrote, “I am content to take it on me, and to endure the fame and noise of the people, for my good-will towards the king, . . . but the eternal God knoweth all.” Failing to get all he wanted from Parliament, Wolsey proposed that every man should lend the king one-sixth of his property (*Amicable Loan*, 1525), but in the end the king had to raise money by *benevolences*, which were only demanded from the wealthy. After 1523 no Parliament was summoned while Wolsey was in office. He wished the king to be absolute, and to rule, like the Yorkists, practically without Parliaments.

(B) WOLSEY.

We have already seen that Thomas Wolsey was a minister absolutely devoted to the service of the king, and ready to incur hatred in serving his royal master, whom he wished to see absolute. He belonged to that class of statesmen, patronised by the Tudors, who gained their position solely by their own abilities and their zeal in serving the king. The son of an Ipswich grazier, Wolsey went to Oxford, entered the Church, and passed into the service of Fox, Bishop of Winchester. Fox brought him to the notice of Henry VII., who employed him on several diplomatic missions and made him Dean of Lincoln. His ability for diplomacy rendered Wolsey useful to Henry VIII., who in 1514 made him Bishop of Lincoln and afterwards Archbishop of York. In 1515 he became Lord Chancellor, and was made a Cardinal by the Pope. Three years later the Pope appointed him Papal Legate, delegating to him the papal authority in England, and enabling him to lord it over the English Church. From 1516 to his fall in 1529 Wolsey was the most powerful man in England. He enjoyed the revenues of several bishoprics and abbeys, and lived in a style of magnificence which

almost rivalled the state maintained by the king. He was the last of the great line of ecclesiastical statesmen which began with Dunstan; though, unlike Dunstan, he did not divide his energies equally between the service of the king and that of the Church. Wolsey, however, wished to reform some of the crying abuses in the Church, and displayed some interest in education, but his main interest was centred in diplomacy. Diplomacy was his great *forte*, and it enabled him to display his clear-sighted genius and great aptitude for business. In spite of his fondness for display his industry was enormous. Every minute detail of administration passed under his own notice. Wolsey, however, never had a free hand. At all times his plans were liable to be upset by the stubborn will of his master; and he was always hated by the old nobility, headed by the Duke of Norfolk, who only awaited an opportunity to pull him down.

(C) FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

Wolsey's talents for diplomacy made him useful to Henry, for the young king was determined to play a great part in the affairs of Europe. In the main he was resolved to follow the policy bequeathed him by his father, and to maintain the balance of power in Europe in the interests of England. At the beginning of his reign he was inclined to pay deference to his father-in-law Ferdinand, and to favour an alliance with Ferdinand and Maximilian. The rivalry between France and Spain still dominated the politics of Europe, and Italy still continued to be the battlefield of these two great Powers.

At Henry VIII.'s accession the chief rulers in Europe were (1) Ferdinand of Spain, (2) the Emperor Maximilian, (3) Louis XII. of France, and (4) the Pope. In 1508 all these rulers were, for the moment, in agreement, and had formed the League of Cambray to destroy Venice. But in 1511 the Pope, Ferdinand, and Maximilian reversed their policy, and joined Venice against France. Henry was induced to join this *Holy League* by the hope of recovering Guienne, but Ferdinand merely wanted the English to attack France in order that he might acquire *Navarre*, a little kingdom lying partly in the south of France and partly in the north

of Spain, which was under the influence of France. In 1512-1513 England was once more engaged in a French war. An army was sent to the north of Spain to invade Guienne; but Ferdinand did not co-operate with the English, and the expedition turned out a complete failure (1512). In the following year, however, an English expedition in the north of France proved more successful. Entering France through Calais, the English won a great victory at *Guinegate*, and, as the French showed more eagerness to retreat than to fight, the battle was known as the "Battle of the Spurs." Henry captured the towns of Théroutanne and Tournay, and Wolsey was made Bishop of Tournay for his efforts in rendering the campaign successful. The campaign of 1512 in the south of France had failed partly owing to defects in the commissariat, which Wolsey, although he was a clergyman and not a soldier, had taken an active part in remedying. In the same year (1513) the French were defeated at *Novara* in Italy, and Ferdinand gained possession of Navarre.

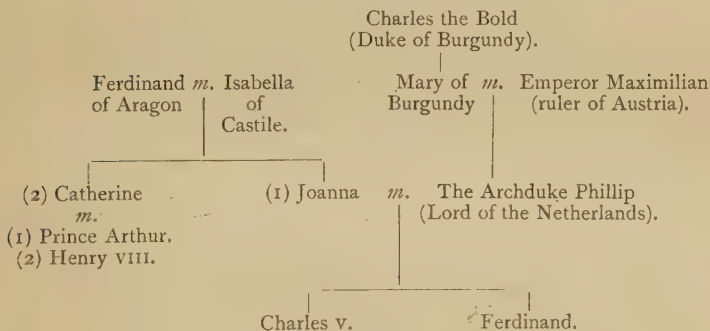
The French war involved England in a Scottish war. Although James iv. of Scotland was Henry's brother-in-law, he took advantage of the absence of the English king in France, and in 1513 invaded England, thus continuing the old Scottish policy of friendship with France and hostility to England. The Earl of Surrey marched north to meet him, and cleverly managed to place his forces between the Scots and Scotland at *Flodden Field*, which lies in the angle formed by the junction of the Tweed and its tributary, the Till. Flodden was a great English victory. James iv. and his chief nobles were slain, and, as James v. was a mere boy, Scotland fell under the rule of Henry's sister Margaret.

But although the English arms had won a great victory at home, Henry achieved no further success in France. Now that Ferdinand had got Navarre, and the French had been driven out of Italy, Henry's allies all deserted him and made peace with France without attempting to help him to gain the long-lost French provinces. Henry, however, determined to score off his slippery friends. Accordingly, in 1514, on the advice of Wolsey, he not only made peace with France, but entered on a French alliance, which was cemented by the marriage of his younger sister Mary, who was only seventeen, to Louis xii., the aged and gouty French king. When Louis

died in 1515, Mary married her old lover, Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk.

Louis XII. was succeeded by his nephew Francis I., a youth of twenty years, who, like the young English king, was full of ambitious projects. Francis at once renewed the French claims on Milan, invaded Italy, and won a great victory at *Marignano* (1515). Henry was consumed with jealousy, but found comfort in the information that Francis had thin legs, whereas he himself possessed "a good calf" and was stouter than his rival. In the year 1516 Ferdinand of Spain died, and his grandson Charles, who was already master of the Netherlands, became King of Spain, the Indies, and Naples, at the age of eighteen. Charles was also the grandson of the Emperor Maximilian, and a glance at the following table will show that he was destined to unite the possessions of Charles the Bold of Burgundy (the Netherlands), Maximilian of Austria, and Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain.

GENEALOGY OF CHARLES V.



The two young kings, Francis of France and Charles of Spain, were naturally rivals, but Wolsey was in favour of *universal peace*, and hoped that England might be able to hold the balance between them. With this end in view he arranged the *Treaty of London* between Henry, Francis, Charles, Maximilian, and the Pope (1518), but his plans were upset in the following year by the death of Maximilian, whose Austrian possessions passed to his grandson Charles. A contest at once arose between Francis and Charles for

the elective office of Emperor, which Charles obtained, much to the chagrin of the French king (1519). Henceforward Charles was known as the Emperor Charles v., and the supremacy of Spain began. Charles was now ruler of the Netherlands, Austria, Spain, Naples, and Sardinia, the Indies, and the wealthy Spanish possessions beyond the sea. Mexico was conquered about the time of Charles's accession, while, ten years later, Peru was added to the Spanish territories. But the great position occupied by Charles was fraught with difficulties, which became more apparent as time went on. (1) There was no geographical or national unity between the different states under his sway. (2) The wealth of the New World did not flow freely into the hands of Charles for some time, and he was compelled to enforce heavy taxes on the Netherlands. (3) His great position exposed Charles to the jealousy of other Powers. Even the Popes, as Italian princes, were jealous of his power in Italy. (4) As Emperor of Germany he was soon harassed by the conflicts which arose in that country between the Protestants and the Catholics. (5) As ruler of Austria he was exposed to the attacks of the Ottoman Sultan, Suliman I., who conquered Hungary and even attacked Vienna.

As yet, however, all these troubles had not encompassed Charles, and when Maximilian died and Francis failed to become Emperor, war between France and Spain was inevitable. Perhaps England ought to have preserved a neutral policy while the two rivals wore themselves out, but Wolsey persevered in his policy of holding the balance of power. With this object he arranged meetings between Henry and Francis outside Calais (the Field of the Cloth of Gold, 1520), and between Henry and Charles v. at Gravelines; but when war broke out between Francis and Charles in 1521, Wolsey and Henry sided with Spain, *although Spain was stronger than France*. From 1521-1525 the Anglo-Spanish alliance continued. In the latter year Francis I. was captured by the Spaniards at *Pavia*, and the friendship between Henry and the Emperor grew cool. Charles made no effort to secure the long-lost French provinces for Henry, whose share in the French war had been inglorious, and, to counteract the excessive power of Spain, Henry made peace and even entered into an alliance with France (1525). A league, headed by Pope Clement VII., was formed against Charles by the

Italian States, but the only result was the sack and pillage of Rome by the Emperor's troops (1527). France was now humbled and Charles was master of Italy.

(D) THE DIVORCE QUESTION.—FALL OF WOLSEY.

When Henry VIII. broke with Charles V., foreign questions ceased to be of supreme importance, for the king was intent on obtaining a divorce from his wife Catherine of Aragon. The desire for a divorce had probably been entertained by the king for some time, and was due to the following reasons: (1) Henry had ceased to care for his wife, who was six years older than himself. (2) All Henry's children had died except one daughter named *Mary*, and, as many men believed that a woman was incapable of governing England, there was a probability that on the death of Henry disputes might arise about the succession to the throne. Henry's own accession had put an end to a long series of disputed successions which had involved England in civil wars, and many men looked upon Henry's life as "a precious jewel," for they feared that this state of things might be revived if Henry died without leaving a son. The execution of possible claimants to the throne, such as Edmund de la Pole and the Duke of Buckingham, bears witness to Henry's own anxiety about the royal succession. (3) Henry also alleged conscientious scruples as to the legality of his marriage with Catherine. Though Pope Julius II. had issued a dispensation allowing Henry to marry his brother's widow, Henry began to question whether any Pope possessed the power to set aside the moral law by issuing such a dispensation, and also whether, in any case, the dispensation had been properly drawn up. (4) Henry had fallen in love with Anne Boleyn, the niece of the Duke of Norfolk, Wolsey's most powerful enemy, and Norfolk and his party were anxious to use Henry's passion for her to bring about Wolsey's downfall.

As a churchman Wolsey was placed in a difficult position by Henry's desire to obtain a divorce from Catherine, but he supported his master's will in order to retain the royal favour, which was now slipping away from him. Henry thought that he would experience little trouble in persuading the Pope to annul his marriage with

Catherine. But Clement VII. was the prisoner of the Emperor, who was Catherine's nephew, and he dared not offend Charles, whose help he needed to defend the cause of the Church in Germany against the followers of Luther (see page 244). On the other hand, he did not wish to offend Henry, who had proved himself a zealous champion of the Church, and whose assistance in removing the yoke of Charles he hoped some day to obtain. The Pope therefore resolved to gain time, and hoped that Catherine would sacrifice herself to Henry's wishes; but when he granted a commission to Wolsey and Cardinal Campeggio to try the case in England, Catherine refused to acknowledge the jurisdiction of their court, and appealed to the Pope in person (1529). The Pope thereupon seized the opportunity of delay, and revoked the cause to Rome.

Henry had thus been thwarted in his desires, and the full weight of his wrath fell on Wolsey. He decided to enhance his own popularity and to gratify his revenge by sacrificing his old minister, whose overthrow would please both the nobility and the people. Accordingly, in 1529, Wolsey was deprived of his chancellorship, which was given to Sir Thomas More. His property was seized, but Henry refounded a college which Wolsey was building at Oxford, changing its name from Cardinal College to Christ Church. Wolsey, however, was allowed to retain the Archbishopric of York, and he threw himself actively into his long-neglected spiritual duties. But he hoped to recover power by the intervention of France, and, his intrigues being discovered, he was summoned to London to answer a charge of treason. On his way to the capital he died at Leicester Abbey, November 1530.

CHAPTER XXIX.

HENRY VIII.

II.

THE CAUSES OF THE REFORMATION.

HENRY's divorce suit led to a breach between England and the Papacy, and marked the beginning of the English Reformation. The Reformation was a movement, not confined to England, to throw off the control of the Pope. It was (*A*) a European movement for which the way had been prepared by many causes, but especially by the Revival of Learning. In England the chief scholars of the New Learning were (*B*) Colet, Erasmus, and More, who wished the Church to reform itself and did not desire to break with the Pope. The Protestant Reformation began in Germany, and was the work of (*C*) Martin Luther, who was intent on curbing the Pope's power and reforming the teaching of the Church. In England the Reformation, though part of the wider European movement, possessed special characteristics, and was (*D*) a national movement carried through by the Government. It aimed, at first, at the removal of abuses in the Church rather than at the reform of its teaching.

(*A*) THE REFORMATION AS A EUROPEAN MOVEMENT.

THE Reformation marks the close of the Middle Ages in Europe. All through the Middle Ages men's minds had been dominated by the beautiful ideal of a universal Church presided over by the

Pope, and seeking to promote religion and justice not merely in one country, but among all the peoples of Western Europe. By the sixteenth century, however, this ideal had lost its power. Men's minds were now possessed by the idea of nationality, which was opposed to the interference of any outside authority in the internal affairs of a nation. For this spirit the faults of the Popes were in part responsible. The lustre of the papal office had been dimmed by such events as the Babylonish Captivity and the Great Schism. The Babylonish Captivity is the name given to the period 1305-1376, when the Popes resided not at Rome but at Avignon, where they were under the control of France. When the Pope returned to Rome the Great Schism broke out (1378). For many years there were several claimants to the papal office, and it was not till 1414-1418 that this state of affairs was closed by the Council of Constance, which restored the unity of the Papacy. Meanwhile grave scandals and abuses had arisen in the Church, and the Popes had lost the respect of earnest men in all countries. Many of the Popes were men of evil character, and they were all infected with the prevailing spirit of nationality, and thought more of their position as Italian princes than of their duties as heads of the Church. They paid little heed to the feelings of disgust which their conduct inspired, and went on exercising all their lucrative rights over the Church in nearly every country in Europe. The Reformation, therefore, was in one sense a political revolt against the power of the Pope, and it cannot be denied that it had its financial aspect. Englishmen and Germans alike hated sending money out of their own lands to be squandered by the Popes on their personal vices or on political objects in Italy.

But the Reformation possessed an intellectual as well as a political aspect. The Renaissance had taught men to think for themselves, and had bred a spirit of revolt against the authority of the priesthood and a tendency to question the doctrines of the Church. This tendency had been at work in Germany even before the influence of the Renaissance had spread from Italy to the countries north of the Alps. The German *Humanists* had attacked the theologians from love of sound learning, and men like *John Reuchlin* had bitterly opposed the clerical party on the question, "Shall theologians be censors of all learning?" The desire for some reform in the

Church was intensified when the New Learning reached Germany. In Italy the Renaissance had led to a renewed delight in classical studies, but in Germany it took on a more serious form and led to a closer study of the Bible. This statement is also true of the effects of the Renaissance in England.

(B) THE OXFORD REFORMERS.

In England the chief exponents of the New Learning were three men, named Colet, Erasmus, and Sir Thomas More.

(a) *Colet*.—Colet learnt Greek in Italy, and, returning to England, lectured at Oxford on St. Paul's Epistles, on which his knowledge of Greek enabled him to throw much new light. He became Dean of St. Paul's in London, and founded a school called St. Paul's (1509), to train young scholars in the best spirit of the New Learning. In Colet the culture of the Renaissance was combined with deep religious feeling. "Lift up your little white hands for me, which prayeth for you to God," was his request to the pupils of his new school. Colet wished to inspire the clergy with new knowledge and zeal and not to change the doctrines of the Church. He exercised his chief influence indirectly, through his followers, Erasmus and More.

(b) *Erasmus*.—Erasmus of Rotterdam studied Greek in England, and was the best classical scholar of his time. He was pre-eminently a thinker rather than a man of action, but he exposed with gentle sarcasm the abuses of the Church. He satirised the hypocrisies of "unholy men in holy orders" in his *Moriæ Encomium* (Praise of Folly), and in 1516 he published his edition of the Greek Testament, in which he laid stress on the literal meaning of the text, and "passed over the traditional interpretations of the Church." His writings did much to liberate men's minds from bigotry and superstition, but he wished to reform the Church without throwing off the authority of the Pope.

(c) *Sir Thomas More*.—More applied the New Learning to the purposes of political and social reform. He was a politician as well as a scholar, and he became Lord Chancellor on the fall of Wolsey (1529). More was the author of a book called *Utopia*, or Nowhere, in which he depicts an imaginary commonwealth free from the abuses

which troubled the states of his times. In Utopia perfect religious equality existed. In the morning the people worshipped in common, in the afternoon they worshipped as they liked. Even atheists were not persecuted in Utopia, though they were excluded from office. It is surprising to find religious toleration advocated in a book written in the Tudor age by an author who was an ascetic, and who, as we shall see, died for his opinions. More criticised the abuses of his time. He finds fault with the penal laws which inflicted death as the punishment alike for theft and murder, and so tempted a thief to commit murder in order to secure his theft. He complains of the greed of landowners, who, to secure greater profits, turned their corn land into pasture land and bred sheep, thus throwing the agricultural labourer out of employment. Sheep, he says, have taken the place of men in England. More anticipated many of the social reforms which were carried out in later ages, and indeed some of his projects have not even yet been realised.

Colet, Erasmus, and More are sometimes called the Oxford Reformers, but it should be clearly realised that they did not wish to break with the Papacy, though they did wish to reform its abuses.

(C) MARTIN LUTHER.

The first breach in the unity of the Western Church was effected by a German friar named Martin Luther. Luther was a man of coarser fibre and less learning than Erasmus, but he was swayed by deep convictions and violent passions. His father, a rough, honest German peasant, possessed stern notions of parental duty, and Luther's early years were full of gloom and terror. We read of the young friar, the victim of religious fears, writhing in his hair shirt on the stone floor of his cell at Erfurt; for the doctrine of justification by works, upon which the Church laid much stress, led Luther to believe that God was an angry judge who put forward demands which were impossible of fulfilment, and that non-fulfilment of these demands involved eternal damnation. From this slough of despond Luther was rescued by reading the writings of St. Augustine. He found comfort in a doctrine which, indeed, the Church had never repudiated, but which had been lost sight of in the undue stress laid upon the doctrine of justification by works—the doctrine of justifi-

cation by faith. Henceforward Luther believed that men obtained salvation by reason of the divine grace, and not by any number of good works. His belief in this doctrine led him in 1517, when he was a professor at the Elector of Saxony's newly established university of Wittenberg, to "fire the train of the Reformation" by protesting against the sale of indulgences by the Pope. The doctrine of indulgences is sometimes misunderstood. The Church did not teach that a man could buy pardon for his sins by a money payment. What it did assert was that when a man's penitence for sin had reconciled him to God, the penance which his wrong-doing entailed might be excused by the Church and commuted for a money fine. But there is no doubt that indulgences were carelessly sold, and gave rise to the opinion among ignorant men that they could buy God's pardon for sin without penitence. Against this abuse Martin Luther protested with all his might, and at length he came into conflict with Pope Leo x., whose authority he denied in his "Address to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation" (1520), which gained him the support of many of the German princes. Meanwhile the Pope had launched a Papal Bull against Luther, who publicly burnt it in the market-place of Wittenberg.

Rome had now shot its last bolt. If Luther was to be crushed, only the Emperor could crush him. Within a few years all the north of Germany followed Luther in revolt against Rome, although Charles v. threw the influence of the imperial office on the side of the Papacy. As time went on the Papacy learnt the lesson of the Reformation, and set to work to reform itself.

Thus Luther's terrible earnestness and indomitable will accomplished what the gentle sarcasm and sweet reasonableness of Erasmus had failed to accomplish. Erasmus was shocked by Luther's rough methods, and Henry viii., by writing a book against Luther in defence of the Seven Sacraments, including the sacrament of marriage, gained from the Pope the title of "Defender of the faith," which the English sovereign still retains (1521). Henry asserted that "if indulgences are impostures, then all the Popes are impostors, and it is easier to believe that one little friar is a diseased sheep than that all the Popes of old were perfidious shepherds."

Luther was not the only Protestant reformer in Europe. Ulric Zwingli (1484-1531) started in Switzerland a much more thorough-

going Reformation than Luther's movement in Germany, and the Genevan Reformers, chief among whom was a Frenchman named John Calvin (1509-1564), exercised great influence over the English Protestants. But it must not be imagined that the different bodies of Protestants agreed among themselves. On the contrary, bitter quarrels arose between them, and caused many men, in their perplexity, to regret the loss of the old definite teaching of the Roman Church. The Reformation nevertheless enforced one invaluable lesson. It taught men that they could approach their Creator without the intervention of a priest.

(D) THE REFORMATION IN ENGLAND AS A NATIONAL MOVEMENT.

The English Reformation shared many of the characteristics of the Reformation in Europe. It was a nation's protest against the degradation of the Papacy and the interference of a foreign potentate in its internal affairs. But the English Reformation did not originate with the English people. It originated with the ruler of England, to whose will his subjects bowed, and it was a political and national rather than a religious movement.

The papal authority had long been unpopular in England. As far back as the reign of William I. the English king had resisted the attempt of the Pope to become his master, and there was ample ground (in spite of John's humiliating vassalage to the Pope) for Henry VIII.'s boast that "the Kings of England in times past never had any superior but God." A long string of statutes, extending through the Middle Ages, had attempted without much success to limit the Pope's power and the excessive privileges of the clergy in England. The Constitutions of Clarendon (1164), the Statute of Mortmain (1279), the first Statute of Provisors (1351), the first Statute of Præmunire (1353), are among the statutes directed towards these objects; while in 1414, when England was at war with France, the first confiscation of Church property by Parliament took place when the revenues of alien priories were seized by the Crown.

We shall see that Henry utilised the English feeling against the assumptions of the Papacy and the privileges of the clergy in order to gratify his selfish desire for a divorce. But the necessity for

some reform in the English Church was evident to all. The monks had grown enormously rich and lost much of their original enthusiasm, while the universities had now taken over the useful educational work which the monasteries had formerly performed. Even the charitable doles which the monasteries dispensed to the poor now did more harm than good by encouraging the growing evil of vagrancy. The secular or parish clergy gave less cause for complaint, but the heads of the secular clergy were often State servants (*e.g.* Wolsey), who were paid for their political services by preferment to rich bishoprics, the duties of which they neglected. Serious grounds for complaint also arose out of the abuses of the jurisdiction of the Church courts. There is little evidence to prove that Englishmen, in the early days of the Reformation, desired doctrinal changes in the Church. It is true that Lollardism had never entirely died out, and that a few Englishmen fell under the influence of the continental Reformers, but on the whole the nation was satisfied with the old teaching and the old services of the Church, though dissatisfied at the shortcomings of the clergy and the Pope.

Even Wolsey, whose chief concern was diplomacy, recognised the need for Church reform, and with this end in view he seized the revenues of several small monasteries in order to build a college at Oxford, where an educated clergy was to be trained to reform the Church from within. We have seen how Henry, at Wolsey's fall, spared this college but changed its name from Cardinal College to Christ Church.

CHAPTER XXX.

HENRY VIII.

III.

THE BEGINNING OF THE REFORMATION IN ENGLAND.

THE Reformation in England was brought about partly by (*A*) legislation, for Henry wished to obtain the national sanction for the breach with Rome, and partly by (*B*) punishment. Henry was assisted in his policy by (*C*) Archbishop Cranmer, who pronounced the king's marriage with Catherine of Aragon to be invalid, and by Thomas Cromwell, who wished the king to rule despotically and favoured doctrinal reforms. Cromwell took the leading part in (*D*) the dissolution of the monasteries, which had very important results. At first the Reformation was marked by (*E*) a tendency towards doctrinal changes, but a party headed by Norfolk and opposed to doctrinal changes secured the passing of (*F*) the Six Articles to enforce certain points of Catholic belief, and brought about the downfall of Cromwell. Meanwhile (*G*) the king was becoming more and more absolute, and (*H*) war broke out with France and Scotland. Towards the end of the reign (*I*) Henry's policy was to hold the balance between Reformers and Catholics, and Norfolk fell into disfavour. Henry brought about (*J*) the union of England and Wales, and assumed the title of King of Ireland.

(*A*) LEGISLATION OF THE REFORMATION PARLIAMENT.

IN November 1529, immediately after the fall of Wolsey, the Seven Years' Parliament, or the Long Parliament of the Reformation, came together. It proceeded to attack the papal power

in England, and its measures effected a complete breach between England and Rome, by transferring the control of the clergy from the Pope to the king.

In its first session (1529) Parliament passed various Acts against ecclesiastical abuses, such as pluralities, mortuary dues, non-residence, and excessive probate fees. Thus Henry gave warning to the Pope that the clergy were under the control of the State, and that public opinion, as represented by Parliament, would support the king in an attack on the Church.

Vigorous measures followed to convince the clergy of the danger and uselessness of opposing the king's wishes. In 1530 all the clergy were charged with a breach of the Statute of Præmunire, because they had acknowledged Wolsey's legatine authority, which, of course, had been exercised with the king's consent and in the royal interest. They gained the king's pardon by paying an enormous fine and by making a declaration acknowledging Henry as supreme head of the Church of England, "so far as the law of Christ allows" (1531). Thus Henry showed that he intended to exercise authority in England in matters formerly controlled by the Pope, and obtained proof that the clergy as well as Parliament were submissive to his will.

In 1532 Parliament passed the *First Act in Restraint of Annates*, which struck at the temporal benefits of the Pope by empowering Henry, if he saw fit, to stop the Annates or First-Fruits which newly appointed bishops sent to Rome. Thus Henry intimated to the Pope the necessity of giving a favourable verdict in the divorce suit before it was too late. In the same year the clergy, by a document known as the "Submission of the clergy," surrendered their power to make laws in Convocation which had been called in question by the Commons, and consented to submit all past legislation to examination. Thus Henry settled the relations between the clerical legislature and the Crown, and a return was made to the practice of William I., who forbade the clergy to make laws without his consent.

These measures betrayed Henry's intention to make himself Pope over the English Church, and many men, who were in favour of moderate reforms but who did not wish a breach with the Papacy, took alarm. The day following the acceptance of the "Sub-

mission of the clergy" Sir Thomas More resigned the great seal, and Thomas Cromwell became the King's chief minister. About the same time the archbishopric of Canterbury fell vacant, and Henry appointed Cranmer to that office. Cranmer and Cromwell did all in their power to further Henry's wishes, but as yet the divorce from Catherine remained incomplete.

Accordingly, in 1533, Parliament struck at the spiritual jurisdiction of the Pope by passing the *First Act in Restraint of Appeals*, declaring that appeals to Rome in spiritual cases were contrary to the law of the land. No appeal was now possible from the court of the Archbishop of Canterbury to the Pope, and Cranmer accordingly declared that Henry's marriage with Catherine was void, and that his marriage with Anne Boleyn, which had already taken place, was valid. On September 7, 1533, Anne Boleyn bore Henry a daughter, who was christened Elizabeth.

The year 1534 was marked by the decisive legislation which rendered the breach with Rome complete. A second *Act in Restraint of Annates* finally deprived the Pope of his first-fruits, and provided for the future appointment of bishops. Henceforward, when a see fell vacant, the dean and chapter of the cathedral of the diocese were to receive both a licence from the Crown empowering them to elect a bishop (*congé d'élire*) and also a letter missive indicating the person to be elected. An *Act for the Submission of the Clergy* embodied in a statute the concessions which the clergy had made in convocation two years before, and prohibited every kind of appeal to Rome. An *Act against Papal Dispensations, Peter's Pence*, etc., abolished all payments to Rome, and abrogated the papal power in England.

Finally, an *Act of Succession* was passed vesting the succession to the Crown in the children of Henry and Anne Boleyn, and compelling any subject, if called upon to do so, to take an oath to observe the whole contents of the statute. For refusing to take this oath, Sir Thomas More and Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, who had defended Catherine of Aragon, were sent to the Tower. They did not deny the right of Parliament to regulate the succession, but they could not swear to the whole statute, because it denied the primacy of the Pope and declared Henry's marriage with Catherine to be invalid.

In November 1534 Parliament finally provided a substitute for the papal supremacy, by declaring the king *Supreme Head* of the Church of England. The limiting clause, "so far as the law of Christ allows," which Convocation had added three years before when it recognised the supremacy of the king, was omitted in the Act of Parliament.

(B) PUNISHMENT.—THE REIGN OF TERROR.

The revolution in the relations of Church and State in England which had now been effected was viewed with alarm by many serious observers, but the king crushed all opposition to his wishes by ruthless persecution; for he believed, like other rulers of his age, that the government should suppress dangerous opinions by force. In 1534, Elizabeth Barton, the Nun of Kent, was executed, because ignorant people believed that her utterances, in opposition to the religious changes, were inspired. She prophesied that Henry would soon die, and compared him to Saul after his rejection. In the following year, Fisher, the aged Bishop of Rochester, was executed. While he lay in prison he had received a cardinal's hat from the Pope, much to the dudgeon of Henry, who cried, "Let the Pope send him a hat when he will; but I will provide that, whensoever it cometh, he shall wear it on his shoulders, for head he shall have none to set it on." Fisher's body was buried in the churchyard of All Hallows, Barking, and "for seven years after his burial there grew neither leaf nor grass upon his grave." In June 1535 Sir Thomas More was executed. He preserved his innocent spirit of mirth even on the scaffold. As he laid his head on the block he carefully arranged his beard. "Pity," said he, "that should be cut that has not committed treason." In the following year (1536) Anne Boleyn was executed for adultery. Ten days after Anne's execution Henry married Jane Seymour, who died in 1537, soon after giving birth to a son, who was christened Edward.

(C) CRANMER AND CROMWELL.

(a) *Cranmer*.—We have seen how Cranmer served the will of his master by declaring the invalidity of his marriage with

Catherine of Aragon. He was a timid man who was not a time-server, but who never quite knew how far he meant to go. He swayed to and fro in his doctrinal beliefs, but he genuinely believed that the Anglican Church ought to be independent of Rome, and he was devoted to the service of the king.

(b) *Thomas Cromwell*.—The son of a Putney blacksmith, Cromwell, after a varied career as a trooper, a merchant, a solicitor, and a money-lender, attracted the notice of Wolsey somewhere between 1513 and 1520. When Wolsey was accused of having violated the Statute of Præmunire, Cromwell defended him in Parliament, and many men thought that the servant would fall with his master. But Cromwell's Machiavellian cleverness enabled him to gain favour with Wolsey's enemies, and he soon became the king's chief adviser. He succeeded More as principal minister, and in 1535 was made Vicar-General, with power to carry out the king's new supremacy in ecclesiastical matters. Cromwell was a layman, and he may have been responsible for the king's breach with the Papacy. At any rate, his policy was to reduce the Church to a mere department of the State in England. He was crafty, greedy, and unprincipled, but up to 1539 his ability made him indispensable to Henry. He seems to have wished to reform the doctrines as well as the government of the Church, though he lacked any spark of real religious feeling. His main idea was to make Henry the richest prince in Europe, and to render the king's power absolute in every direction. He did not, like Wolsey, believe in ruling without Parliaments, but he took care that Parliament should be subservient to the king's wishes. He was himself a member of the Long Parliament of the Reformation, and took an active part in securing its anti-papal legislation.

(D) DISSOLUTION OF THE MONASTERIES. PILGRIMAGE OF GRACE.

The last act of the Reformation Parliament had for its object the Dissolution of the Lesser Monasteries (1536). The policy of breaking up the religious houses was carried through by Cromwell, who regarded the monasteries as papal garrisons, because the monks were closely connected with the Pope. In 1535 Cromwell ordered

a general visitation of the monasteries by commissioners, who, while they praised the condition of some of the larger houses, reported most unfavourably on the condition of the smaller ones. Parliament accordingly abolished all monasteries possessing incomes of less than £200 a year, and transferred their property to the Crown.

But at this point the government was called upon to face a rebellion in the north of England, where the monks were still popular and where much social discontent existed. The nobles of the north hated the influence of Cromwell, whom they regarded as a base-born upstart, and the landowners were irritated by the Statute of Uses, which prevented them from providing for their younger children by making charges on their land by will. The people resented the enclosure of the commons which was going on apace, and, above all, detested the religious changes and the dissolution of the monasteries. The rebels demanded (1) the restoration of the monasteries, (2) the deposition of heretical bishops, (3) the removal of villein blood from the Privy Council, and (4) the repeal of the Statute of Uses. The first outbreak of rebellion took place in Lincolnshire (1536), where the movement was not aristocratic but popular. Henry told the Lincolnshire men that they were "but rude Commons of one shire, and that one of the most brute and beastly in the whole realm." But the rising soon spread to Yorkshire, where it was known as the *Pilgrimage of Grace* (1536), because the rebels desired to make a pilgrimage to London to lay their grievances before the king. Risings also took place in Westmoreland and Cumberland. In Yorkshire the nobles supported the movement, which was led by a lawyer named Robert Aske and reached formidable proportions. Henry possessed no standing army, so he sent the Duke of Norfolk, a member of the old nobility, whose Catholic principles were well known, to confer with the rebels. Norfolk persuaded the insurgents to send envoys to the king and to disband their forces. In a short time, however, the rebellion broke out again. This time it was put down with terrible severity, and, in order to obtain a tighter grip over the north, Henry set up a new court called the *Council of the North* (1537), which used its arbitrary powers to suppress all opposition to the royal will and to maintain order in the northern counties. (Cf. *Star Chamber*.)

The Pilgrimage of Grace, like all unsuccessful rebellions, strengthened the hands of the government. Irresistible pressure was put on the larger monasteries to surrender their property, and by 1539 the dissolution of the monasteries was complete. In this year an Act of Parliament vested all monastic property in the king. The money thus gained was spent in various ways. Some of it was spent in building ships and erecting fortifications. A few grammar schools were founded, and six new bishoprics—Chester, Gloucester, Bristol, Peterborough, Westminster,¹ and Oxford—were created. But a great deal of the monastic land was given to the king's favourites or sold at low prices. In this way Henry founded a new nobility devoted to his wishes and especially interested in supporting his religious changes, for the new landlords feared that a reconciliation with Rome would entail the loss of their estates. The men who obtained land on these easy terms cared nothing for the welfare of their tenants. The monks, at any rate in the north, had been indulgent landlords, but the new landlords thought only of their rents, and added to the hardships of the poor by enclosing the common lands. The poor were no longer able to seek relief at the gates of the monasteries, and unemployment and vagabondage increased to such an extent that the State soon had to make provision for the relief of pauperism.

After the dissolution of the monasteries the abbots and priors disappeared from the House of Lords, and for the first time the lay peers formed a majority in that assembly.

(E) TENDENCY TOWARDS DOCTRINAL CHANGES.

The destruction of the Pope's authority over the English Church and the substitution of that of the king was naturally accompanied by changes in dogma and ceremonial. Images and relics were roughly swept away; rich shrines, like that of Becket at Canterbury, were despoiled of their treasures, and an attempt was made in the *Ten Articles* (1536) to state "the things that were necessary to salvation."

The *Ten Articles*, issued by Henry himself, attempted to explain the old doctrines in a way acceptable to the followers

¹ Suppressed in the following reign.

of the New Learning, and although they preserved some Catholic doctrines, such as the Mass, they contained also the germs of Protestantism. The Bible, the three creeds, and the decrees of the first four councils were declared to contain the foundations of theological truth; but the three sacraments of baptism, penance, and the altar, the theory of transubstantiation, and the necessity of justification by works as well as justification by faith, were affirmed. The Ten Articles, therefore, were not a compromise with the Lutherans, although Cromwell and Cranmer favoured an alliance with the German Protestants. Nevertheless, men who supported doctrinal reforms were promoted to bishoprics, notably Hugh Latimer, who was made Bishop of Worcester, and who fastened the epithet of "strawberry preachers" upon the old-fashioned clergy who appeared, "like strawberries, but once a year," to preach in their pulpits. The clergy were ordered to repeat the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Commandments in the English tongue, and were forbidden to resort to taverns or alehouses "for any other cause than their honest necessity." In 1538 an English version of the Bible was set up in every parish church. The authorisation of the reading of the Bible in the mother tongue was an event of the greatest importance. Up to now the Reformation had not been in the main a religious movement. It had been marred by its connection with Henry's divorce suit and by the greed of the king and his courtiers. But the Bible, with its rich store of literature and its revelation of the simplicity of Christ's teaching and of the organisation of the early Church, in course of time struck deep into the minds of ordinary men and rendered certain the permanence of the Reformation.

(F) THE SIX ARTICLES, AND THE FALL OF CROMWELL.

But it must not be imagined that Protestantism became the creed of the majority of Englishmen in the reign of Henry VIII. Before long Cromwell and Cranmer and the party in favour of religious changes suffered a reverse. They were opposed by another party consisting of the Duke of Norfolk, Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, Bonner, Bishop of London, and other important persons who were averse to doctrinal changes. This party obtained the support of the

king, for Henry favoured Catholic views and regarded the Pilgrimage of Grace as a warning not to go too far. Accordingly, in 1539, Cromwell's policy of doctrinal reform was overthrown by the passing of the *Six Articles*, by which Parliament asserted (1) the truth of the doctrine of transubstantiation, (2) that the Communion in both kinds was unnecessary, (3) that priests must not marry, (4) that vows of chastity were binding, (5) that private masses should be continued, and (6) that auricular confession should be retained. The penalty for denying the doctrine of transubstantiation was death by burning, and severe penalties were imposed upon all who denied the other articles. These penalties caused the statute to be known as "the whip with six strings." Many people who refused to accept the articles, because they believed them to be Roman Catholic in teaching, were thrown into prison; but probably no very great number suffered death. It must not be forgotten, however, that while the death penalty was inflicted for denying the Romish doctrine, it was also relentlessly inflicted for asserting the papal supremacy. The passing of the Statute of Six Articles was soon followed by the downfall of Cromwell.

Fall of Cromwell.—It was part of Cromwell's policy to bring about a great Protestant alliance, and he hoped to bind Henry to the Protestant princes of North Germany, who were at enmity with the Emperor. As Henry, at this time, was afraid that Charles would make an alliance with Francis of France against England, Cromwell persuaded him to marry Anne of Cleves (1540), the sister of the Duke of Cleves, who favoured Protestantism. But there was no real point of union between Henry and the German Reformers, for the German Reformation was doctrinal, whereas the English Reformation was, as yet, almost entirely political. Moreover, Anne could speak no English, and was so plain that Henry compared her to "a Flanders mare," and quickly divorced her (1540). The king's wrath fell upon Cromwell, and he handed over his faithful minister to the tender mercies of Parliament. Cromwell was condemned of treason by bill of attainder, and executed 1540. His death gained Henry a new lease of popularity, for the people thought that Cromwell, and not the king, was responsible for all that had been done amiss. In the same year (1540) the Catholic party secured another triumph, for Henry married Catherine Howard, the niece of the Duke of Norfolk.

(G) THE KING'S ABSOLUTISM.

The strong control which Henry VIII. exercised over the Church was not the only mark of his absolute power. In the year 1539 Henry actually induced Parliament to pass an act giving his proclamations the force of law, provided that they did not set aside the common law or affect the personal freedom or property of any of his subjects. But a subject's property was not always safe from the grasping hand of the king. Henry VIII. frequently demanded benevolences and raised forced loans, and twice induced Parliament to release him from the obligation of paying his debts. In 1544 an Act of Parliament fixed the succession to the throne upon the king's children, Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth, and authorised Henry to make a will stating who was to succeed to the throne in case his children left no heirs. Henry decided that, if such a contingency arose, the Crown should go to the descendants of his younger sister Mary, and not to the descendants of his elder sister Margaret, the widow of James IV. of Scotland. Henry took the strongest measures to secure the safety of the succession. He executed Henry Pole, Lord Montague, the son of Margaret, Countess of Salisbury, who was the daughter of George, Duke of Clarence, the brother of Edward IV. Together with Montague perished his cousin the Marquis of Exeter, who was descended from Catherine, the second daughter of Edward IV. (1539). Montague's brother, Cardinal Pole, supported the Pope, and, after failing to raise a rebellion in England, remained abroad; but his mother, the aged Countess of Salisbury, was beheaded in 1541. These people were executed because they were dangerous by reason of their Yorkist descent, but there is little proof that they had committed treason.

(H) WAR WITH FRANCE AND SCOTLAND.

The great revolution which Henry carried through in throwing off the authority of the Pope in England was accomplished without any foreign intervention; for the Pope was powerless, and the Emperor was busily occupied in keeping the French out of Italy and the Turks out of Germany. Moreover, Charles was beset with difficulties arising out of the struggle between Catholics and Protestants

in Germany (see page 244). Francis I. of France was no Protestant, but the power of Spain surrounded him on all sides, and, in order to embarrass the Emperor, he favoured a policy of friendship with the Protestants abroad even while he persecuted the Protestants in France. Accordingly we find that, up to 1536, England was on friendly terms with France and on hostile terms with Charles. But in 1538 Charles and Francis were for the moment at peace, and the Pope had re-issued a Bull for the deposition of Henry. This was a year of real danger to England. A combination of the Emperor, France, and the Pope against Henry seemed possible. At home, the Pilgrimage of Grace had just taken place. It was under these circumstances that Henry executed Montague and Exeter, and entertained the project of an alliance with the German Protestant princes, which, as we have seen, broke down.

The death of Catherine of Aragon, which had taken place in 1536, and the Emperor's fright at Henry's project of an alliance with the German Protestants, resulted in a new understanding between Spain and England. The reconciliation between Charles and Francis proved but short-lived, and Charles entered into an alliance with Henry against France in 1543. Henry was drawn into the Spanish alliance on account of French interference in the affairs of Scotland.

War with Scotland.—Margaret's son, James V. of Scotland, was a zealous Catholic, who fell completely under the influence of France. His chief adviser, Cardinal Beaton, had been the Scottish resident at the French court, and James himself twice married Frenchwomen, his first wife being the daughter of Francis I., and his second wife another Frenchwoman named Mary of Guise. War broke out between England and Scotland in 1542, but the Scottish troops were scattered at *Solway Moss*, and James V. shortly afterwards died, his infant daughter Mary succeeding to the Scottish throne. Henry wished to marry Mary to his son Edward, but the Scots were more and more alienated from England and drawn towards France by the ravages of Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford, the English commander in Scotland.

War with France.—In 1544 war broke out with France, and Henry invaded France in person and captured Boulogne. Once more Charles V. proved but an instable ally, for he deserted Henry

and came to terms with Francis (1544). In 1546 Henry made peace with France and Scotland, retaining his conquest of Boulogne.

(I) HENRY HOLDS THE BALANCE BETWEEN REFORMERS
AND CATHOLICS.

Towards the end of his reign Henry made some slight concessions to the Reformers. Thus in 1544 a Litany was drawn up in English, and in 1545 an English Primer or Layman's Book of Devotions was authorised. But at the same time the policy of spoliation and plunder was revived, for Henry was empowered to confiscate the property of colleges¹ and chantries² (1545). Nor did the king abate one jot of his determination to allow no one to question his settlement of the Church. "Men were drawn to execution on the same hurdle" as heretics for denying the doctrine of transubstantiation, or as traitors for denying the Royal Supremacy. In spite of his liking for Catholic doctrines, Henry took care that the Catholic party should not obtain too much power. In 1542 he executed Catherine Howard for adultery. In 1543 he married Catherine Parr, whose relatives favoured the reforming movement. In 1546 he sent Norfolk, the head of the Catholic party, and his son the Earl of Surrey, to the Tower. Surrey was executed in 1547, and Norfolk probably only escaped a like fate owing to the death of Henry.

(J) HENRY'S POLICY TOWARDS WALES AND IRELAND.

Wales.—Henry was of Welsh descent, and he saw the wisdom of making the Welsh feel that their country was a part of England, and not a mere dependency of it. Accordingly, in 1536, he divided the Welsh Marches into shires and incorporated the Principality with England. Henceforward representatives of the Welsh shires, and also of the county palatine of Chester, sat in the English Parliament.

Ireland.—Henry VII. had found it necessary to entrust the rule of

¹ Colleges—associations of clergy.

² Chantries—foundations maintained for singing masses for the souls of the dead.

Ireland to native deputies, and the Fitzgeralds (the Earls of Kildare) usually governed the country. But the Fitzgeralds used their position for prosecuting their private quarrels, and their insolence grew so great that Henry determined to destroy their power. With this end in view he executed several members of the family.

In 1537 Henry induced the Irish Parliament to pass the Act of Supremacy and to suppress the Irish monasteries. The Irish nobles were bribed into accepting the Reformation by grants of Church lands, and in 1542 Henry adopted the title of King of Ireland, instead of the title of Lord of Ireland, which had originally been granted to the English king by the Pope. Till the close of Henry's reign Ireland was quiet, but the Irish people remained Catholic and the country was not thoroughly reduced until the end of Elizabeth's reign.

(K) HENRY'S WORK.

Henry's matrimonial relations, and the ruthless way in which he sacrificed his most faithful ministers to popular hatred, bear witness to the selfish and cruel side of his nature, which became more apparent as he grew older. But to his subjects Henry was the State. They passed over his faults, which, indeed, did not cause much disgust in the coarse Tudor age, and saw in the king an able, vigorous administrator, whose policy was always national in its aim. Henry displayed singular caution in his measures. He went step by step, carefully noting the state of public opinion, and ready to draw back at any serious sign of national hostility. The means by which he accomplished his great work may inspire repugnance, but the true test of its value was its power of endurance. Although the Reformation in England was carried through mainly as a political movement, yet its results were permanent and did not involve England in a Thirty Years' War such as followed the Reformation in Germany, or in a series of Civil Wars such as followed the Reformation in France.

CHAPTER XXXI.

EDWARD VI. (1547-1553).

HENRY VIII. had designed a Council of Regency to rule the country during the minority of his son, Edward VI., who was only ten years old at his accession. Henry intended that this Council should be equally balanced between the supporters of both religious parties, but (*A*) Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford, the brother of Jane Seymour and uncle of Edward VI., upset the late king's plans by getting himself nominated Lord Protector. Hertford was soon created Duke of Somerset. His (*B*) foreign policy was a failure, as also was his treatment of religious and social problems. He was an ardent Reformer, and used his almost royal power (*C*) to press on the Reformation. His religious changes outran public opinion and led to a rebellion in the west. His (*D*) treatment of social problems encouraged a rebellion in the eastern counties and brought about his own downfall (1549). After the fall of Somerset the chief power passed to (*E*) Dudley, Earl of Warwick, who was created Duke of Northumberland. Northumberland was an unscrupulous man who allied himself with the advanced Reformers in order to obtain his own ends. Under his rule (*F*) the Reformation became still more advanced, and grew more distasteful to the majority of Englishmen. He attempted to secure (*G*) the Protestant Succession and his own continued ascendancy by inducing Edward to make a will in which he set aside the claims of his sisters, Mary and Elizabeth, and left the Crown to Lady Jane Grey, who had married Lord Guildford Dudley, Northumberland's son.

(A) SOMERSET.

SOMERSET was a weak man, who lacked the gift of statesmanship. He tried to do too much, and failed in all his undertakings. He attempted to continue the foreign policy of Henry VIII., but only drove Scotland into the arms of France and lost Henry's conquest of Boulogne. He possessed some noble qualities, but he was impatient, greedy, and fond of popularity. His religious policy was marked by a genuine zeal for reform, but his lack of caution did the cause of the Reformation more harm than good. He sympathised with the poor and set up a court in his own house to deal with their grievances, but his sympathy was mingled with weakness and did not avert a serious social insurrection. His numerous enemies, chief among whom was Dudley, Earl of Warwick, hated him for his sympathy with the poor and for his arrogance. Somerset certainly did not underestimate his own importance. He described himself as called by Providence to govern, and addressed the King of France as "brother." He incurred additional odium by the erection of a splendid palace between the Strand and the Thames and by the execution of his own brother, Thomas Seymour, Lord Sudeley (1549). Seymour was Lord High Admiral, but he neglected his duties and connived at piracy. He had married Catherine Parr, Henry VIII.'s widow, who had charge of the Princess Elizabeth, and when his wife died he had plotted to marry Elizabeth.

(B) SOMERSET'S FOREIGN POLICY.

(a) *Scotland*.—We have seen that Henry VIII. wished to marry Edward to Mary, the young Queen of Scots. Somerset resolved to continue this policy, for he dreamt of a united Great Britain "having the sea for a wall" and "mutual love for a defence," but he alienated the supporters of the match in Scotland by attempting to carry out his object by force. In 1547 he won a great victory over the Scots at *Pinkie*, but his military triumph proved politically disastrous, for the Scots, who disliked this "manner of wooing," sent the young queen to France (1548), where, ten years later, she married the Dauphin Francis.

(b) *France*.—Once again the Scottish war involved England in a war with France. The new French king, Henry II. (1547-1559),

was bent on recovering Boulogne, and Somerset took no steps to form an alliance with the Emperor in order to hamper his adversary. In 1550 Boulogne was surrendered, for when Northumberland came into power he made peace with France and Scotland. Somerset's weak hand had let slip the advantages gained by Henry.

(C) SOMERSET'S RELIGIOUS POLICY AND THE REBELLION
IN THE WEST.

In the reign of Edward vi., the Reformation, for the first time, took on a doctrinal rather than a political aspect. Somerset himself was an ardent Reformer, and with his usual lack of insight believed that the favour with which the Londoners now looked upon the reformed views was shared by the country at large. To enforce these views on the whole community he called to his help the ruthless power of the State and the piety and scholarship of Cranmer. Within little more than a year the government carried through sweeping changes. Royal commissioners traversed the land, wrecking stone altars, destroying images and frescoes, and inspiring hatred in the hearts of many men to whom these symbols were dear. Gardiner and Bonner, who favoured the old faith, were imprisoned, and all the bishops were compelled to take out new commissions from the Crown, as though their offices had expired at the late king's death. The Six Articles were repealed by Parliament, priests were allowed to marry, and the Communion in both kinds was permitted. These changes were accompanied by much spoliation. The property of the *gilds*, which existed in many a country town, was confiscated by Act of Parliament, because part of their funds was spent on religious services. This measure roused the anger of the artisans, for the gilds not only regulated trade, but served as benefit societies to their members, and paid for masses for their souls when they died. Many gilds possessed much property derived from the bequests of former members. Thus, at Stratford-on-Avon, there was hardly a street in which the gild of the Holy Cross did not own a house, and in that town the gild showed its zeal for learning and religion by maintaining the beautiful chapel of the Holy Cross and also a Grammar School, where Shakspere was afterwards educated, which is now known as King Edward vi. School. In several

places these schools bearing the name of Edward vi. may still be found, and that sickly young monarch has earned spurious credit as a founder of schools because he allowed certain schools to retain part of their revenue when he spoiled the institutions which had formerly maintained them. Somerset himself was not above using the spoils of religious foundations to build the great mansion in the Strand which still bears his name, and, under his rule, the Reformation became associated in many men's minds with robbery.

A touch of humour brightens this sordid picture. In 1548 the Government found it necessary to ordain a "political Lent." "An Act for enforcing a fish diet in Lent and other proper seasons" shows that the discontinuance of fasting had jeopardised the trade of the fishermen who manned the ships of the royal navy. In 1549 an attempt was made to secure not uniformity of doctrine, but uniformity of worship, by the issue of an English book of Common Prayer, which was mainly the work of Cranmer. Cranmer at all times clung to the old teaching until he had found out that it conflicted with the teaching of the early Christian fathers. Herein he differed from the advanced Protestants, who thought themselves competent to interpret the Scriptures by the light of their own knowledge and feelings. For some time he had been engaged in the compilation of an English Service Book—a book which is rendered beautiful by his exquisite literary style. This Prayer Book was known as the *First Prayer Book of Edward vi.* It contained a translation into English of a great part of the old Latin services and was "the most conservative of all the liturgies of the Reformation." The "Act of Uniformity" (1549) made the use of the new Prayer Book compulsory. The Reformation had now ceased to be merely a political movement, and had assumed a doctrinal character. As yet, however, these changes were far from meeting with popular approval. In 1549 a rebellion broke out in Cornwall and Devon, where the people compared the new service to a "Christmas game," and demanded the restoration of the old service and ceremonies. The rebellion was with difficulty put down with the aid of foreign mercenaries.

(D) THE REBELLION IN NORFOLK (1549).

The religious rebellion in the west synchronised with a social rebellion in the eastern counties. The sixteenth century saw a

social as well as a religious revolution in England, and the middle of the century was a period marked by exceptionally severe distress. The growth of the woollen trade had resulted in an abuse of which More complains in his *Utopia*, the conversion of arable land into pasture. This process threw many men out of employment, and the evil had become even more acute in Edward vi.'s reign than it was when More wrote his book. The price of corn had risen while the value of wages had decreased, partly owing to the increase in the supply of silver drawn from the New World, and partly owing to the debasement of the coinage under Henry viii. and its further debasement under Edward. The dissolution of the monasteries had transferred much land to absentee owners, who proved hard masters, and had cut off the labourer from the relief formerly afforded by the charitable doles of the monks. The disappearance of monastic doles was really a blessing in disguise, for they encouraged vagrancy, which by the reign of Edward vi. had assumed such formidable proportions that Parliament passed an Act which not only provided that a weekly collection should be taken in churches for the relief of the impotent poor, but also enacted that idle persons and vagrants should be adjudged slaves to some neighbour for the space of two years, and that if they then remained incorrigible they should become slaves for life (1547). This terrible Act proved a dead letter. Social discontent abounded, especially in the east, where the religious changes were popular enough, and culminated in the rising of Norfolk under *Robert Ket*, who broke down enclosures and demanded the restoration of the common lands. Somerset, out of sympathy with the rebels' grievances, hesitated to suppress the rebellion, but his rival Warwick took the matter out of his hands, and crushed the rising at Mousehold Hill (1549). This social rising proved to be Somerset's undoing. Deprived of the protectorate, he was thrown into the Tower, and the ascendancy of Warwick began.

(E) NORTHUMBERLAND.

The son of Henry vii.'s minister Dudley, Warwick had risen to importance in spite of his father's execution. He possessed great abilities and was "the best manne of war in the realm." But he was an unscrupulous man, whose one aim was his own advancement, and he possessed none of the public zeal and the generous and humane

qualities of Somerset. He utilised the passions of men without sharing them, and in this spirit resolved to push on the Reformation in accordance with the views of the advanced Reformers. While the extreme Protestants styled him "that most faithful and intrepid soldier of Jesus Christ," and compared him to Moses and Joshua, Warwick merely viewed the Reformation as a source of profit to himself and as a movement which would prevent the return of the old nobility to office. He made peace with France (1550), and attempted to bring about a French alliance on the understanding that Edward should marry Henry II.'s daughter, Elizabeth (1551). He entered on a religious policy of such shameless spoliation that he soon became unpopular, and Somerset seemed to have a chance of regaining his old position. The young king, however, took the part, not of his uncle but of Warwick, whom he created Duke of Northumberland. In 1552 Somerset was beheaded.

(F) THE REFORMATION UNDER NORTHUMBERLAND.

In 1552 Parliament passed the Second Act of Uniformity, which imposed the use of a revised Prayer Book known as the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI. By this time Cranmer's views had advanced. He had fallen under the influence of foreign divines like Peter Martyr and Martin Bucer, who had fled to England from the tyranny of Charles V. The Second Prayer Book therefore favoured the views of the Swiss Reformers, *i.e.* it was Zwinglian in tone, whereas the First Prayer Book contained traces of the influence of Luther. It abandoned the doctrine of the Real Presence and taught that the Eucharist is a service of commemoration. Forty-two Articles of Religion were issued containing the doctrines of the Church. *The English Church had now been brought into closer communion with the Protestant Reformers.* Gardiner and Bonner had been deprived of their sees, and advanced Reformers promoted to bishoprics. Thus Ridley became Bishop of London, and Hooper Bishop of Gloucester. Greater spoliation and plunder than had marked even Somerset's weak rule accompanied these changes. Bishoprics were dissolved and their lands taken over by the State, while churches were despoiled of organs and bells, and even of the very lead from the roofs.

(G) THE ATTEMPT TO ALTER THE SUCCESSION.

Edward vi.'s health was always delicate, and it was evident that he would not live long. Northumberland knew that he would lose his power if Mary ascended the throne, for the daughter of Catherine of Aragon naturally viewed Protestantism with dislike. By a crowning stroke of audacity he induced Edward to make a will, which Parliament did not authorise, setting aside the claims of his sisters Mary and Elizabeth, and leaving the throne to Lady Jane Grey, the granddaughter of Henry vii.'s younger daughter Mary. Lady Jane was a zealous Protestant; but Northumberland's choice fell upon her because she was the wife of his son, Lord Guildford Dudley.

CHAPTER XXXII.

MARY (1553-1558).

THE national conscience was shocked by the attempt to set aside Mary, the rightful heir to the throne, and to substitute Lady Jane Grey in the interests of the Reformed religion. Protestantism had been pushed on too fast in the reign of Edward VI., and had become associated with extortion and misrule, so that the nation viewed (*A*) the downfall of Northumberland and the accession of Mary with relief. To Mary the whole Reforming movement in England was hateful, for she regarded it as the source of her own and her mother's misfortunes. She was therefore determined to restore the Papal Supremacy, and, as a step in this direction, began her reign by (*B*) the restoration of Henry VIII.'s system, which met with popular approval. But her desire for (*C*) a Spanish marriage led to several risings, of which the most formidable was led by Sir Thomas Wyatt. These risings having been suppressed, Mary married Philip of Spain, and pressed on (*D*) a complete reconciliation with Rome. This policy was enforced by (*E*) religious persecution. Mary was induced by Philip to join Spain in making (*F*) war against France. In the course of the war Calais was lost (1558). Mary's reign led to a reaction in favour of Protestantism, just as Edward VI.'s reign led to a reaction in favour of the old faith.

(*A*) THE DOWNFALL OF NORTHUMBERLAND (1553).

THE attempt to place Lady Jane Grey on the throne was destined to failure. Few men wished to set aside the lawful heir to the Crown or to prolong the grasping rule of Northumberland, and the

country at large was weary of the Reformation and anxious to return to the ecclesiastical system existing at the close of Henry viii.'s reign. Mary was well informed of Northumberland's intentions, and sought a refuge at Framlingham in Suffolk—a strong seat belonging to the Catholic Howards, and situated in a district where the memory of Northumberland's cruelty in suppressing the rebellion of 1549 was still fresh. When it was already too late, Northumberland set out from London to capture Mary. He noted, with alarm, that the Londoners did not approve of his mission. "The people press to see us," he cried, "but not one sayeth, 'God speed ye!'" Indeed, he met with so little support that, fourteen days after Edward's death, he relinquished his attempt, and proclaimed Mary queen at Cambridge, exclaiming with tears running down his face, that he knew her to be a merciful woman. Northumberland of course suffered death, but even on the scaffold he clung to the hope of a reprieve and made a humiliating renunciation of the Protestant faith (1553). Lady Jane Grey and her husband were sent to the Tower, while the Duke of Norfolk, Gardiner, and Bonner were restored to liberty.

(B) THE RESTORATION OF HENRY VIII.'S SYSTEM.

In spite of her ardent desire to restore completely the Pope's authority in England, Mary at first proceeded cautiously. Many Reformers, however, foresaw the coming storm and escaped to the continent ere it was too late. The queen at once heard mass in the royal chapel, and employed her power as Supreme Head of the Church to forbid unauthorised preaching, to order the expulsion of the married clergy, to depose the Protestant bishops, and to restore Gardiner and Bonner to their bishoprics. Mary's first Parliament sanctioned these changes, and passed an Act rescinding all Edward vi.'s legislation affecting religion, and restoring the state of things prevailing at the end of Henry viii.'s reign. It also declared that Henry viii.'s marriage with Catherine of Aragon was valid; but further than this it would not go. It refused to consider the question of restoring the abbey lands to the Pope, nor did it take any steps to re-establish the Papal Supremacy.

(C) THE SPANISH MARRIAGE.

The same national feeling which sanctioned these religious changes, but looked with disfavour upon any attempt to restore the Pope's power in England, led men to hope that Mary would marry an Englishman. Even Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, who was appointed Lord Chancellor, and who shared the queen's desire for the restoration of the papal authority, wished Mary to marry Edward Courtenay, Earl of Devon, the son of the late Marquis of Exeter and the great-grandson of Edward iv. But Mary was determined never to marry an English noble. She therefore gladly accepted the proposal of Charles v. that she should marry his son Philip, who was eleven years her junior, and thus prevent Mary Queen of Scots, who was now in the hands of the French, from ascending the English throne. The proposed marriage was viewed with alarm by the French, and was most unpopular in England. Englishmen remembered how Charles v.'s empire had been built up by a series of marriage alliances, and feared that their country would sink into a mere dependency of Spain if Mary married Philip. Parliament ventured to remonstrate with Mary, who thereupon dissolved it. But the disaffection in the country could not be so easily silenced. Risings took place in Cornwall, headed by Sir Peter Carew; in the Midlands, headed by the Duke of Suffolk, father of Lady Jane Grey; and in Kent, headed by Sir Thomas Wyatt. The Kentish riot was the most serious. The conspirators relied on French aid, and aimed at deposing Mary and placing Elizabeth, who was to marry Courtenay, on the throne. Wyatt marched on London, but the characteristically Tudor bravery which Mary had shown in an address to the citizens at the Guildhall, and the dislike which was felt for a conspiracy supported by French aid, rendered his failure certain. After some fierce fighting he surrendered at Temple Bar (1554).

Mary now repented of her former clemency, and resolved to cut off "hurtful members" from the commonwealth. Lady Jane Grey and her husband were executed, although they had no connection with the risings, and Suffolk and Wyatt met a similar fate. Courtenay was allowed to quit the kingdom, but Elizabeth was placed under strict surveillance at Woodstock, and probably owed her life

to Gardiner's exertions on her behalf. On July 25, 1554, in Winchester Cathedral, Mary was married to Philip by Gardiner. Gardiner had withdrawn his opposition to the match, but he took care to arrange a marriage treaty safeguarding English interests as far as possible, and providing that England should not be drawn into the war with France on behalf of Spain.

(D) RECONCILIATION WITH ROME (1554).

Mary's triumph in the matter of her marriage was followed by the restoration of the Papal Supremacy in England. The one obstacle to a complete reconciliation with Rome was removed when the Pope allowed his legate, Cardinal Pole, to promise that owners of abbey lands should continue in possession of their holdings. A new Parliament thereupon reversed the attainder which has been passed against Pole in Henry VIII.'s reign, and in November 1554 the legate landed in England. He received England once more "into the unity of our Mother the Holy Church," and Parliament swept away all the legislation of the two previous reigns against the papal authority, and re-enacted the ancient statutes against Lollardism.

(E) RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION.

The revival of the heresy laws by Parliament enabled Mary, who was seconded by Pole and possibly by Gardiner, to enter on the policy of burning heretics. In the sixteenth century religious error was regarded as a political offence, and the religion of the sovereign was held to be binding on the subject. Religious intolerance was general, and Protestants as well as Catholics put men to death for their religious opinions. Thus Edward VI. burnt the Anabaptists, who were extreme Protestants; and Calvin burnt Servetus at Geneva because he denied the doctrine of the Trinity (1553). Mary's motives in enforcing persecution must be viewed in the light of her age. She honestly believed it to be her duty to save the soul of a Protestant by burning his body. Pole was a man of gentle nature, but he was unable to resist the stronger will of the queen, and he took part in the policy of persecution, although he was incapable of

originating it. He was anxious, too, to vindicate his reputation for orthodoxy, which had been called in question by his detractors.

The first victim of the persecution was John Rogers, prebendary of St. Paul's, and once himself a persecutor. He was followed to the stake by Hooper, Bishop of Gloucester, and Ferrar, Bishop of St. David's, who, like More in Henry VIII.'s reign, died for their faith without flinching (1555). Latimer, Ridley, and Cranmer met a like fate. Ridley and Latimer were burnt at Oxford (1555), and Cranmer witnessed their dying agonies from a tower above his prison. The aged archbishop did not suffer death till March 1556; for he had been consecrated before the Papal Supremacy had been discarded by Henry VIII., and the authority of the Pope was necessary to his degradation and condemnation. While he lay in prison, terror of death led him to sign no less than six recantations of his former religious views. But when his doom drew near Cranmer's courage returned. He withdrew his recantations, and, being led to the stake, held his right hand in the flame that it might be "the first burnt," and so expiate its offence.

In the course of the persecution, which lasted about four years, less than four hundred people perished. Most of the burnings took place in the dioceses of London and Canterbury, partly because Protestantism was strongest in these districts, partly because Pole, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Bonner, Bishop of London, were the most active persecuting prelates. Many victims also suffered in the dioceses of Norwich and Chichester, but in six out of the twenty-six dioceses there were no burnings at all, perhaps because there were no Protestants to burn. The persecution did not last long enough, nor was it thorough enough, to be successful, and indeed it defeated its own ends. "If the Protestants did not know how to govern, they knew how to die," and their heroism bred a feeling of aversion for Romanism in the heart of the nation.

(F) WAR WITH FRANCE.

'There is no more pathetic figure in English history than that of "Bloody Mary." Cruelly wronged in her earlier years, when she came to the throne she found herself impotent to stamp out what she believed to be a great national sin. Her hopes of motherhood proved

vain, she was racked by an incurable disease, and she awoke to the knowledge that her husband's love had never been hers. In 1555 Philip left her to play his part in continental affairs. His father, Charles v., had been foiled in his efforts to make himself master of Germany by the policy of Henry II. of France, who lent his support to the German Protestants. Henry also allied himself with the Pope and threatened the imperial power in Italy. Worn out by his great labours, Charles v. abdicated his dominions (1555-1556). His brother Ferdinand succeeded to the title of Emperor and the possessions of Charles in Germany. Philip, however, obtained Spain and the Spanish colonies, together with Charles's possessions in Italy and the Netherlands. The Netherlands really belonged to the Empire, but Charles handed them over to his son because of their commercial importance to the ruler of England. Philip also inherited a war with France which had broken out in 1551. Into this war, in spite of the terms of the marriage treaty, he succeeded in drawing Mary. The war brought England nothing but ignominy, and even drew down on the country the hostility of the Pope, who, being in league with Henry II., deprived Cardinal Pole of his legatine authority. Early in 1558 the French captured Calais, which the English had held for 211 years. A few months later (November 1558) Mary's bitter life ended, and Cardinal Pole survived his royal mistress only a few hours. The lives of both were "eminent examples of the inadequacy of deep convictions and pious motives to guide the State aright."¹

¹ See article by Professor Pollard in *Cambridge Modern History*, vol. II.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

PROGRESS OF THE REFORMATION IN EUROPE.

(A) IN GERMANY.

CHARLES V. was a Spaniard, not a German, and the Reforming movement in Germany met with his antagonism. Luther was placed under the imperial ban by the Diet of Worms in 1521, but for several years Charles was too busily employed in fighting France to do much in Germany. In 1529, however, the Diet of Spire renewed the imperial ban, and led to the *Protest* of the German princes who supported Luther (hence the term Protestants). The Lutheran articles of faith were set out in the Confession of Augsburg (1530), and the League of Schmalkalden was formed to defend the Lutheran cause. For some years Charles was hampered by wars with France and the Turks, and it was not till 1546 (the year of Luther's death) that he came to blows with the Lutherans. In 1547 Charles won a complete victory at Mühlberg, and attempted to dictate a peace by issuing an *Interim* which made a few concessions to the Protestants. In 1551 hostilities were renewed, but the Protestants were now supported by the French king, so that in 1555, after the resignation of Charles v., his brother the Emperor Ferdinand ratified the *Peace of Augsburg* on the principle of "*cujus regio ejus religio.*"¹ This peace, however, led to endless disputes, and, as we shall see, caused the outbreak of the 'Thirty Years' War in Germany (1618-1648).

Lutheranism was adopted not only in many German States, but in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. In all countries where it prevailed it arose under the patronage of kings and rulers, and was associated with political objects.

¹ *I.e.* the religion of the ruler was to be followed by his subjects.

(B) IN SWITZERLAND.

A more vigorous form of Protestantism arose in Switzerland. In the eastern or German part of that country, Ulrich Zwingli started a Reformation which was independent of Luther's movement, and in some respects different from it. Zwingli, like Luther, energetically protested against the sale of indulgences (1519). Making Zurich the centre of his activity, he gathered together a strong following, and sought to rule the Church through the city. Ultimately he came into collision with the more backward mountain cantons, which retained the old faith, and lost his life in the battle of Cappel (1531). A treaty was then drawn up allowing each canton to retain its own religion (compare the Peace of Augsburg in Germany, 1555).

But in the western or French part of Switzerland another Reformer arose whose fame was destined to eclipse that of Zwingli, and whose influence outstripped that of Luther. Born in 1509 in Picardy, *John Calvin* was educated for the law. He adopted Protestant views, and, being driven from France by the persecutions of Francis I., he made *Geneva* the centre of his teaching. Calvin, like Henry VIII., identified the State and the Church, but his system aimed at the control of the State by the Church and not at the control of the Church by the State. From 1536 to his death in 1564, Calvin was the religious and political dictator of Geneva. Yet the organisation of his Church was democratic. He held that the government of the Church belonged not to the clergy alone, but also to the people, and he evolved the *Presbyterian* system of Church government, which he believed was divinely laid down in Scripture.¹ The government of the Church was to be carried on by presbyteries or synods, *i.e.* by councils composed of "ruling elders," partly clerical and partly lay. Calvin, however, like the Popes of old, wished to make the State an instrument for carrying out God's will. He identified sin with crime, and taught that the civil magistrate was bound to carry out, without question, the decrees of the Presbyterian councils. In doctrine Calvin was more advanced than Luther. He pushed to its logical extreme the doctrine of justification by faith,—God's will governed all things, and God's

¹ Cf. Ephesians iv. 11.

will therefore *predestined* a man at his birth to eternal damnation or eternal salvation. The uncompromising, ascetic system of Calvinism soon won the support of Protestants in every country in which the new faith was forced to struggle for existence. The spear of militant Protestantism was everywhere tipped with Calvinism.

In the reign of Mary many English exiles went to Geneva and adopted Calvin's tenets, and on their return to England, in Elizabeth's reign, they determined to establish the Presbyterian form of government in the English Church. There was no question of toleration at issue. The English Calvinists strove not for toleration for their own views, but for the establishment of their own system in the English Church, and we shall see that Elizabeth came into collision with them. The spread of Calvinism in Europe affected Elizabeth's foreign policy as well as her domestic policy. In particular, it influenced her relations with Scotland and the Netherlands.

(C) IN SCOTLAND.

We have already seen that James v. of Scotland (1513-1542) was a supporter of the Roman Catholic faith and a devoted ally of France. Nevertheless, during his reign the Reformation made some progress in Scotland, where many men viewed the corruption of the Church with disgust, and the nobility looked with jealousy upon the wealth and power of the clergy. Had the marriage arranged between Edward vi. and Mary Queen of Scots taken place, Scotland might have become Protestant sooner than it did, but Somerset's blundering policy not only alienated the Scots from England but delayed the triumph of Protestantism in Scotland. Under the regency of the Frenchwoman, Mary of Guise, the French party in Scotland triumphed, and John Knox and other prominent Reformers were driven for a time into exile. Protestantism, however, received more favour from Mary of Guise when Mary Tudor married Philip of Spain, and in 1557 a band of nobles, known as the *Lords of the Congregation*, allied themselves with reforming preachers like John Knox, the follower of Calvin, and aimed both at the purification of the Church and the secularisation of its lands. On the accession of Elizabeth, the Scottish Reformers were again persecuted, and

we shall see how Elizabeth's interference on their behalf in Scotland destroyed both the French party and the old Church in that country (1560).

(D) IN THE NETHERLANDS.

We have seen that Mary Tudor's husband, Philip of Spain, was the ruler of the Netherlands or Low Countries, *i.e.* of the territories now comprised in the countries of Holland and Belgium. Holland was peopled by Teutons who spoke a German language, as also was the northern part of Belgium, which was inhabited by the Flemings. The southern part of Belgium was peopled by Celts, who spoke the French language.

Lutheranism found its way to the Netherlands in the reign of Charles v., who set up the Court of the Inquisition in that country and tried to stamp out heresy by imprisonment and burnings. These measures proved ineffective, and the resistance of the Reformers stiffened when Lutheranism was reinforced by Calvinism. Under Philip II. thousands were put to death, and persecution became so terrible as to alienate the majority of the people, who still clung to the old faith.

In 1559 Philip returned to Spain, leaving his half-sister, Margaret of Parma, as regent of the Netherlands. Margaret gave all her confidence to Spanish counsellors, and imposed heavy taxes on the people, so that the national hatred of the Spaniards, combined with the resentment engendered by persecution, soon brought about a revolution. Members of the aristocracy like William of Orange and Count Egmont (a Catholic) joined a league known as the *Gueux* or *Beggars* (1566) directed against the Spaniards. A general insurrection of the people followed, marked by such violence and damage to churches that many moderate men took alarm.

Philip commissioned the *Duke of Alva* to punish the Netherlands. Appointed governor in 1567, Alva instituted a veritable reign of terror. He set up a council, known by the significant name of the Council of Blood, which claimed its victims by thousands, and he executed Count Egmont as a warning to the refractory nobility. Such cruelty could not go long unopposed. William the Silent, Prince of Orange, headed the resistance to Alva, but at first met with no

success. In 1572, however, some Dutch freebooters known as the Sea Beggars captured Brill, and inspired the patriotic party with fresh vigour. Town after town revolted, and drove out its Spanish garrison. William of Orange sought the alliance of Elizabeth and obtained that of France, but in 1572 the massacre of St. Bartholomew took place in Paris and weakened William's position. In the following year, Alva, who had avenged the revolt in the Netherlands by fierce massacres in the towns which he recaptured, demanded his own recall. He was succeeded by a governor named Requesens, whose lieutenancy was marked by the relief of Leyden by the Sea Beggars after a siege of eleven months. Cutting the dykes, the Sea Beggars sailed over the flooded fields up to the walls of the beleaguered town (1574). Requesens died in 1576. His death was followed by the *Pacification of Ghent*, which united against the Spaniards the Protestant provinces of the north and the Catholic provinces of the south. Hitherto the Calvinistic northern provinces had formed the backbone of the resistance to Spanish rule, but the excesses of the Spanish soldiery after Requesens' death, and especially the sack of Antwerp, produced for a moment a united Netherlands.

Don John of Austria (1576-1578) and the Duke of Parma (1578-1592) were the next governors of the Netherlands. Parma succeeded in detaching the Catholics of the south from the Protestants of the north, and forced William of Orange to relinquish his dream of a united Netherlands. In 1579, however, the seven¹ Protestant States of the north formed the Union of Utrecht, and appointed William as their Stadtholder, thus laying the foundation of the Dutch Republic. At this juncture Elizabeth helped William by secret gifts of money, though she refused to assist him openly. In 1584 William was murdered, and his son Maurice became Stadtholder. Elizabeth thereupon resolved to give open help to the Dutch, and sent Leicester to their assistance (1585). Leicester, however, was a thoroughly incompetent general, and two years later he returned to England in disgrace. Nevertheless Elizabeth's intervention indirectly saved the Dutch. Philip, in fury, launched the Armada against England, and further weakened his power by

¹ Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, Gelderland, Overysell, Groningen, and Friesland.

unsuccessful campaigns in France against the Huguenot Henry of Navarre (1589-1598). While the Spaniards thus dissipated their strength, Maurice of Orange made headway against the Catholics. In 1609 the young republic at length obtained a twelve years' truce, and in 1648 gained formal recognition of its independence by the Treaty of Westphalia.

(E) IN FRANCE.

The Reformation in France began as a native movement, and owed its origin to the desire for reform bred by the Revival of Learning. The earliest French Reformers were not followers of Luther, but they soon fell under the influence of their fellow-countryman Calvin, who, as we have seen, sought refuge in Switzerland from the persecutions of Henry II. (1547-1559). After the death of Henry II. the French Reformers began to take an active part in politics. Now known as Huguenots, they demanded not only religious toleration, but also various political reforms. Francis II. (1559-1560), a feeble youth of sixteen, the husband of Mary Queen of Scots, succeeded Henry II. During his reign power fell into the hands of his wife's uncles, the Cardinal of Guise and the Duke of Guise, who championed the cause of orthodoxy. The Guises were hated as foreigners, and their political opponents made common cause with the persecuted Huguenots. The most bitter enemies of the Guises were the Bourbons, Antony, King of Navarre, and his brother Louis of Condé, who now posed as Huguenot leaders. A more faithful champion of the Huguenot cause was Admiral Coligny. Catherine de Medici, the mother of Charles IX.¹ (1560-1574), also hated the Guises, and gave the Huguenots a limited toleration which pleased neither Protestant nor Catholic. Conflicts broke out between the two parties, and, in 1562, Condé and Coligny took up arms to avenge a massacre of Huguenots by the Duke of Guise at Vassy. Thus began the first of a series of nine civil wars which broke out in France between 1562 and 1594.

In 1572 occurred the terrible *Massacre of St. Bartholomew*, in which thousands of Protestants were slain. They had come to Paris to take part in celebrating the marriage of Charles's sister to Henry

¹ Charles IX. was only ten years old at his accession.

of Navarre (son of Antony of Navarre), who was now the head of the Huguenot party. This massacre was planned by Catherine, who had lost her influence with the king and was jealous of the power of Coligny over her son. In conjunction with the Guises she induced Charles ix. to consent to this horrible deed, which kindled anew the flames of civil strife in France.

Henry iii., brother of Charles ix. and also of the Duke of Alençon,¹ reigned from 1574 to 1589. He strove in vain to mediate between the two extreme parties headed by Henry of Guise and Henry of Navarre. After thirty years of bloodshed, peace was eventually restored in France by Henry of Navarre, who came to the throne in 1589. Henry iv. renounced the Protestant faith (1593), cynically remarking that Paris was well worth a mass, and granted toleration to the Huguenots by the *Edict of Nantes* (1598).

The Reformation in France was never a really popular movement. It was identified with aristocratic self-seeking, and conflicted with the passion for unity which is deeply ingrained in the French political character.

THE COUNTER-REFORMATION.

The Protestant Reformation produced a Counter-Reformation in the Roman Church itself. A new line of Popes, beginning with Paul iv. (1555-1559), cast aside the desire for pleasure and for aggrandisement in Italy, and infused a new moral energy into their duties as heads of the Church. The Council of Trent (1545-1563) removed many abuses, and sharply defined the creed of the Church of Rome. The foundation of the Order of Jesuits by Ignatius Loyola in 1540, supplied the Pope with an army of devoted and disciplined missionaries. In the foreign mission field the Jesuits did noble work, and they have left their mark on the history of education in Europe. But they were trained in the school of political intrigue, and we shall see how their machinations affected the peace of England in Elizabeth's reign. By their untiring efforts the Jesuits destroyed Protestantism in Italy, France, Spain, Poland,

¹ Duke of Alençon-Anjou, one of Elizabeth's suitors.

and the German dominions of the House of Hapsburg, so that Protestantism, roughly speaking, ultimately prevailed only in Northern Europe among the Teutonic races.

The efforts of the Jesuits were seconded in the countries where Catholicism triumphed by the *Court of the Inquisition*, whose terrible sentences on heretics were carried out by the civil power.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

ELIZABETH (1558-1603).

FIRST PERIOD (1558-1568).

AT her accession Elizabeth was confronted by great difficulties. (A) The religious question awaited solution, and Elizabeth sought to ensure a compromise which would be accepted by the majority of the nation. Accordingly she set up a *via media* in religion by constructing a Church system sufficiently comprehensive to include all Catholics who were not Papists, and all Puritans who were not Presbyterians. England's relations with foreign countries were critical, and all Elizabeth's tact was required to avoid war with France and Spain.

(B) In the first period of her reign (1558-1568) the chief dangers came from France, and Elizabeth entered on a policy of assisting rebels, both in Scotland, whose Queen Mary was under French influence, and in France, where the Huguenots were in arms against the government. In 1561 (C), Mary Queen of Scots returned from France to Scotland, and increased Elizabeth's difficulties, both by her clever policy and because many English Catholics looked upon her as Elizabeth's successor. Ultimately Mary ruined her own chances by her folly in marrying Bothwell, the murderer of her second husband. She was forced to abdicate, and, having sought a refuge in England, was detained as a prisoner by Elizabeth.

(A) THE RELIGIOUS SETTLEMENT.

WHEN Elizabeth ascended the throne at the age of twenty-five, she had already learnt the lesson of self-control and the art of dissembling. She was born in 1533 at Greenwich, three

years before her mother, Ann Boleyn, was executed. Elizabeth, like her half-sister Mary, was declared illegitimate by Parliament, but she was educated with her half-brother Edward vi. The will of Henry viii. restored her to her place in the succession, and she lived a retired life during the reign of Edward. In the reign of Mary her life was endangered by Protestant plots on her behalf, and she was sent for a time to the Tower. She afterwards lived in retirement at Woodstock, outwardly conforming to the Roman ritual, and, in some sort, winning her way back to her sister's favour. Her position was made easier by the efforts of Philip of Spain on her behalf, for Philip hoped to marry Elizabeth on the death of Mary, in order to retain his hold on England. When Mary died Elizabeth was at Hatfield, and she received the messengers who brought the news of her accession with the text of scripture on her lips, "This is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes."

Elizabeth's first task was the settlement of religion. She herself probably had little religious feeling. The differences which separated Church from Church she regarded as trifles, and her great aim was to find a "middle way" in religion which should unite all moderate men, but she intended to exact absolute conformity to her system once it had been established by statute. She was no prig like Edward, and saw the danger of supporting too extreme a form of Protestantism. Neither was she a zealot like Mary, whose reign had demonstrated the danger of conforming too closely to Rome. Possibly she would have liked to set up Henry viii.'s religious system again, and to maintain the Catholic worship while discarding the papal supremacy. But her clear-sighted minister, Sir William Cecil, saw that this course was now impossible.

Elizabeth was fortunate in her ministers. For forty years, Cecil, who in 1571 was created Lord Burghley, served Elizabeth, first as Secretary and then as Treasurer, with unswerving loyalty and great ability. His brother-in-law, Nicholas Bacon, father of Francis, Lord Bacon, was keeper of the Great Seal.

Cecil was anxious that Elizabeth should adopt a Protestant policy, and, though Elizabeth would never go as far as he wished, yet it was evident, at her accession, that great changes were necessary in a Protestant direction. The mass of the nation probably cared

little for religion, and was ready to support Elizabeth's efforts to establish peace on the basis of compromise. But one extreme section still hankered after the papal supremacy, while another extreme section wished to purify the Church in accordance with the views of Calvin, the great Swiss Reformer. With the views of the latter party Elizabeth had no sympathy. She disliked Calvinism, with its austerity in worship and its democratic form of Church government. Nor was it safe to make great concessions to the Catholic party, for the Counter-Reformation had begun, and the Papacy had assumed the aggressive. Nevertheless Elizabeth made some concessions to both parties. She pleased the Protestants by passing the *Act of Supremacy* (1559), which once more vested the control of the Church in the Crown, and once again abolished the supremacy of the Pope; but she considered the feelings of the Catholics and did not revive the title of "Supreme Head of the Church," being content with the designation "supreme *Governor* of the realm as well in all spiritual or ecclesiastical things or causes as temporal." Elizabeth delegated her ecclesiastical authority to commissioners, who afterwards became the Court of High Commission.

The *Act of Uniformity* (1559) pleased the Protestants, because it restored the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI. and made its use compulsory, but modifications were made in it to please the Catholics, and vestments, which the Puritans hated as the "rags of Antichrist," were retained. Not till four years later did Elizabeth allow a statement of doctrine to be drawn up, in the Thirty-nine Articles (1563), which were based on the Forty-two Articles of Edward VI., and another eight years elapsed before the Articles were enforced (1571).

Elizabeth's compromise at first aroused but little enthusiasm, and thirteen bishops resigned rather than accept it. But the majority of the nation, like the queen, desired peace, and the extreme Protestants regarded it as an earnest of still more sweeping reforms, though the extreme Catholics were not won over by it. In her policy of the "middle way" Elizabeth was assisted by Matthew Parker, a man after her own heart, who, in 1559, became Archbishop of Canterbury. Like Elizabeth, Parker detested extreme Puritan views, and in 1565 he issued the Book of Advertisements, which insisted on the use of the surplice. Like Cranmer, he believed that the English

Church should be independent of Rome, and that it should aim at true Catholicity by embracing the doctrine accepted by the Church in the first six hundred years of its existence. But Elizabeth herself acted all through as a politician. She aimed at establishing unity in the Church, for she knew that religious divisions bred dissensions in the State.

(B) THE DANGER FROM FRANCE AND SCOTLAND.

Elizabeth realised that England needed rest not only from religious quarrels but from foreign wars, and that the strictest economy was necessary to restore the national finances to a sound condition, for they had been exhausted by the policy of her predecessors. She therefore entered on a policy of peace and retrenchment, and by her skill and wisdom in avoiding war she built up the strength of the nation, and gradually rendered it a match even for the might of Spain. At the beginning of her reign, however, the chief danger came not from Spain, but from France and Scotland. Mary Queen of Scots, the descendant of Henry VIII.'s elder sister Margaret, was married to the Dauphin, and Elizabeth inherited the French war which had been undertaken by Mary to please Philip and had involved the loss of Calais. Men said that the French king had "one foot in Calais and the other in Scotland." Elizabeth, however, was in alliance with Philip, and she knew that his jealousy of France was great enough to prevent him backing the claims of Mary Queen of Scots to be ruler of England, if these claims were supported by France. Yet, like all good Catholics, Philip regarded Elizabeth as illegitimate and therefore as an usurper, and his policy ran counter to his religious convictions. Elizabeth, however, did not hesitate to gain a breathing space by making peace at *Cateau Cambrésis* (1559) with her chief enemy—France. The price of peace was the surrender of Calais, for the promise of the French to restore Calais at the end of eight years was worthless. Philip and Henry II. also made peace,¹ the French abandoning all claims to Milan and Naples, and thus admitting the supremacy of Spain in Italy. The long struggle for domination in Italy, begun in the days of Ferdinand and Louis XII., was at length ended. More-

¹ At *Cateau Cambrésis*.

over, Philip and Henry agreed that they would crush the heretics in their respective dominions. Henry II. was killed in a tournament soon after the conclusion of the treaty, and three weak kings in succession mounted the French throne, the first of whom was Francis II., the husband of Mary Queen of Scots. Both France and Spain kept their compact to crush heretics. Philip instituted the era of punishment in the Netherlands, and the worthless Francis II. undertook the persecution of the Huguenots in France. But the jealousy between France and Spain, fortunately for England, was too great to permit of the combination of the two Catholic Powers to crush heresy in England. Relying on this fact, Elizabeth, at her accession, had rejected Philip's offer of marriage, explaining both to him and her Parliament that she intended to remain single. Her counsellors would have been seriously alarmed had they believed this statement, which they regarded as a lady's excuse. Philip looked elsewhere for a bride. In 1559 he clinched his peace with France by marrying the daughter of Henry II. Elizabeth, however, took pains to avoid offending him. She sent no help to the Protestants in the Netherlands, and although she had refused to marry Philip she professed to entertain the possibility of a marriage with the Archduke Charles of Austria, who was his cousin.

The queen knew full well that, in spite of the treaty of Cateau Cambrésis, France was still her enemy, and that the French sympathised with the claims of Mary Queen of Scots, who had now assumed the title of Queen of England. Elizabeth relied on Philip to prevent any direct attack on England by the French, but she was determined to check the growth of French influence in Scotland. Mary of Guise, the regent of Scotland, had obeyed instructions from France, and had embarked on a policy of religious persecution (1559). The Protestant Scottish nobles—the Lords of the Congregation—thereupon appealed to Elizabeth for aid. Thus the spread of Protestantism in Scotland served to draw that country more closely to England, for the Scottish Reformers began to hate French influence, which was thrown on the side of Catholicism. Elizabeth did not altogether relish the necessity of aiding the Scottish Protestants, for in one sense they were rebels against authority, and they were also followers of the Calvinist John Knox, who had written a book against the *Monstrous Regimen* (or Rule) of Women.

But when French troops landed in Scotland to assist Mary of Guise, Elizabeth no longer hesitated, and, in 1560, she sent a fleet and some troops who assisted in the capture of *Leith*. At this time the religious troubles in France were just coming to a head, and when Mary of Guise died in 1560 the *Treaty of Edinburgh* was concluded, on condition that both the English and the French troops should be withdrawn from Scotland, and that Mary should abandon her claims to the English throne. Mary refused to ratify the treaty, but the Scottish Parliament declared for the Reformation, and by becoming Protestant Scotland severed herself from France.

Elizabeth's success in Scotland emboldened her to intervene on behalf of the Huguenots in France. By this policy she hoped ultimately to recover Calais, and she stipulated, as the price of her assistance, that she should be allowed to occupy Havre (1562). Havre fell into her hands, but when the French factions made peace Elizabeth refused to give it up, and both parties united to turn out the English (1563). In 1564 peace was made. Thus Elizabeth succeeded in her intervention in Scotland, where she interfered in self-defence; but she failed in her intervention in France, when acting on the aggressive. Never again did Elizabeth take part in a war until it was forced upon her.

Mary Queen of Scots.—Mary's husband, the sickly Francis II., died in 1560, and in the following year Mary returned to Scotland. She recognised the Scottish Reformation as an accomplished fact, though she retained her own liberty to worship as a Catholic. Her politic concessions to the Reformers, and the fact that her connection with France was now weakened, gained Mary much national support, and the long duel between her and her cousin the Queen of England at length began in earnest. Mary was only nineteen when she returned to Scotland, but she was skilled in the arts of political intrigue. Possessed of great personal attractions, she exerted her winning grace to gain supporters for her well-laid political schemes, and had she not been liable to gusts of passion she might have achieved her desires. Like Elizabeth, she fought with the weapons of craft. Her ambition soared beyond the rugged kingdom of Scotland, and she soon began to turn her thoughts once more to her chance of obtaining the English throne, for she knew that many English Catholics would welcome her accession. In 1565 she

scored a notable success by marrying her cousin, Lord Darnley, whose mother was the daughter of Margaret Tudor by her second husband, the Earl of Angus. Darnley had been brought up in England, and was highly regarded by the English Catholics. The marriage was most displeasing to Elizabeth, who incited the Earl of Moray, Mary's half-brother, to rebel. Mary, however, gained the day, and in 1566 gave birth to a son, who was named James. The danger of the English throne passing to a Catholic alarmed the English Parliament, which, much to Elizabeth's displeasure, begged her to marry (1566).

Mary's marriage to Darnley had strengthened her position, but in a short time her passionate nature got the better of her judgment. In 1567 Darnley was murdered, and Mary married the man who was regarded as her husband's assassin—the brutal Earl of Bothwell. The marriage with Bothwell proved Mary's undoing. The Scots rose in rebellion, imprisoned their queen in Lochleven Castle, and forced her to surrender her throne to her infant son, who was placed under the guardianship of the Protestant Earl of Moray. A year later Mary escaped from Lochleven, but her forces were beaten at Langside (1568), and she sought refuge in England. It was not likely that Elizabeth would set her rival on the Scottish throne again, nor, for obvious reasons, would she let her escape to France. She determined at length to set up a commission at York to inquire into the charges against Mary, possibly hoping that her cousin would surrender her throne rather than be convicted of guilt. Before this commission Moray produced the celebrated Casket Letters, which, if they were not forgeries, contained abundant evidence of Mary's guilt; but the commission was suddenly hushed up, and Mary was detained in England, virtually as a prisoner.

In spite of the difficulty of solving the problem what to do with Mary, Elizabeth found that one obstacle was removed from her path. Mary's arrival in England had put an end to all danger from Scotland, while it paved the way for friendly relations between England and France.

CHAPTER XXXV.

ELIZABETH (*continued*).

SECOND PERIOD (1568-1588).

THE second period of Elizabeth's reign saw a change in the queen's foreign policy. It is marked by (*A*) friendship with France, and by gradually increasing hostility to Spain. (*B*) The captivity of Mary Queen of Scots in England made her the centre of numerous Roman Catholic plots against the government. The support which Philip of Spain, the champion of Roman Catholicism, gave to the papal attack on England, and the support which Elizabeth gave to Philip's rebellious subjects in the Netherlands, together with the maritime rivalry which sprang up between Englishmen and Spaniards, rendered war between England and Spain inevitable. (*C*) The year 1588 witnessed the defeat of the great Spanish Armada, which exalted England into a first class Power and marked the beginning of the decline of Spain.

During this period of the reign (*D*) serious insurrections broke out in Ireland. Shane O'Neill headed a Celtic rebellion in Ulster, and the Earl of Desmond, a descendant of the Norman settlers, raised another rebellion in Munster.

(*A*) FRIENDSHIP WITH FRANCE.

IN the second period of Elizabeth's reign the chief danger came not from France but from Spain. In 1563 her troops had evacuated Havre, and her attempt to win back Calais by an alliance with the Huguenots had broken down. Since that time Elizabeth

had been careful to maintain friendly relations with France. Mary Queen of Scots had discredited herself, and Philip was gaining successes in the Netherlands dangerous to France. Under these circumstances France became on friendly terms with England, though a formal alliance between the two countries was not established till 1572. France regarded the success of Philip's general, Alva, in the Netherlands (*c.* 1570) with dislike, because it would weaken her north-east frontier. Alva's success was also dangerous to England, because it would strengthen Philip's hands and enable him to make the Netherlands the starting-point for an expedition against her. By this time, therefore, Elizabeth fully realised that the real danger to England came not from France but from Philip, and in 1569 she countenanced the seizing of Spanish ships carrying a large sum of money for the pay of Alva's soldiers; while two years later, with Burleigh's warm approval, she even thought of marrying Henry of Anjou, brother of the French king, and afterwards King of France.

The Counter Reformation had now turned Romanism into an attacking power. Pope Pius v. (1566-1572) was a fiery fanatic, and in 1570 he excommunicated Elizabeth. If he could but persuade a great European Power to come forward as the champion of Catholicism, the reformed religion in England would have to fight for its existence. But Philip refused to help the cause of Catholicism in England, till the discontented English Catholics should gain some substantial success against Elizabeth, and two Catholic risings on behalf of Mary Queen of Scots—the rebellion of the Northern Earls in 1569, and the Ridolfi Plot in 1571—failed for want of Spanish assistance. But when the Spaniards won a great victory over the Turks at Lepanto (1571), Elizabeth at last entered into a defensive alliance with France (1572)—an alliance which even survived the massacre of St. Bartholomew, and was the “key-stone” of Elizabeth's foreign policy till 1585.

(B) MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.—CATHOLIC PLOTS.

In the meantime, Elizabeth's dislike of decided measures, which led her to adopt the “middle way” not only in religion but in politics, involved her in difficulties at home. Elizabeth had refused to restore Mary to the Scottish throne, to let her go to France, or

to give her up to Moray, the Scottish regent. She preferred to wait on the course of events, and for nineteen years detained Mary in honourable confinement in England. Mary's presence in England, however, made her the centre of plot after plot against the government.

(a) *The rising of the Northern Earls*.—In 1569 occurred the most serious rising which Elizabeth was ever called upon to face. The Catholics of the north, headed by the Catholic Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, rose in revolt with the object of placing Mary on the English throne and marrying her to Don John of Austria, the half-brother of Philip II. Mary was hastily removed from Tutbury to Coventry, where she was out of reach of the conspirators, and the rebellion, which was another Pilgrimage of Grace, was suppressed with great severity.

(b) *The Ridolfi Plot* (1571).—Two years later, a plot which was encouraged by the Pope's Bull excommunicating Elizabeth (1570) was discovered by Burleigh. The object was to set Mary on the throne and to marry her to the Catholic Duke of Norfolk. The plot resulted in the execution of Norfolk (1572), and served to draw Elizabeth more closely towards France, for Philip of Spain was in the secret, although he gave the conspirators no open support.

(c) *Throgmorton's Plot* (1583).—Just as the Ridolfi Plot had followed the Papal Bull of Deposition, so another plot—Throgmorton's plot—followed the next aggressive Catholic movement which troubled Elizabeth's peace.

In 1580 England was invaded by the Jesuits, whose leaders were Campion and Parsons. The Jesuits, wandering in disguise up and down the country, aimed at the destruction of Protestantism in England. In order to preserve her religious settlement Elizabeth was compelled to adopt harsh measures against Romanism, which now became identified with disloyalty. "Men had to choose between the Supremacy of the Pope and the Supremacy of the Queen." Fines of £20 a month were authorised for non-attendance at church (Recusancy Laws, 1581), and a persecution of Catholics began. Parsons escaped to the continent, but Campion was arrested and executed. Though Parsons was a political intriguer, Campion was a religious enthusiast whose only aim was to win converts for the Catholic faith. But the Jesuits as a body undoubtedly aimed at

re-establishing the power of the Pope by foreign intervention, and Cecil always maintained that the scores of Catholics who were now put to death were executed not as heretics but as traitors.

Throgmorton's Plot aimed at the assassination of Elizabeth, which was to be followed by a general Catholic revolt aided by Spain, in favour of Mary Queen of Scots. As a result of the plot the Spanish ambassador was ordered to leave London. Men of all classes formed a *Bond of Association* (1584) for the protection of the queen's life, and pledged themselves, if Elizabeth were slain, to put to death any person on whose behalf the murder had been committed. These plots rendered the lot of the English Roman Catholics more difficult. In 1585 Parliament passed fresh legislation against Catholics, ordered the expulsion of all Jesuit priests, and forbade them to return on pain of incurring the penalties of treason.

Babington's Conspiracy (1586).—Three years later, a plot instigated by a seminary priest named John Ballard, who made a tool of a young Catholic gentleman named Henry Babington, was discovered by Walsingham, Elizabeth's Secretary of State.

The conspirators, as usual, relied on Spanish aid, and included a number of young Catholic gentlemen about the Court, who intended to assassinate Elizabeth. Mary's complicity in the plot was established, and she was brought to trial at Fotheringay Castle in Northamptonshire. Sentence of death was passed on the unhappy queen, who resolutely denied that the court had any jurisdiction over her (October 1586). For several months after sentence had been passed Elizabeth did not sign the death warrant of her cousin, whose intrigues had troubled her peace for nineteen years, though Parliament declared that her "safety could no way be secured as long as the Queen of Scots lived." At last, in February 1587, Elizabeth signed the warrant for Mary's execution, but with characteristic indecision she would not allow the warrant to be sent to Fotheringay. Her Council therefore took matters into its own hands, and instructed Davison, Walsingham's fellow Secretary of State, to dispatch the document.

On February 8, 1587, in the great hall of Fotheringay, Mary met her doom with dignity and courage. "Tell my friends," she besought Melville, "that I die a good Catholic." The long duel between the two queens had now reached its close. No longer

was Elizabeth in danger of assassination by the Catholics, for her death would be followed by the accession to the English throne of Mary's Protestant son—James vi. of Scotland. But Elizabeth, in spite of her greatness, thoroughly understood the Tudor trick of throwing the odium for an unpopular act on a subordinate. Davison was sent to the Tower for dispatching the warrant for Mary's execution.

(C) THE STRUGGLE WITH SPAIN.—THE ARMADA.

The execution of Mary Queen of Scots brought to a head the great contest between England and Spain, which Elizabeth's cunning diplomacy, Philip's caution, and his struggles with the Turks, the Portuguese, and the Netherlanders had staved off for nearly thirty years. Elizabeth's understanding with France had led Mary Queen of Scots during the later years of her captivity, to look for aid not to France but to Spain, and she bequeathed her claims to the English throne to Philip, who was descended from a daughter of John of Gaunt. Elizabeth and Philip at last stood revealed as open antagonists (1587)—divided not only by the religious cleavage between Protestantism and Roman Catholicism, but by national antipathies and by maritime and commercial rivalry.

(a) *Why the Conflict was so long delayed.*—The weakness of England at Elizabeth's accession, her empty treasury, the wretched state of the national defences, the disquietude following upon religious revolution, would have restrained Elizabeth from an aggressive foreign policy even if her mind had not been prone to caution. We have seen how cleverly she managed to play off France against Spain in the first period of her reign, preventing France from giving effective aid to Scotland by the fear that she might embrace a Spanish alliance, and relying on Spain's dread of an alliance between England and France while she carried through religious changes which Philip abhorred. Thirty years had wrought a great change in England's position, and when the storm at last burst it found the country prepared to face it.

Philip on his side had been deterred from decisive action against England, not only by Elizabeth's statesmanship, but by difficulties with the Turks and with his subjects in the Netherlands (see

page 247). In 1571 the victory of his half-brother Don John of Austria over the Turks off *Lepanto* secured the supremacy of Spain in the Mediterranean, but the revolt of the Netherlands taxed Philip's strength for many a long year. Philip was anxious to bring this war to a close before undertaking another against England, and Elizabeth, much as she disliked assisting rebels, and little as she sympathised with the religious aspirations of the Provinces, did not neglect the opportunity of embarrassing Philip by secretly giving help to the Netherlands. For many years Elizabeth and Philip played the same game. Elizabeth secretly assisted the Netherlandish rebels, while Philip was associated with the plots in favour of Mary Queen of Scots, encouraged the Jesuit attack on the British Isles, and, as we shall see, actually sent troops to Ireland (1580).

(b) *The War in the Netherlands* (see page 248).—It was not till France, torn by religious strife, had ceased to offer an effective balance to Spain, that Elizabeth openly intervened in the Low Countries. To her the revolt of the Netherlands was "a bridle of Spain, which kept war out of our own gate," but in spite of the great sympathy which Englishmen felt for the rebels, the year 1585 was reached before she sent an army to the Low Countries to take an active part in the war.

We have seen, however, that as early as 1569 Elizabeth had allowed the seizing of Spanish ships carrying a large sum of money as pay to Alva's troops; while in 1572, in the year following the Spanish victory off Lepanto, she had concluded an alliance with France.

In 1580 Philip of Spain annexed Portugal, together with the Portuguese colonies, while his lieutenant in the Netherlands, the Duke of Parma, met with much success. France and England, in alarm, began seriously to discuss the possibility of a marriage between Elizabeth and Francis Duke of Anjou, the younger brother of Henry III. of France, who, eleven years previously, had himself been spoken of as a possible suitor for Elizabeth's hand. Elizabeth was now nearly fifty years of age, while the Duke of Anjou was twenty years younger. He was an ugly, pock-marked dwarf, and Englishmen hated him as the son of Catherine de Medici, while Elizabeth, who took pleasure in coarse nicknames, called him "petite grenouille" to his face. Anjou had been invited by the Nether-

landers to come to their assistance, and Elizabeth, fearful of losing her influence over the Netherlands, thought it prudent to obtain a hold over Anjou. Accordingly, on the departure of her suitor to the Netherlands, the queen liberally supplied him with men and money; but he was utterly incompetent, and in 1583 was driven away by the Netherlanders themselves. He returned to France, and died in 1584. While Elizabeth had been helping Philip's rebels, Philip had been privy to the Throgmorton Plot, and in 1584 the Spanish ambassador received orders to leave England.

At this juncture the strength of the Anglo-French alliance was weakened by the fact that Anjou's death had made the Huguenot Henry of Navarre heir to the French throne. Thereupon a Catholic League, headed by the Guises, and relying on Spanish assistance, was formed to prevent his accession. In 1585 France was again torn by civil war; the English alliance came to an end, and Philip knew that he had only to continue his support to the French Catholics to keep France embroiled in civil war. Elizabeth saw that she would now have to rely on her own strength if she came to blows with Philip, and at last she determined to send an army to the Netherlands to prolong Philip's troubles in that quarter. The loss of the French alliance was not the only reason for this resolve. The year 1584 saw the assassination of William of Orange, and it seemed possible that without powerful support the revolt of the Netherlands might not survive the death of its great leader. Moreover, in 1585 Parma captured the great port of Antwerp. The time was therefore ripe for Elizabeth's open interference. She refused the sovereignty of the Netherlands, but in 1585 she sent her incompetent favourite, the Earl of Leicester (who was the son of Northumberland, and whom at one time it was thought she might marry), in command of an army to assist the rebels. Leicester accomplished nothing, and in 1586 he returned to England, but crowds of English volunteers continued to assist the Dutch. During the campaign, Sir Philip Sidney, the author of the *Arcadia*, the pattern of Elizabethan gentlemen, soldier, courtier, and man of letters, fell at the battle of Zutphen (1586). The capture of Zutphen by Parma diminished the territory of the Dutch Republic, whose heroic resistance to the Spaniards had continued in spite of the defection of the southern provinces of the Netherlands. But a

few years previously (1580) a mariner named Francis Drake had returned from a voyage to the West Indies, laden with booty captured from the Spaniards. The event was significant. It was on the sea that England's real strength lay.

(c) *English Maritime Enterprise and Rivalry with Spain.*—The "Crusade" which the Catholic world, headed by the Pope and Philip, had resolved to undertake against heresy in England, and the delegation of Mary Stuart's claims to the throne of England to Philip of Spain, were not the only causes of the launch of the Great Armada against England. Philip at last recognised that "the road to the conquest of the States lay through England itself," and he was determined to bring to an end the attacks of the English sea-dogs, who for years past had harassed his trade with the Spanish colonies in the New World and captured his treasure-ships. Even in the English Channel itself Spanish commerce was not safe, for privateers pushed out from the English harbours and captured the richly laden Spanish galleons as they bent their course to Antwerp. The reign of Elizabeth had seen a great development in the maritime enterprise of Englishmen. The discovery of America had given a new direction to the trade routes of Europe, and the Atlantic had superseded the Mediterranean as the great highway of commerce. This shifting of the trade-routes had endowed England with great commercial importance, and it bred a generation of Englishmen in whose veins the blood of the old Saxon pirates pulsed anew. All through the Middle Ages the English had been a stay-at-home race. Their over-sea trade was mainly in the hands of foreigners, and it was only by slow degrees that the men of the Tudor age gained their renown on the ocean. In the reign of Henry vii. the Cabots set sail from Bristol and discovered the coast of Labrador; and in the reign of Henry viii., daring mariners, supported by the merchants of Bristol, won a small part in the Newfoundland cod fishery, and opened up trade with West Africa; while William Hawkins, a Plymouth adventurer, sailed to South America and engaged in commerce with Guinea and Brazil. Under Edward vi. and Mary, the English Channel was infested with political refugees, who turned pirates and preyed on the commerce of their enemies. Mary's reign saw a voyage of discovery undertaken by Sir Hugh Willoughby and Richard Chancellor in search of a north-east passage to China

(1553). Chancellor discovered the White Sea, and a Muscovy company was formed to trade with Russia.

In the reign of Elizabeth, English maritime activity assumed many forms, and was associated with plunder and piracy as well as with commerce and geographical discovery. Spain, the great world-power, with colonies in the West Indies, in Mexico, and in other places in South America, was much troubled by the enterprise of the English sailors. All countries at that time and long afterwards refused to open the trade of their colonies to foreigners, and the Spaniards claimed lordship over all America, because Pope Alexander vi., in 1493, had granted Brazil to Portugal and the rest of the continent to Spain! The decrees of a bishop of Rome whose spiritual authority they denied were not likely to restrain the English mariners, who displayed a curious combination of Protestant zeal, piratical enterprise, and love of gain in their dealings with the Spanish settlers in America. English sailors engaged in doubtful ventures were tortured by the Inquisition if they fell into the hands of the Spanish officials, and acts of piracy thus became associated with religious martyrdom. Some of the English mariners who traded with the Spanish colonists were actuated mainly by mercenary motives. Of this type was John Hawkins, the son of the Plymouth adventurer William Hawkins, who gained riches by running cargoes of negroes from West Africa to sell in Spanish America. Martin Frobisher the Yorkshireman, and Sir Francis Drake the Devonian, were men of finer mould, who were dominated by love of adventure. Three times did Frobisher sail to the frozen coasts of Labrador seeking the north-west passage. Drake believed that it was meritorious in a good Protestant to rob the King of Spain. In 1572, from a tree on the isthmus of Panama, he viewed the waters of the Pacific, and registered a vow to navigate that ocean. Five years later he set sail to fulfil his oath. Passing through the Straits of Magellan, he found himself in the Pacific, and there he played havoc with the wealth of the Spaniards. His ship was loaded with gold and silver and precious stones when he dropped anchor in the Thames (1580), after crossing the Indian Ocean, doubling the Cape of Good Hope, and sailing right round the globe. Elizabeth dubbed her "little pirate" a knight on the quarter-deck of his vessel the *Golden Hind*; but Philip was naturally furious at the favour

shown to the man who had spoiled his subjects. The exploits of sea-dogs like Drake, who threatened the Spanish supremacy on the seas, were a main cause of the sending of the Spanish Armada, just as its defeat was chiefly owing to the superb seamanship and hardihood acquired by English sailors in their heroic but semi-piratical voyages of adventure.

(d) *The Armada*.—In the year 1587, Philip II., whose enterprise was blessed by the Pope, had begun his preparations for the invasion of England, when Drake sailed into Cadiz harbour and sank or burnt the ships he found there, thus “singeing the Spanish King’s beard.” In the following year (1588) the Invincible Armada set sail. It consisted of 132 ships, and carried far more soldiers than sailors; for Philip’s purpose was to invade England, and not to fight at sea. He had ordered Parma, with his Spanish veterans in the Netherlands, to be ready to join his fleet near Dunkirk, but even if Parma had succeeded in landing his army he would have encountered a fierce resistance from forces less efficient but superior in numbers to his own. At Tilbury a great army had assembled under the command of Leicester, and Elizabeth addressed her soldiers in words which rang with high courage and the Tudor love of England. “I know I have the body of a weak and feeble woman,” said the queen, “but I have the heart of a King, and of a King of England too, and I hold it foul scorn that Parma, or Spain, or any Prince of Europe should dare to set foot within the borders of my realm.” But the safety of England was destined to be secured not by her soldiers, but by her sailors. The English fleet consisting of eighty vessels, and commanded by the Catholic Lord Howard of Effingham, who was assisted by sea-dogs like Sir Francis Drake, John Hawkins, and Martin Frobisher, lay waiting in Plymouth Sound for the enemy’s fleet to appear. The Spanish fleet was commanded by the Duke of Medina Sidonia, whose knowledge of the sea was not great, and whose subordinates in command were landsmen rather than sailors. In spite of its superiority in numbers, the Armada proved no match for the English fleet, which consisted of smaller vessels capable of steering much closer to the wind than the huge floating castles of the Spaniards. The English fleet also was better equipped in artillery, and was manned by the best seamen in the world. Lord Howard allowed the Spanish fleet to pass Plymouth Sound. Then following

in its wake he attacked the Spaniards on the windward side, and, keeping up a running fight disastrous to the unwieldy Spanish vessels, he cut off the stragglers, "plucking the feathers of the Spaniards one by one."

A week passed in this manner before the Armada dropped anchor in Calais roads, to effect a junction with Parma's land forces. Then it was that the English by night sent fire-ships sailing down upon the Spanish line, causing the great galleons to cut their cables and to stand in confusion out to sea (July 27). Two days later the Spaniards were attacked and defeated off Gravelines (July 29). The elements completed the havoc wrought in the battle, for, fleeing northwards in attempting to return to Spain round the western coasts of Scotland and Ireland, the Spaniards encountered great storms, and only fifty-three of their vessels returned to Spain. "*Deus afflavit et dissipati sunt.*"¹

(e) *The Results of the Armada.*—(1) The defeat of the Spanish Armada opened a new period in English history. Elizabeth's prudent policy had exalted England into a first-rate power, and had destroyed the prestige of Spain. It was now patent to all the world that Philip was not strong enough to conquer England. (2) English Protestantism was saved from extinction. Philip and the Pope could no longer dream of restoring the Roman Catholic faith in England by force. In the hour of danger the English Catholics had rallied round Elizabeth, because they did not wish to see their country become a mere province of Spain. Abroad the Catholic reaction was checked; in the Netherlands, the ultimate triumph of the Seven United Provinces was assured; while, in France, Henry of Navarre was enabled to triumph over the League. (3) The effects of the defeat of the Armada on the future history of England were very great. The removal of the danger from Spain was followed by the growth of an independent spirit in the English Parliament. The task of the Tudors was to give expression in their policy to the spirit of English nationality. Now that work had been accomplished, and when Elizabeth, the last of the Tudors, died, the nation claimed to guide its own destinies through Parliament and came into conflict with the Crown. (4) Supreme at sea, England became a colonising nation, and the foundations of our colonial empire

¹This was the inscription on the commemorative medal.

were laid in the next reign. Nearer home, the defeat of the Armada rendered possible the subjugation of Ireland.

(D) IRELAND.

We have seen that Henry VIII. raised Ireland to the dignity of a "kingdom," sought to make his power in Ireland a reality, and attempted to bribe the Irish nobles into accepting the Reformation by grants of Church lands. But the Irish people felt no sympathy for the reformed faith, and the efforts of Edward VI. to enforce it met with strong opposition. Mary restored the old religion, but her reign saw the establishment of *plantations* in Ireland, for English settlers were "planted" in King's County and Queen's County, on land confiscated from the native Irish. In the reign of Elizabeth the policy of plantations was continued, and efforts were again made to secure the supremacy of the reformed faith.

(a) *Shane O'Neill's Rebellion in Ulster*.—In order to save expense, Elizabeth at first was willing to govern Ireland through native chieftains, but quarrels among the O'Neills, the most powerful Irish family in Ulster, rendered this plan impossible and embroiled the land in civil war. Shane O'Neill, the younger brother of the Earl of Tyrone, was elected chief of the sept or clan of the O'Neills on the death of the Earl of Tyrone, whose son was thus passed over. Shane's election was contrary to English notions of hereditary succession, but according to Irish custom the sept had the right to elect its own chief. The land of the sept was regarded by the Irish as belonging to the sept and not to its chief, but the English punished treason on the part of a chief by confiscating all the land of the sept. The changes in religion and in the land system introduced by the English were bitterly hated, but Shane's defiance of the English met with no national support. The Irish possessed no national unity, as was proved by the fact that in 1567 Shane was murdered by a rival clan, named the O'Donnells, who were jealous of the power of the O'Neills.

(b) *Desmond's Rebellion in Munster (1579-1583)*.—O'Neill's rebellion in Ulster was followed by the rebellion of the Earl of Desmond in Munster. This rebellion was not the revolt of a native clan, for Desmond was a descendant of the Norman Fitzgeralds. It

was caused by the hatred inspired in the Irish by the confiscation of their land, and it was fanned by the emissaries of the Counter Reformation as part of the "papal attack" on Elizabeth. Foreign soldiers as well as foreign priests came to the assistance of the rebels. Eight hundred Spaniards were slaughtered by Elizabeth's deputy, Lord Grey de Wilton, at Smerwick (1580). Desmond was slain in 1583, and the revolt was stamped out with great severity, but an attempt to establish plantations in Munster failed. Ireland, however, was thoroughly cowed, and gave no help to the enemies of England at the time of the Armada.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

ELIZABETH (*continued*).

THIRD PERIOD (1589-1603).

IN the third period of her reign (*A*) Elizabeth's foreign policy was marked by a return to her earlier practice of allowing individual Englishmen to lead expeditions against the Spaniards. These expeditions were not, on the whole, successful, for the Spaniards had grown used to the English methods of fighting. Elizabeth maintained friendly relations with France and Holland, and the defeat of the Armada enabled Henry iv. of France and Prince Maurice of Holland to consolidate their positions at the expense of Philip.

(*B*) A great Irish rebellion broke out in 1598, but by 1603 it was put down with great severity, and Ireland for the first time was really conquered by the English.

Throughout her reign Elizabeth's dealings with (*C*) Parliament and with (*D*) the Dissentients in religion were important. Her reign saw (*E*) a great expansion of commerce, and the settlement of the problem of pauperism by (*F*) the Poor Law of 1601. Elizabeth's reign was (*G*) the Golden Age of English Literature.

(*A*) FOREIGN POLICY AFTER THE ARMADA.

IN 1589, the year following the Armada, Elizabeth allowed Sir Francis Drake to lead an expedition to injure Philip by setting up Don Antonio as an independent king in Portugal. The attempt proved a failure, and henceforward Elizabeth reverted to the policy

of her earlier years, and left the task of harassing Spain and the Spanish colonies in the New World to individual Englishmen. During one of these voyages of adventure, Sir Richard Grenville,¹ in *The Revenge*, fought fifty-three Spanish vessels for fifteen hours (1591). Both Hawkins and Drake died at sea while leading an expedition to the West Indies (1595-1596). None of these expeditions met with much success, except an attack on Cadiz (1596), under the command of Lord Howard of Effingham, Essex, and Raleigh. In France, Henry iv. (Henry of Navarre), the first king of the House of Bourbon, defeated the League at *Ivry* (1590), but he did not really establish himself on the throne till 1594, when he entered Paris after accepting the Catholic faith. In 1598 he granted toleration to the French Protestants by the Edict of Nantes, and in the same year made peace with Spain by the Peace of Vervins. In the Netherlands, Maurice of Orange secured the independence of Holland.

(B) REBELLION IN IRELAND (1598).

In 1598 the whole of Ireland rose in revolt against the English, under the leadership of Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, and nephew of Shane O'Neill. At last the Irish Celts and the descendants of the Norman settlers acted in unison to destroy the English supremacy and to restore the papal religion. In 1599 the Earl of Essex, the favourite of the queen's old age, was sent to Ireland with 20,000 men. Inactive and incompetent, Essex fell under suspicion, and returned to England in disgust. Two years later he was executed for treason for attempting to raise the Londoners against *Robert Cecil*, who had succeeded his father, Lord Burleigh, in 1598.

The conquest of Ireland fell to the lot of Lord Mountjoy, who built forts to serve as places of retreat for his soldiers, and to hold down the conquered districts. In 1601 a Spanish fleet and army came to the assistance of the rebels, and seized Kinsale; but Mountjoy defeated Tyrone and forced the Spaniards to capitulate. In the last year of Elizabeth's reign, Tyrone was forced to make his submission, and Ireland at last was conquered (1603). But the country was only held down by force after its people had suffered the direst pangs of starvation. "No spectacle," wrote Mountjoy's secretary, "was more

¹ Cf. Tennyson's ballad, "The Revenge."

frequent in the ditches of the towns, and especially in wasted countries, than to see multitudes of these poor people dead, with their mouths all coloured green by eating nettles, docks, and all things they could rend up above ground."

(C) ELIZABETH AND PARLIAMENT.

The last years of Elizabeth's reign were marked by the prosperity which long years of able government had won. The danger from Spain was over, Elizabeth's Church Settlement was secure, Ireland was being conquered, trade and commerce were expanding by leaps and bounds. But with the removal of the danger from foreign foes the independence of Parliament had increased, and in 1601 Elizabeth was forced to make concessions to the Commons in the matter of monopolies. All through the Tudor period the Crown had really governed England. Towards the close of his reign Henry VII. had amassed sufficient treasure to render him independent of Parliament. Henry VIII. at first ruled practically without Parliament, but he changed his policy after the death of Wolsey, and sought the sanction of that body for his religious changes. We have seen how completely Parliament acquiesced in Henry's despotism. Under Mary the House of Commons had shown signs of recovering its independence. In spite of Mary's wishes it refused to restore the abbey lands to the Pope. Elizabeth took pains to be on friendly terms with her Parliaments, but she believed that it was the business of Parliament to support the Government, and not to interfere in "high matters of State." Accordingly, if the Commons, in her judgment, overstepped the mark she rebuked them, and even imprisoned some of their members. One member named Wentworth was three times imprisoned; another member named Strickland, who wished to alter the Prayer-Book, was forbidden to take his seat.

The three principal points upon which Elizabeth and Parliament differed in opinion were (1) The Settlement of the Succession, (2) Church Reform, and (3) Finance.

(1) *The Settlement of the Succession.*—In 1566, Elizabeth, who was determined not to imperil her Church Settlement by definitely choosing a husband or a successor, enjoined Parliament to discuss the

matter of her marriage no further. This incident took place just after Mary Queen of Scots had married Darnley.

(2) *Church Reform*.—The House of Commons contained a large number of members who sympathised with the Puritans (see page 277), for Elizabeth took care that men who favoured the Roman religion should be kept out of Parliament. But the queen did not allow Parliament to interfere in ecclesiastical affairs, and she was determined that her religious settlement should not be endangered by further concessions to the Puritans. No less than three times, 1571, 1589, and 1593, did she crush proposals for ecclesiastical reforms.

(3) *Finance*.—On a question of finance, Elizabeth gave way to the Commons. The dispute arose over Elizabeth's grants of monopolies to her friends. A monopoly was the exclusive right of selling a certain article, and the holder of a monopoly put up the price of the article which he alone could sell, greatly to the detriment of the consumer. The Commons had twice remonstrated against this practice (1571 and 1597) before Elizabeth in 1601 promised to revoke all burdens and monopolies. With true Tudor tact she thanked the Commons for calling her attention to the grievance.

Elizabeth, though generally gaining her own way in disputed matters, often gave way to Parliament on points of privilege, which arose during the disputes, such as the right of the Commons to "Freedom of Debate" and "Freedom from Arrest."

During the Tudor period the Crown exercised great power through the Privy Council, and sought to control Parliament by the creation of many new boroughs which returned members favourable to the Crown. In the reigns of Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth, about sixty new boroughs were created.

Elizabeth's rule, like that of the other Tudors, was despotic. But it was a popular despotism, maintained without the aid of a standing army, and resting on the good will of her subjects. "Never thought was cherished in my heart that tended not to my people's good," said Elizabeth to the Commons. With the death of Elizabeth the necessity of trusting the Crown with almost despotic power in the interests of the country at large ceased to exist. Henry VII. had restored order after the anarchy of the Wars of the Roses. Henry VIII. had carried through the breach with Rome. Elizabeth had preserved the reformed faith in England, and beaten

off the attack of a mighty foreign foe. The rule of the Tudors had bred a new and powerful middle class, who were to play a great part in the political development of the country, and to overthrow the system which had exalted their importance. The New Learning and the spoils of the monasteries had enriched the country gentry both mentally and materially. The expansion of commerce had increased the importance of the trading classes. The rise of the Puritan spirit had bred a spirit of political as well as of religious independence. The close of the Tudor period saw the time drawing near when men, rightly or wrongly, would claim for Parliament an increased share in ruling the country, and would brook no despotism, however beneficent, in the government of the land. The sense of obligation which they felt for the great services rendered to England by Elizabeth prevented the contest arising while the aged queen still lived.

(D) ELIZABETH AND THE DISSENTIENTS IN RELIGION.

(a) *The Catholics*.—We have seen, from time to time, how Elizabeth dealt with the Roman Catholics, who wished to retain the Mass and the Papal authority. Elizabeth's object was to devise a Church broad enough to include all but extreme Catholics and extreme Puritans, and she met with no serious difficulty from the Catholics, until the Papacy assumed an aggressive policy and Pius v. released her subjects from their allegiance to her (1570). From 1571–1580, Elizabeth adopted defensive measures against the Catholics, and many Catholics went abroad in consequence of the legislation passed against them by an ardently Protestant Parliament in 1571. In 1580 the Jesuits reached England, and were at the bottom of every plot against the queen. From that year until the end of her reign Elizabeth adopted offensive measures against the Romanists. The First Recusancy Law, inflicting fines for non-attendance at Church, was passed in 1581; in 1585 Jesuits and Seminary Priests were banished; and although many Roman Catholics took an active part in the defeat of the Spanish Armada, the persecution of Romanists went on till the end of Elizabeth's reign; long after the danger from Rome had passed away.

(b) *The Puritans*.—We have seen that at Elizabeth's accession there were many followers of Calvin in England who wished to

“purify” the Church still further, and who became known as Puritans. With the views of the Puritans Elizabeth had no sympathy, and she was determined not to let them upset her Church settlement by introducing further changes which would drive moderate Catholics out of the English Church. In this policy she was supported by Archbishop Parker, who issued his *Book of Advertisements* in 1565 (see page 254). During Elizabeth’s reign three distinct parties, who are sometimes all described as Puritans, became more or less prominent.

(1) *The Puritans*.—The Puritans proper, roughly correspond to the Low Churchmen of the present day. They were Calvinists in theology, who were not opposed to the government of the Church by bishops, but who laid stress on certain changes in matters of ritual. Thus they objected to the use of the surplice, the sign of the Cross in baptism, and the ring in marriage. In Elizabeth’s time they met with much sympathy both in Parliament and in the Privy Council, and the queen herself had to prevent Parliament embodying their views in legislation.

(2) *The Presbyterians or followers of Calvin*.—Calvinists in theology and in their views on Church government, the Presbyterians believed that the government of the Church by bishops was wrong, and wished to see the Church governed by presbyters (see page 245). Their leader was Cartwright, Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, who in 1572 published his *Admonition to Parliament*, attacking Episcopacy. Meetings, called “Prophesyings,” were held in many places to discuss religious or ecclesiastical matters, and the queen suspended Archbishop Grindal for nearly six years (1577-1582) for not suppressing them. On Grindal’s death in 1583 she appointed Whitgift Archbishop of Canterbury. He was a leading opponent of Cartwright, and put down the Prophesyings by means of the *Court of High Commission*, which consisted of 44 members, of whom three, including one bishop, formed a quorum. The business of the Court was practically left to those members of it who were bishops and ecclesiastical lawyers. The Court could compel an accused person to give evidence against himself, and although it was originally intended to safeguard morality and to enforce conformity to the Acts of Uniformity and Supremacy, it soon became an engine of tyranny.

(3) *The Brownists or Independents*.—Both the Puritans and the Presbyterians believed that there should be only one Church, though they differed as to whether it should be governed by bishops or by presbyters. But in Elizabeth's reign the followers of a clergyman named Robert Brown began to assert that a National Church was wrong. They held that every congregation constituted a separate Church free to govern itself as it pleased, and they were known as Brownists or Separatists. They were the ancestors of the Independents or Congregationalists, but in Elizabeth's reign they formed quite a small body. The zeal of the Brownists led some of their members to attack the bishops in a series of scurrilous anonymous pamphlets known as the *Marpelate Tracts*, which began to appear in 1588, and which the older Puritans disowned. In 1593 an Act enforcing attendance at Church was passed, and three of the leading Separatists, Barrow, Greenwood, and Penry, suffered death on charges of sedition.

Although at first no great enthusiasm was felt for Elizabeth's Church settlement, yet as time went on it won its way in the hearts of very many Englishmen. In the reign of Elizabeth the Anglican Church produced a great writer named *Hooker*, who argued in his *Ecclesiastical Polity* (1593) against the Puritan belief that no usages were to be accepted by Christian people if they were not mentioned in Scripture. All things in heaven and earth, he taught, do homage to God's law, which is not expressed in the Bible alone, and the expression of reverence is acceptable to God even when embodied in usages not expressly enjoined in Scripture.

(E) EXPANSION OF COMMERCE.

(a) *Commerce*.—In the reign of Elizabeth commerce expanded, and many trading companies were founded by royal charter to carry on trade in different parts of the globe. Before Elizabeth's time there were two old English companies—the Merchants of the Staple, who traded chiefly in wool, and who were ruined by the loss of Calais, their headquarters, in Mary's reign; and the Merchant Adventurers, who carried on trade with Spain, Holland, the Baltic, and the Mediterranean. Elizabeth encouraged the Merchant Adventurers, and gave charters to new companies which traded with particular parts of the world. Thus in 1555 the Russian Company was

founded as the result of Chancellor's voyage; a Levant Company was founded in 1581; while in 1600 a charter allowed the East India Company to trade with countries east of the Cape of Good Hope. In Elizabeth's reign the Royal Exchange was established by Sir Thomas Gresham, and the weaving industry was benefited by an immigration of Flemings to England, due to the troubles in the Netherlands.

In 1563 the *Act of Apprentices* empowered the Justices in each district to fix the wages of different trades annually, and attempted to maintain a high standard of technical skill and a proper distribution of labour, by making seven years' apprenticeship necessary in the case of all who wished to exercise a trade. No restrictions, however, were placed on the learning of agriculture.

(F) THE POOR LAW OF 1601.

In studying the reign of Edward VI. we saw that the sixteenth century was a period of social as well as of religious revolution, and in that reign a terrible Act was passed (1547), which attempted to provide for the impotent poor by a weekly collection in the churches, and to stamp out incorrigible vagabonds by slavery. Various attempts to deal with pauperism were made in Elizabeth's reign, but towards its close the growth of manufactures and the cessation of enclosures made work more plentiful, and only two classes remained to be dealt with, namely, those who could not, and those who would not work. In 1601 an Act was passed making each parish responsible for its own poor, and setting up overseers who were to levy a rate enabling them to find work for the able-bodied in houses of correction, and to relieve the necessities of the impotent poor. This Act, with modifications, remained in force up to 1834.

(G) LITERATURE.

In the reign of Elizabeth England became "a nest of singing birds." It was the Golden Age of English Literature, and in it the intellectual influence of the Renaissance reached its climax. The freshness and energy of the age, the national pride of a people who had emerged triumphant from great perils, are reflected in the dramas

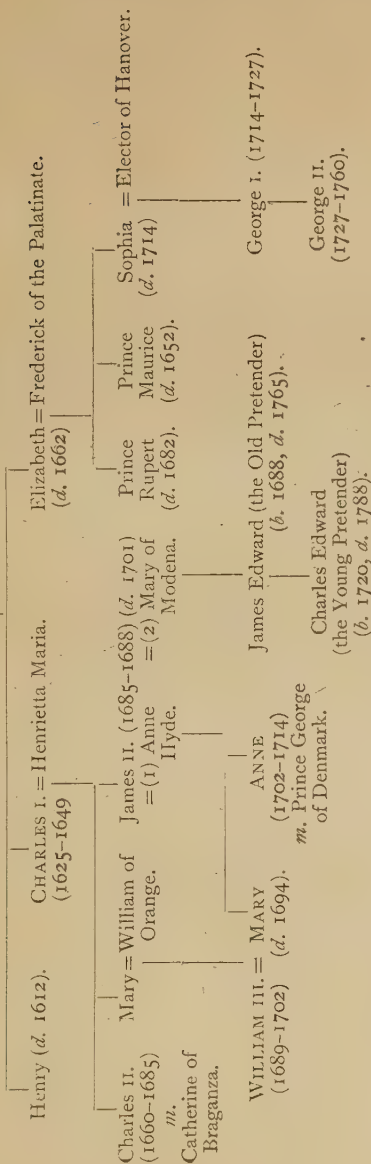
of Shakspeare as they were reflected in Greece of old in the plays of Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides. Yet Shakspeare was only the greatest of a band of dramatists, which included Marlowe and Ben Jonson. Spenser's *Faërie Queen* (1590) embodied the spirit of the times in sweetest verse, and great works in prose, such as Lyly's *Euphues*, Ascham's *Schoolmaster*, and Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity*, were published in this reign.

DEATH OF ELIZABETH.

In 1603 Elizabeth died, at the age of sixty-nine. She was one of the greatest monarchs that England ever possessed, and her services to the State were invaluable. At her accession the country was in a woful plight; at her death it was not only prosperous but great. With consummate tact she made use of the abilities of men like Burleigh and Walsingham in the State, and Drake and Raleigh at sea. She had a weakness for favourites, for she was the daughter of Anne Boleyn and inherited some of her mother's vanity as well as her father's powers of statesmanship. But though men like Leicester, whom she called "her handsome Robin," might minister to her vanity, and though she was fond of dress and display and of making stately progresses through the country, when necessity arose she was always the practical woman of business. Her detached views on religion enabled her to stand aside from the warfare of religious sects, and to consummate a religious settlement which in time won over most moderate men. Her skilful but often unscrupulous diplomacy kept England at peace for many years, and enabled her to build up the national strength until at last it was a match for the might of Spain. She was an economical ruler, and sometimes retarded the success of her policy by a niggardly spirit. But she thoroughly understood her people, and she loved England with her whole heart. "Though you have had, and may have, many princes, more mighty and wise, sitting in this seat," she told the Commons, "yet you never had, or ever shall have, any that will be more careful and loving." To her subjects in general Elizabeth's many faults were not apparent, and to them the Queen was the symbol of England's greatness and of the national unity which her wise government sought to achieve.

THE STUARTS.

JAMES I. (1603-1625) = Anne of Denmark (*d.* 1619).



CHIEF CONTEMPORARY RULERS.

FRANCE.	SPAIN.	SWEDEN.	HOLLAND.
Henry IV. (1589-1610). Louis XIII. (1610-1643). Louis XIV. (1643-1715).	Philip III. (1598-1621). Philip IV. (1621-1665). Charles II. (1665-1700). Philip V. (1700-1746). (rival of Charles of Austria).	Charles IX. (1604-1611). Gustavus Adolphus (1611-1632). Christina (1632-1654). Charles X. (1654-1660). Charles XI. (1660-1697).	William of Orange, Stadholder (1672-1702).

CHAPTER XXXVII.

JAMES I. (1603-1625).

JAMES VI. of Scotland, the son of Mary Queen of Scots, succeeded Elizabeth on the English throne. (*A*) His title to the Crown was not without legal blemish, and this fact led him to lay stress on the doctrine of "divine, hereditary right." (*B*) The religious problem was still a difficult one, and James disappointed the Roman Catholics by his failure to give them toleration for their worship, and incurred the hostility of the Puritans by his antagonism to their views. (*C*) James was in advance of his age in desiring a closer union between England and Scotland, and he laid the foundation of a bitter quarrel with the latter country by attempting to Anglicise the Scottish Church. (*D*) The relations of James with his first two Parliaments showed that a dangerous dispute had begun as to the relative power of King and Parliament, and this constitutional quarrel was destined to be merged in a religious quarrel, which James's hatred of Puritanism and the aims of the Puritans themselves rendered inevitable. (*E*) The king's foreign policy, like his policy of Union between England and Scotland, was also in some respects in advance of the opinion of his time. He desired peace with Spain, a Spanish marriage for his son Charles, and the restoration (by means of diplomatic negotiations with Spain) of his son-in-law, the Protestant Prince Frederick of the Palatinate, whose action in accepting the Crown of Bohemia had led to the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War in Germany. (*F*) James fell out with his Third Parliament over the subject of monopolies, but, his project of a Spanish marriage having broken down, he consented

to the wish of his last Parliament to undertake war against Spain. (G) James used many expedients in order to maintain the absolute powers of the monarchy. In (H) Ireland he carried through the colonisation of Ulster. His reign was memorable for the establishment of colonies, and saw the (I) foundation of Greater Britain.

(A) THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF JAMES'S ACCESSION.

WE have seen that in the reign of Henry VIII. Parliament allowed the king to settle the succession to the Crown by will. Henry decided that in the event of his children dying without leaving heirs the Crown should pass to the descendants of his younger sister Mary, and not to the descendants of his elder sister Margaret, who had married James IV. of Scotland. But on the death of Elizabeth no one paid any attention to Henry VIII.'s will, and James VI. of Scotland, the son of Mary Queen of Scots, and the first Stuart king of England, mounted the throne, although several descendants of Mary Tudor were living.

Parliament, however, was fully aware of the defect in the new king's title, for in a document known as the "Apology for the House of Commons," drawn up in 1604, but perhaps never presented to the king, the following statement occurs: "That in regard to the late queen's sex and age, and much more to avoid all trouble, which by wicked practice might be drawn to impeach the quietness of his majesty's right in the succession, those actions were then passed over which they hoped in succeeding times to redress and rectify."

James was undoubtedly the nearest heir to the English throne by blood, and the circumstances of his accession led him to lay stress on the doctrine of *divine, hereditary right*. He believed that kingship was something inherent, that the monarch derived his power from God, and that he was answerable to God alone for the manner in which he exercised his authority.

This fatal doctrine of the divine right of kings proved the bane of James and the Stuart dynasty. Many men had come to regard monarchy as resting on the consent of the people. They believed

that the king was an official, and that monarchy was based on a *contract*, which the sovereign had made with his people, to govern well. . .

James gave expression to his views on monarchy in the strongest language. "It is atheism and blasphemy," he declared, "to dispute what God can do: good Christians content themselves with His will revealed in His word; so it is presumption and high contempt in a subject to dispute what a king can do, or say that a king cannot do this or that. . . ."

In putting forward these claims for monarchy James gave expression to the principles upon which the Tudors had ruled England. Under the Tudors the sovereign had really governed the country, and James naturally sought to maintain the powers of the Crown which he found in existence at his accession. But, as we have already seen, the time had come for a diminution in the power of the Crown, and for an increase in the power of Parliament, and the words of the "Apology" of the Commons show that a contest between king and Parliament was inevitable. The quarrel did not come to a head in the closing years of Elizabeth's reign, because Parliament bore in mind "the queen's sex and age," and remembered the great services which she had rendered to England. But James possessed no such claims on the forbearance of Englishmen. He was a Scotchman, and therefore a foreigner. He possessed none of the Tudor tact and knowledge of men. His mind was stored with book-learning, so that Henry iv. of France styled him "the wisest fool in Christendom." "A big head, a slobbery tongue, and ricketty legs," robbed him of that personal dignity which characterised the Tudors. He was extravagant where Elizabeth was parsimonious, and he lectured Parliament about its insignificance and the plenitude of his own prerogative, when Elizabeth would have given fair words or conceded a privilege while quietly carrying the main point at issue. The change in the personal character of the sovereign was partly responsible for the contest between King and Parliament to which the reign of James i. proved the prelude. It was a two-sided contest, for the matters in dispute were both ecclesiastical and political, and it was only by degrees, and owing to the policy of the first two Stuart kings, that the ecclesiastical and political quarrels became almost inseparably interwoven.

(B) JAMES'S DEALINGS WITH THE ROMAN CATHOLICS AND THE
PURITANS.

Both the Roman Catholics and the Puritans hoped to gain advantages from the accession of James I. The Roman Catholics expected that the son of Mary Queen of Scots would mitigate the hardships of their lot, while the Puritans hoped that a Prince hailing from Presbyterian Scotland would support Puritanism in England.

(a) *The Roman Catholics.*—We have seen how Elizabeth, in order to win over the English Catholics, took care that her Church Settlement should not be exclusively Protestant in spirit. But thousands of Catholics had not been won over by the Elizabethan compromise, and, at James's accession, they were still exposed to the penalties which Elizabeth had imposed alike on the Catholic Recusant and the Puritan Separatist. James was more tolerant than many monarchs of his age, and he was certainly more lenient than the English Parliament in his attitude towards Roman Catholics. In the first year of his reign he showed a disposition to remit the recusancy fines to which Roman Catholics who refused to attend Church were liable. His attitude led to differences with the House of Commons, and many Roman Catholics began to stay away from Church, and even to worship according to the rites of their own religion. James thereupon took alarm. In 1604 he ordered all Jesuits and seminary priests to leave the realm, and Parliament reimposed the recusancy fines. Despairing of success by lawful means, some Roman Catholic extremists, headed by Robert Catesby, hatched the Gunpowder Plot to blow up the King and Parliament (November 5, 1605), and to make James's little daughter Elizabeth, queen. The failure of the Gunpowder Plot inevitably made the lot of all Roman Catholics harder. Fines for recusancy were exacted with great severity, and Roman Catholics were forbidden to enter any learned profession, to hold any public office, or to attend the Court. "We do not think it fit," Cecil informed the Venetian Ambassador in 1605, "in a well-governed monarchy to increase the number of persons who profess to depend on the will of other Princes as the Catholics do, the priests not preaching anything more constantly than this, that the good Catholic ought to be firmly resolved in himself to be ready

to rise for the preservation of his religion even against the life and state of his national Prince."

Later on in his reign, while he was engaged in negotiations for a marriage between his son Charles and the Infanta of Spain, James promised the King of Spain to suspend the penal laws against Roman Catholics, but, as we shall see, the Spanish marriage never took place. Parliament up to the end of the reign continued to be suspicious of the Papists, and in 1621 petitioned for the strict enforcement of the Recusancy Laws. Nevertheless, in 1624 James arranged to marry his son Charles to Henrietta Maria of France, a Catholic princess, and agreed to allow Roman Catholics freedom of worship as a condition of the marriage. In his desire to grant toleration to the Roman Catholics, provided they behaved themselves peacefully, James was in advance of the feeling of Parliament.

(b) *The Puritans*.—James was prepared, if possible, to extend a measure of toleration to Roman Catholicism, but he soon showed that he was quite out of sympathy with English Puritanism. At the very beginning of his reign, about eight hundred Puritan ministers presented James with the petition known as the *Millenary Petition* for the removal from the Prayer-Book of the usages to which they took exception (1603). The king thereupon authorised the holding of a conference at *Hampton Court* (1604), in which some of the bishops and a deputation of Puritan ministers took part. James, who was proud of his theological learning, took a leading part in the debates, but he soon made it evident that his Presbyterian training rendered him hostile and not friendly to the English Puritans. He believed that a Presbyterian government in the Church, such as some of the Puritans favoured, would lead to democratic government in the State. "A Scottish Presbytery," he cried with passion, "agreeth as well with a monarchy as God with the devil. Then Jack and Tom and Will and Dick shall meet, and at their pleasures shall censure me and my council"; and he summed up his views in the motto, "No bishop, no king." Before the conference ended James declared his hostility to Puritanism even more emphatically. "I will make them conform," he cried, "or I will harry them out of the land." The king had declared not for comprehension but for compulsion. The Hampton Court Conference failed in its main purpose, and its only solid result was the issue of the *Authorized Version* of the Bible, which appeared

in 1611. The year 1604 was also marked by the publication of a new set of Canons by Convocation, enjoining stricter adherence to the Prayer-Book, and about three hundred Puritan clergymen were deprived of their livings in 1605. These measures tended to produce greater uniformity in the Church, but stern treatment of the Puritans pleased Parliament as little as lenient treatment of Roman Catholics. The Puritans commanded much sympathy in Parliament, for the ordinary Englishmen sympathised with the Puritan spirit of independence, and hated to see good and active clergymen debarred from their ministrations because they differed from the established rule in certain matters of ritual. One of the main causes of difference between James and his first Parliament was that the king refused to curtail the authority or restrict the abuses of the ecclesiastical courts.

The bishops, on the other hand, were delighted at the support given to them by the king, and there was growing up in the English Church a party of learned men which was destined to give the Puritans much trouble. Led by the saintly Andrewes, Bishop of Winchester, who was supported by Laud, afterwards Bishop of London, the *High Church* divines asserted that the Reformation had not broken down the Catholic position of the English Church, or interrupted the continuity of episcopal succession. They approved of the breach with Rome, but they loved solemnity and beauty of ritual in the services of the Church, and believed that a Church without bishops was no Church at all. This party was sometimes called the Arminian party, after a Dutch professor named Arminius, who led a reaction against the Calvinist doctrine of predestination, and it was anxious to defend the English Church against the attacks of the Counter-Reformation on the one hand and the attacks of the Puritans on the other.

(C) JAMES'S PROJECT FOR THE UNION OF ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND,
AND HIS TREATMENT OF THE SCOTTISH CHURCH.

James assumed the title of *King of Great Britain*, and he wished to establish a close union between England and Scotland. Herein James was in advance of the public opinion of his time. The English Parliament was opposed to the king's wish for a complete union of the two kingdoms, and James had to be content with a decision of the

judges that all Scotsmen born after his accession to the English throne (the *Post-nati*) should be naturalised and be capable of holding land in England. Parliament abolished the hostile border laws, but refused to establish freedom of trade between the two countries.

James's plans for a Union between England and Scotland were also regarded with suspicion by his fellow-countrymen. Although James had reached middle age when he mounted the English throne, he soon showed that he preferred English customs and fashions to those which obtained in Scotland, and he and his successors did much mischief to their cause in Scotland by attempting to Anglicise that kingdom. In 1618 *the Five Articles of Perth* were accepted by a large majority at an assembly presided over by the Archbishop of St. Andrews.¹ These enjoined (1) the Kneeling Position at the Holy Communion, (2) Private Communion for the sick, (3) Private Baptism in similar cases, (4) the Confirmation of Children by Bishops, and (5) the religious observance of Holy Days, such as Christmas and Easter. James's efforts to restore episcopacy in Scotland gave much offence, for the middle class in Scotland was strongly Presbyterian, and hated the practices enjoined in the Five Articles. Thus James in his zeal for episcopacy began a quarrel about religion with the Scots as well as with a large portion of the English nation, and, in the reign of his son, the opponents of the king in Scotland gave their support to his enemies in England.

(D) JAMES'S RELATIONS WITH HIS FIRST TWO PARLIAMENTS.

We have now traced the beginnings of the religious quarrel, which grew in bitterness in the reign of James's son Charles, and becoming interwoven with the political quarrel between the king and Parliament, led up to Civil War. The beginnings of the political quarrel are also clearly apparent in the reign of James I.

(1) *James's First Parliament, 1604-1611.*—In the king's dealings with his first Parliament all the later causes of disagreement came to the surface. The House of Commons represented the new middle-class population of England, and was deeply interested in matters of finance which touched their pockets, as well as in matters of religion

¹ See Gardiner, vol. i. chap. ii.

which concerned their souls. Unfortunately the king and the Commons differed in their views as to the functions of Parliament. While James held that Parliament held its privileges as "of grace" from the Crown, his first Parliament asserted in the "Apology" of 1604 that their privileges and liberties were "their right and inheritance no less than their very lands and goods." This Parliament asserted the right of the Commons to *control disputed elections* by its action in the case of a man called *Goodwin* (1604). James had declared that no outlaws or bankrupts should be returned as "knights of the shire," but Goodwin, who was an outlaw, was returned for Buckinghamshire, and the Commons allowed him to take his seat. The same Parliament also asserted the *right of freedom of arrest* in the case of a man named Shirley (1604), who was imprisoned for debt while Parliament was sitting. Both these privileges had been won in Tudor times, and Parliament was determined that they should not lapse.

We have already seen that James differed from his first Parliament in his desire for a closer union with Scotland, in his policy of leniency towards Roman Catholics and of severity towards Puritans, and in his refusal to alter the constitution of the Church Courts. Nor was this all. A most serious disagreement arose over the levy by the king of customs other than those granted by Parliament, *i.e.* of *impositions*. In 1606 a Turkey merchant named *Bate* refused to pay an imposition on currants, and the question of the right of the king to take impositions was argued before the Court of the Exchequer. The judges gave a quite unbiassed opinion in favour of the Crown, whose right to levy impositions for the regulation of trade was undoubted. Cecil, who had been retained by James as his chief minister, and who had been created Earl of Salisbury in 1605, at once issued the Book of Rates embodying the new duties, but Parliament in 1610 protested strongly against them. The danger was that the king would levy impositions not for the purpose of regulating trade, but as "a source of profit to the Crown, and therefore a means of evading Parliamentary control." James and Parliament also failed to agree over a proposition named the *Great Contract* (1610), by which the king was to surrender his antiquated right to feudal dues in return for a Parliamentary grant. In 1611 James dissolved his first Parliament, amid angry feelings on both sides. In

the following year Salisbury died, and James fell under the influence of a handsome but unworthy Scottish favourite named Robert Carr, whom he created Earl of Somerset, and married to the divorced wife of the Earl of Essex. Somerset possessed no political ability, and his influence over the king was disastrous.

(2) *James's Second Parliament*.—In 1614 James was driven by his financial necessities to call another Parliament. James hoped that this Parliament would prove submissive to his wishes, for certain friends of his, known as the *Undertakers*, had undertaken to secure the election of members favourable to the Court. The king, however, was destined to be disappointed, for the Commons requested him to abandon the impositions and to restore the clergymen ejected in 1605. James thereupon dissolved Parliament, which was called the Addled Parliament, because it granted no supplies and passed no Act.

It must not be imagined that James commanded no sympathy in his efforts to be master in his kingdom. Many thoughtful men still believed that it was the duty of Parliament to vote supplies and to inform the king of grievances, but not to seek to control the government. They could not conceive that a body of country gentlemen, who only met from time to time in an age when information as to affairs of State was not widely diffused, could successfully criticise, much less guide, the Executive. Francis Bacon,¹ Viscount St. Albans, James's Lord Chancellor, was of this opinion, but he also believed in the necessity of Parliament, and advised James to gain the leadership over it by putting forward useful legislative projects. His advice, however, fell on deaf ears.

(E) JAMES'S FOREIGN POLICY.

Up to 1612 James was under the influence of Cecil, and Elizabeth's foreign policy was, in the main, continued. Both Cecil and James were agreed in making peace with Spain (1604), Cecil because he saw that no more was to be gained by continuing the war, and James because he was not an Englishman, and did not share the English view that all good Protestants should wage war with the champion of Roman Catholicism. Moreover, James prided himself on his diplomatic gifts, and was in advance of his time in desiring

¹ Author of Bacon's *Essays*.

peace instead of war. *Beati pacifici* was his motto, and he thought that the strife between Catholics and Protestants would soon cease if they would but listen to his learned schemes for reunion.

But although he brought the Spanish war to a close, James continued in alliance with France, and when Henry iv. fell before the knife of a Catholic assassin (named Ravallac) in 1610, James concluded a treaty with his widow, Mary de Medici, who governed France during the minority of her son, Louis xiii. Friendship was also maintained with Holland, which gained its independence in 1609, and in 1613 Frederick the *Elector Palatine of the Rhine*, the leader of the German Calvinists, married James's only daughter Elizabeth, whose grandson was destined to mount the English throne as George i. James hoped to carry out the policy of universal peace upon which his heart was set, by marrying his children into the leading governing families of Europe. He wished to marry his elder son Henry, a prince full of promise, to a Spanish princess, and his younger son Charles to a French princess. But Henry died in the same year as Salisbury (1612), and it was not till 1617 that negotiations were formally opened for a marriage between Charles and the Infanta Maria, the daughter of Philip iii. of Spain. James believed that the hand of the Spanish Princess would carry with it a much larger dowry than would be given with a French princess, and he was in great financial straits owing to the refusal of the Addled Parliament to grant him supplies. Spain was anxious for English support, and the Spanish ambassador, a man of great ability named Gondomar, induced James's favourite Somerset to work in the Spanish interest. But Spain was determined that the price of the marriage should be the toleration, if not the restoration, of Roman Catholicism in England, and in 1618 the negotiations were allowed to drop. The negotiations, however, had cost the life of Sir Walter Raleigh, a typical Elizabethan gentleman, mariner, and scholar. Even at the close of Elizabeth's reign Raleigh was opposed to Cecil in desiring an active prosecution of the war against Spain, and early in James's reign he had taken part in a plot called the Main Plot¹ (1603), for getting rid of Cecil, and placing James's cousin, Arabella Stuart, on the throne. Convicted of treason, he had lain in the Tower ever since as a prisoner, and had

¹ At the same time the Bye Plot, formed by discontented Roman Catholics to force James to grant toleration, was discovered.

occupied himself in writing a History of the World. In 1616 James released Raleigh, and allowed him to embark on an expedition in search of a gold mine in Guiana. Raleigh found no gold, but, in spite of James's orders, he attacked a Spanish settlement, and on his return he was executed, nominally on the old charge of treason but in reality to please the Spaniards (1618). A cry of indignation went up from the nation at the news of Raleigh's death.

The Beginning of the Thirty Years' War, 1618.—In the year of Raleigh's death there broke out in Germany a great war of religion, which convulsed that unhappy land for thirty years. The Peace of Augsburg (1555) had by no means proved a final settlement of the religious difficulty in Germany, and Calvinists and Catholics had been quarrelling for many years before the Thirty Years' War commenced. The immediate cause of the outbreak of war was the acceptance of the Bohemian Crown by Frederick of the Palatinate, James's son-in-law. The Bohemian Crown belonged of right to the Emperor Ferdinand, a bigoted Roman Catholic, who was the head of the House of Austria and in close alliance with Spain. James at first refused to lend any assistance to Frederick, whose cause, although popular in England, did not commend itself to his ideas of right-doing, and in 1621 Frederick was defeated at *White Mountain*, near Prague, just after James had allowed English volunteers to go to the Palatinate to prevent Frederick's hereditary domains from being overrun by a Spanish army. Before long the Imperial and Spanish forces invaded the Palatinate. Under these circumstances James called his Third Parliament (1621). Parliament saw that the existence of Protestantism in Germany was at stake, and was eager for war with Spain on behalf of the German Protestants. James, however, had formed other plans. He imagined that a renewal of negotiations for the Spanish marriage would induce Spain to use her influence with Austria on behalf of Frederick, and secure his restoration to the Palatinate. In 1620 James had promised to grant toleration to the English Catholics as the price of the marriage, and up to 1623 he was fooled by Gondomar, whose real object was to delay English intervention in Germany. But in that year the king's favourite Buckingham and Prince Charles made a journey to Madrid to prosecute the suit. They realised that Spain never intended to fight Austria, and that the Infanta would never marry a heretic. Burning with rage, Prince Charles returned

to England and induced James to call his last Parliament (1624), and to undertake war with Spain. As a blow to Spanish interests, a marriage was arranged between Charles and Henrietta Maria, the sister of the French king Louis XIII., but James was obliged to promise Richelieu, the great French minister, to suspend the execution of the penal laws against the Papists, although he had promised Parliament that Catholic Recusants should gain no advantage in future marriage treaties. The marriage of Charles to Henrietta Maria was part of Buckingham's policy. He also promised £30,000 a month to Christian IV. of Denmark to enable him to fight the Emperor in Germany, and he dispatched an expedition to the Palatinate under Count Mansfeld (1625). This expedition came to complete grief. The men were "poor and naked," supplies were lacking, and thousands lost their lives from hunger and cold as they attempted to pass through Holland.

(F) JAMES'S DEALINGS WITH HIS LAST TWO PARLIAMENTS.

The foreign policy of James ran counter to the national and religious sentiments of his subjects, aggravated the discontent which already existed, and led to a breach with his Third Parliament. James was quite incapable of striking out a policy of legislative reform as Bacon had suggested, and ever since Salisbury's death in 1612 he had given his confidence to favourites. In 1616 Somerset and his wife were found guilty of poisoning a courtier named Sir Thomas Overbury, and Somerset, whose guilt was doubtful, fell from favour. His place was taken by George Villiers, whom James created Duke of Buckingham. Buckingham owed his rise to his attractive manners and good looks, but his abilities were above the average, and he aimed at being a minister and not merely a favourite. But as a minister he was utterly incompetent; and the statesmen and lawyers who found it necessary to fawn upon Buckingham if they wished to rise, did so with disgust in their hearts. Such a minister was not likely to improve the relations between James and his Parliament.

James's Third Parliament (1621-1622).—We have seen that James's Third Parliament wished the king to declare war against Spain in order to save the Palatinate, but James refused to make a

clear statement as to his policy, and the Commons thereupon proceeded to attack domestic abuses. They lighted upon monopolies, which, like patents in our own day, had been granted partly to foster new industries, though they were also imposed on necessities. Parliament saw in them a device to fill the pockets of Buckingham and other courtiers, and raised such an outcry that a leading monopolist named Sir Giles Mompesson fled the country.

This Parliament also practically revived the medieval practice of impeachment, whereby the Commons accused a person before the Lords, who acted as judges. Bacon the Lord Chancellor, and a distinguished man of letters, was accused of taking bribes. He was an upright judge, but he had thoughtlessly accepted presents from suitors before giving his verdict, whereas custom only permitted a judge to receive presents after the verdict had been given. Bacon fell from office owning that his sentence was "just, and for reformation's sake fit," and Parliament therefore scored successes both in his case and in that of the monopolists.

But when the Commons proceeded to petition the king to make war with Spain and to marry Charles to a Protestant princess, and also demanded the execution of the penal laws against Roman Catholics, James told them that they had no right to discuss matters about which he had not consulted them. His action led to a Protest by the Commons that the liberties of Parliament are "the ancient and undoubted birthright and inheritance of the subjects of England." James thereupon dissolved Parliament, and with his own hand tore out the Protest from the Journal of the House.

(b) *James's Last Parliament* (1624).—With his last Parliament James was on friendly terms, for Buckingham and Prince Charles had returned from their journey to Spain, and were clamouring for war against that country. There was still, however, a difference of opinion as to the best way of conducting the war, for James favoured a land war in Germany, while the Commons wanted a maritime war. This Parliament, with the approval of Prince Charles, impeached Middlesex, the Lord Treasurer, nominally on charges of malversation, but in reality for opposing the war in the interests of the national finances. They also induced the king to abolish monopolies, except in the case of new inventions.

(G) OTHER EXPEDIENTS USED BY JAMES IN SUPPORT OF
ABSOLUTE AUTHORITY.

(a) *The Judges*.—At this time the king undoubtedly possessed the exclusive right of appointing and dismissing the judges, and Bacon held that the judges should be “lions under the throne” and support the royal prerogative. As time went on James put pressure on the judges in order to secure a subservient Bench. In 1616 he dismissed Lord Chief Justice Coke for opposing his wishes.

(b) *James's Financial Measures*.—James was a grossly extravagant monarch, and he had inherited a debt of £400,000 from Elizabeth. We have seen how he raised money by impositions in spite of the opposition of Parliament. He also took benevolences and forced loans, raised money by the sale of offices and peerages, and created the new title of Baronet, which he sold for £1000.

(H) IRELAND.

Ireland had been conquered at the close of Elizabeth's reign, and, at his accession, James hoped to secure a permanent peace in that country by granting concessions to the natives. In 1604 Mountjoy was succeeded as deputy by Sir Arthur Chichester, who sought to protect the natives from the exaction of their chiefs. Resenting this policy,¹ two Ulster chiefs, O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, and O'Donnell, Earl of Tyrconnel, rose in rebellion, but, failing utterly, fled to Spain (1607). Their lands were declared forfeited, and Ulster was planted with English and Scottish settlers. The plantation of Ulster proved a success, and provided Ireland with an industrious Protestant colony, but the native Irish viewed the new settlers with smouldering hatred and never forgot their wrongs.

(I) THE FOUNDATION OF GREATER BRITAIN.

The reign of James I. saw the plantation of English settlers not only in Ireland but in lands across the sea, and marks the beginning of our Colonial Empire, for which the voyages of Elizabeth's seamen had paved the way.

¹ See Gardiner, i. x.

Virginia.—In 1607 Captain John Smith, the son of a Lincolnshire farmer, colonised Virginia, on the eastern coast of North America. The colonists at first hoped to find gold, and endured many hardships from starvation and from the attacks of the Indians, but Smith taught the settlers to give up the fruitless quest for gold and to cultivate the land. The first settlement in Virginia was named Jamestown, after the English king. In 1609 the colony was given a charter, and James sent out a governor named Lord Delaware, who assisted in the development of the settlement.

New England.—In 1620 a body of Independents, who had previously settled in Holland to escape from the restrictions placed on their religion in England, and who were afterwards known as the Pilgrim Fathers, set sail from Southampton in the *Mayflower*, and founded a colony in New England to the north of Virginia. They lost half their numbers during the first winter, but the settlement survived, and formed the nucleus of the Puritan New England States.

At this point it is convenient to trace the progress of colonial expansion in the reign of James's successor, Charles I.

In 1632 Lord Baltimore, a Roman Catholic, founded the colony of *Maryland*, situated to the north of Virginia, under a charter received from Charles I. Lord Baltimore was supreme lord of Maryland, which was thus a proprietary colony. In Catholic Maryland the principle of religious toleration was accepted.

New colonies also grew up around the settlement of the Pilgrim Fathers, the most important of which was *Massachusetts*, founded in 1629. This colony only allowed Independents to be citizens, and some of its members left it and founded *Rhode Island* (1636) in order to obtain complete religious toleration.

In the year 1605 the first settlement of Englishmen in the West Indian Islands took place. In that year *Barbados* was first colonised. The settlers relied on negro slave-labour for the cultivation of their tropical crops, such as sugar and tobacco.

The settlers in Virginia and the Barbados belonged to a higher social class than the Puritan settlers in New England. In religion they were Episcopalians, but they displayed no less zeal for freedom than the New Englanders, and, like the latter, soon attained considerable prosperity. Side by side with the foundation of colonies, there went on a great development of English commercial activity.

The East Indies.—In 1600 Elizabeth granted a charter to the East India Company, and a sharp contest soon arose between the Company and the Dutch, who had captured a great deal of the Portuguese trade with the East after the annexation of Portugal and its colonies by Philip II. In 1623 the Dutch massacred the English merchants at *Ambayna* in the East Indies, and monopolised the trade with these islands; but on the mainland of India the English gained advantages over their rivals, and with the permission of the Mogul or Mohammedan Emperors, set up factories or trading settlements at Surat (1613) and Madras (1639).

(J) DEATH OF JAMES I.

On March 27, 1625, James I. died, leaving as a heritage to his son a belief more intense than his own in the divine right of kings, a costly and incapable favourite in the person of Buckingham, and quarrels with Parliament and the Puritans which were destined to develop into a bitter Civil War.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

CHARLES I. (1625-1649).

FIRST PERIOD (1625-1629).

THE troubles of Charles I.'s reign were to some extent due to (*A*) the obstinate character of the king. The religious and political quarrels between the Crown and Parliament which had broken out in the preceding reign were continued in (*B*) the first Parliament of this reign, and became even more bitter in the (*C*) second Parliament, in which Eliot, the popular leader, led a violent attack on Charles's favourite and minister, Buckingham. In (*D*) the interval between the second and third Parliaments, Buckingham's unfortunate expedition against Rochelle embittered the discontent at the inefficiency of the government, and strengthened the resistance to the king's attempt to take forced loans. (*E*) Charles's third Parliament compelled the king to consent to the Petition of Right (1628), by which Parliament, for the first time since the accession of the Tudor dynasty, restricted the powers of the Crown.

(*A*) CHARACTER OF THE KING.

THE new king, Charles I., ascended the throne at the age of twenty-five. Without his father's learning and shrewdness, he believed implicitly in the divine right of kings, and held that when Parliament "endeavoured to lessen the office and dignity of a king, they meddled with that which is not within their determination, and of which his majesty must give an account to God." Unfortunately, Charles was sometimes not straightforward in his dealings with

Parliament, and, blind to the signs of the times, he was determined to push on his father's policy of espousing the High Church cause, maintaining the royal prerogative at its fullest extent, and steadily attacking the Scottish Presbyterian Church. Thus he aroused a religious, a constitutional, and a national opposition, which ultimately became fused together and brought about his destruction.

Charles was a very good man of business, but he was no statesman, for he was too obstinate to abandon any plan which he had once formed, and he never saw things as they were. At first, however, he was completely under the ascendancy of Buckingham, to whom the nation ascribed the early misfortunes of the reign.

(B) CHARLES'S FIRST PARLIAMENT (1625).

In the very first Parliament of the reign, the king and the Commons fell out. A strong opposition to the court was headed by Eliot, Pym, Wentworth, and Coke, and the temporary popularity which Charles and Buckingham had gained by advocating war against Spain had disappeared. The disasters which had overtaken Mansfeld's expedition owing to Buckingham's mismanagement, and the favourable terms which Charles had granted to the Roman Catholics on his marriage, aroused indignation. A petition was presented to the king praying him to enforce the laws against Catholic Recusants, two subsidies amounting only to £140,000 were granted, and *Tonnage and Poundage* was voted for one year only, and not for the king's life. Tonnage was a duty of two shillings on every tun of wine, and poundage a duty of sixpence on every pound of merchandise brought into the country. Ever since the reign of Henry iv. these duties had been granted to the king for life. Charles had made engagements with his uncle Christian of Denmark to prosecute the war on behalf of the Elector Palatine, and the sums voted by Parliament were quite inadequate to enable him to fulfil his pledges. Parliament was ultimately dismissed because of its openly expressed hostility to Buckingham. Charles was resolved not to allow Parliament to choose his ministers for him, and he showed his dislike of its Puritan views by appointing as his chaplain a clergyman named Montague, whom Parliament had attacked on account of his book, *Appello Casarem*.

(C) CHARLES'S SECOND PARLIAMENT (1626).

In the interval between the first and second Parliaments Buckingham sought to regain the confidence of the country, by sending an expedition to Spain to emulate the exploits of the Elizabethan seamen. Led by Edward Cecil, afterwards Lord Wimbledon, the expedition grievously failed both in an attack on Cadiz and in an attempt to intercept the Spanish treasure fleet. In 1626, therefore, Charles, in great need of money, was obliged to call another Parliament. In this Parliament Wentworth and some other prominent members of the Opposition had no seats, for Charles had appointed them sheriffs to get them out of the way. But the House of Commons found in an eloquent Cornish squire, a former friend of Buckingham, named Sir John Eliot, a leader who had the utmost faith in the wisdom and supremacy of Parliament. "Princes are to be regulated by the laws," he wrote in his *Monarchy of Man*; "the law has an operation on the sovereign." Eliot's great reverence for Parliament led him into conflict with his old friend Buckingham. He wished to bring that minister to justice for the disastrous failure of his foreign policy, and he was especially displeased because, in the preceding summer, eight English ships had been lent to the French, who intended to use them against the Protestants of Rochelle, whereas Charles wished them to be used for joint operations with the French against Spain. Before long Charles dissolved his second Parliament in order to prevent the impeachment of Buckingham.

(D) THE INTERVAL BETWEEN THE SECOND AND THIRD PARLIAMENTS.

Before Charles called another Parliament he had rashly embarked on a war with France, although he had no money to prosecute the existing war with Spain, and although his ally Christian iv. of Denmark had been defeated by Tilly at *Lutter* (1626) owing to the failure of England to send the help promised to him. Charles, no less than the nation, was angry because the French had made use of English ships against the Huguenots, and he had displeased the French by dismissing his queen's French attendants for flaunting

Popery, and also by giving way to public opinion and enforcing the Recusancy Laws. One more ill-starred expedition was fitted out, only to fail ignominiously in an attempt led by Buckingham in person to capture the Isle of Rhé as a base for the relief of the Huguenots of Rochelle (1627). "Since England was England it received not so dishonourable a blow," wrote an Englishman of the time, and the popular indignation against Buckingham blazed forth more fiercely than ever.

Meanwhile Charles, whose second Parliament had not granted him sixpence, had raised money by *forced loans*. For denying the legality of forced loans the king dismissed Chief Justice Crewe, while gentlemen who refused to pay were punished by the billeting of soldiers upon them, martial law was enforced on civilians, and many men were thrown into prison without trial. The Crown's power of arbitrary arrest was contested in the *Five Knights' Case* (1627). Sir Thomas Darnell and other knights, who had been imprisoned for refusing payment of the forced loan, sued out a writ of *Habeas Corpus*, demanding that the Warden of the Fleet should bring the prisoners before the Court of King's Bench and specify the cause of their committal. The gaoler returned that they were imprisoned by the king's special command (*per speciale mandatum regis*), i.e. for no stated offence, and the judges decided that this was sufficient ground for committal. The prisoners themselves did not deny that under certain circumstances the Crown could imprison without showing cause, but pleaded that they themselves were imprisoned for refusing to pay the forced loan, which, they maintained, was illegal.¹ The decision of the judges implied that the king alone could decide whether a loan was illegal.

(E) CHARLES'S THIRD PARLIAMENT (1628).

It augured ill for Charles that his third Parliament contained over twenty members who had been imprisoned for their opposition to the forced loan. Wentworth, as well as Elliot, sat in this Parliament, but Wentworth now counselled moderation, and it was under the leadership of Sir Edward Coke that the Commons answered the decision of the judges in Darnell's case by drawing up

¹ Medley's *English Constitutional History*, p. 439.

the *Petition of Right* (1628). This memorable document, "the first statutory restriction of the powers of the Crown since the accession of the Tudor dynasty," petitioned against (1) the exaction of "any gift, loan, benevolence, or tax without common consent by Act of Parliament," (2) imprisonment without cause shown, (3) the billeting of troops in private houses, and (4) the use of martial law contrary to the law of the land.

Charles returned answer that he "wished that right should be done, and that he held himself in conscience as much obliged to maintain their just rights and liberties as his own prerogative." Failing to satisfy Parliament by this evasive reply, Charles, who was in sore straits for money, at last gave way, and on June 7, 1628, the *Petition of Right* became law. But another cause of quarrel soon arose over the customs duties called *Tonnage and Poundage*, which Charles had taken over since his accession, although his first Parliament had passed a Bill voting them for a single year only. This Bill, however, had never passed the Lords. To deal with the duties Parliament now again tried to pass a temporary Bill, which Charles refused to sanction. Thereupon the Commons tried to read into the *Petition of Right* a prohibition of *Tonnage and Poundage*. Charles replied that he considered himself to have granted nothing new in the *Petition*, and had no intention to surrender his right of taking *customs*, which were not direct taxes. The king was technically in the right.¹

Before the close of the first session the Commons demanded the full execution of penal laws against Roman Catholics, protested against the promotion of clergymen holding Arminian views, and clamoured for the removal of Buckingham.

When Parliament met again in 1629, Buckingham had been assassinated at Portsmouth, whither he had gone to take charge of an expedition to relieve the Protestants of Rochelle, which the subsidies granted by Parliament after the passing of the *Petition of Right* had enabled Charles to fit out. This expedition, like its predecessors, proved a failure. Another event of the greatest importance had also taken place, for *Wentworth* had deserted the Parliamentary cause and gone over to the king.

When Parliament reassembled for its second session it at once

¹ Medley's *English Constitutional History*, p. 237.

renewed its complaints against Tonnage and Poundage and Ecclesiastical Innovations (for Charles had promoted a number of High Churchmen to bishoprics, including Laud, who was now Bishop of London, and Montague, who was Bishop of Chichester), and Charles eventually ordered it to adjourn. Before the Commons separated, however, two strong young members, named Holles and Valentine, held the Speaker down in his chair while Eliot put a resolution, which was tumultuously carried, declaring that any one who should introduce innovations in religion, or advise the levy of customs not granted by Parliament, or voluntarily pay them, should be regarded as an enemy to the kingdom. "And for myself," Eliot continued, "I protest further, as I am a gentleman, if my fortune be ever again to meet in this honourable assembly, where I now leave, I will begin again."

Having dissolved Parliament, Charles threw nine of his leading opponents, including Sir John Eliot, into prison. Eliot firmly refused to acknowledge the jurisdiction of any court but Parliament over offences committed in Parliament, and remained a prisoner till his death, which was hastened by his confinement (1632). He was the first martyr to the cause of parliamentary independence. Charles refused to allow Eliot's children to dispose of their father's body. "Let Sir John Eliot's body be buried in the church of that parish where he died," ran his order, and Eliot was buried in the Tower.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

CHARLES I. (*continued*).

SECOND PERIOD (1629-1640).

THE dissolution of the third Parliament was followed by (*A*) eleven years of arbitrary rule (1629-1640). During this period the king received the powerful support of two ministers who favoured a system of strong personal government, namely, (*B*) Wentworth, who did his chief work as Lord Deputy of Ireland, and (*C*) Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, who was bitterly opposed to the Puritans. The king's difficulty in this period was to get money to carry on the government, and, among other expedients, he had recourse to (*D*) Ship Money, which led to Hampden's case (1637), in which the judges decided that the king's action was legal. The system of personal government, however, broke down, owing to the opposition which arose in Scotland to the attempt of Charles and Laud to enforce the use of a Liturgy in that Presbyterian country. The opposition of the Scots culminated in (*E*) the first Bishops' War (1639). In order to obtain money to carry on the struggle with the Scots, Charles summoned (*F*) the Short Parliament (April 1640), but this body refused to grant supplies, and when (*G*) the second Bishops' War broke out in 1640, Charles again had to summon a Parliament.

(*A*) CHARLES'S ARBITRARY RULE (1629-1640).

FOR eleven years after the dissolution of the third Parliament in 1629, no Parliament was called in England, and Charles attempted to govern by his personal authority. The conflict between Charles and Parliament had reached an acute stage. Neither party

probably yet recognised the real point at issue, which was whether Charles or Parliament was to conduct the government of the State. The time had come for some change in the balance of the constitution. The country had outgrown the necessity for the personal government of the Crown, but Parliament had not yet shown itself fit to exercise the supreme authority. Although it had successfully criticised misgovernment, Parliament was intolerant in its treatment of religious opponents, and, as we shall see, careless of individual liberty. "Parliament can be despotic no less than kings," and it was fortunate that when its supremacy was at last secured in 1688, it was accompanied by the freedom of the pulpit and the press. Parliament was certainly not fit to exercise supremacy in the days of Eliot. On the other hand, Charles was thoroughly out of sympathy with the mass of the nation, and although his desire to maintain the strong monarchy of the Tudors was natural, yet he never, like the Tudors, sought to gain the goodwill of the people by adopting a wise and popular policy.

The great difficulty which confronted Charles in his years of arbitrary government was that of obtaining money. Foreign wars could not be carried on without Parliamentary supplies, and peace was accordingly made both with France and Spain (1630). Up to the year of his death, 1635, Lord Weston, the Treasurer, was the king's financial adviser. Various expedients were adopted to obtain supplies without calling a Parliament. Impositions and tonnage and poundage continued to be taken, and grants of monopolies were made. James I.'s last Parliament had prohibited the granting of monopolies to individuals, but the king now got out of the difficulty by selling monopolies to companies. Obsolete feudal obligations were revived, and *distrainment of knighthood* (see page 126), compelling all owners of land to the value of £40 a year to take up knighthood, was enforced. Country gentlemen whose ancestors, however long ago, had encroached on the limits of the royal forests, were punished by enormous fines, and although these fines were compounded for and probably did not bring in much money, they roused great discontent. Meanwhile measures were taken to secure the subservience of the judges. Hitherto they had held office as long as they exercised justice "fearlessly, justly, and well." In future they were to hold office "during the good pleasure of our lord the king." The jurisdiction

of the prerogative courts such as the Star Chamber, the High Commission Court, and the Council of the North, was enlarged, and opponents of the king were mercilessly punished, often without fair trial, for offences which the ordinary Law Courts would not have recognised. Clarendon, the loyalist, bears witness in his history of the Great Rebellion to the universal feeling of discontent caused by the operations of these courts. "At no time," he says, "was any disrespect to any acts of State or to the persons of statesmen more penal, . . . and those foundations of right by which men valued their security, to the apprehension and understanding of wise men, never more in danger to be destroyed." In earlier times the Star Chamber was necessary to strike down the tyranny of the great nobles; now its working was perverted to uphold the tyranny of the Crown. Yet in spite of these arbitrary acts, the Star Chamber, and the High Commission Court also, continued to do much of their old useful work.

By such means as these the king tried to carry out the system of "*Thorough*" advocated by his advisers *Wentworth*, the old Parliamentary leader, and *Laud*, now Archbishop of Canterbury. Schemes for the public good were to be carried out by the Crown, and "the delays of the law, and the opposition of interested persons," were to be swept aside in the interests of strong government by the king.

(B) WENTWORTH.

Thomas Wentworth, afterwards Earl of Strafford, is one of the most picturesque figures in the whole range of English history. The great historian Macaulay, who was bitterly unfair to Wentworth's political motives, sketches his portrait in eloquent words: "But Wentworth—whoever names him without thinking of those harsh, dark features, ennobled by their expression into more than the majesty of an antique Jupiter; with that brow, that eye, that cheek, that lip, wherein, as in a chronicle, are written the events of many disastrous years, high enterprise accomplished, frightful dangers braved, power unsparingly exercised, suffering unshrinkingly borne; that fixed look, so full of severity, of mournful anxiety, of deep thought, of dauntless resolution, which seems at once to forbode and defy a terrible fate as it frowns on us from the living canvas of Vandyck?"

In the First Parliament of Charles I.'s reign, Wentworth acted strongly with the party opposed to Buckingham. In the Second Parliament he found no place, for his hostility to the Court had made him a marked man, and he had been pricked sheriff to prevent him taking his seat. In the Third Parliament, though counselling moderation, he acted with the Opposition up to the passing of the Petition of Right. In the interval between the first and second sessions he went over to the king. "You need not use all this art," cried Pym to the turncoat, "to tell me that you have a mind to leave us. But remember what I tell you. You are going to be undone. And remember also, that though you leave us now, I will never leave you while your head is upon your shoulders."

Bitter controversy has turned on the question, "was Wentworth an Apostate?" To some he is the unscrupulous politician who acted with the Opposition in order to convince the Court that he was worth buying. To others his sense of Buckingham's misgovernment accounts for his place in the Opposition; but this theory, though probable, cannot be absolutely proved. Perhaps the true view of Wentworth's conversion is that he had no sympathy with the efforts of the Commons to capture the government. He believed in the House of Commons, as Bacon believed in it, but when Charles had given his assent to the Petition of Right he felt that the Crown had done enough, for he always wished Parliament to be subordinate to the king. "He thought," writes his secretary Radcliffe, "that regal power and popular privileges might well stand together; yet the longer he lived his experience taught him that it was far safer that the king should increase in power than that the people should gain advantage over the king. That may turn to the prejudice of some particular sufferers; this draws with it the ruin of the whole."

On July 14, 1628, Wentworth was gazetted a peer, and five months later he became President of the Council of the North. But Wentworth's most important work was done, not in England but in Ireland, whither he proceeded as Lord Deputy in 1633.

Wentworth's Policy in Ireland (1633-1639).—Ireland needed the firm, masterful hand of Strafford. England was too far advanced in constitutional progress for the success of despotic government, however enlightened. Ireland required to be governed absolutely if

it was to be governed at all. On its way to Ireland the new Lord Deputy's luggage was seized by a pirate named the Pick-Pocket of Dover. Wentworth set to work to clear the Irish seas of piracy. Under his administration the linen industry was developed, and Ireland enjoyed material prosperity. He summoned an Irish Parliament, whose members were equally balanced between the Protestant settlers and the native Irish Catholics. Charles viewed the experiment with misgiving. "Parliaments," he wrote, "are like cats, they ever grow crabbed with age"; and he besought Wentworth to bend the Irish Parliament to his wishes while it was yet young. Wentworth induced the Parliament to grant him the money he required, and was able to set on foot a well-paid and well-disciplined army. Churches which had lain in ruins or had been used as ale-houses or stables, were restored, and able ministers were appointed. Great lords who had filched the revenues of the Church were forced to surrender their spoils. Wentworth did not intend to allow the Irish to remain Roman Catholics, but his overthrow came before he had time to enforce conformity to the English Church. To the native Irish he was less violent than his predecessors, but he claimed that the whole of *Connaught* belonged to the king, although Charles, early in his reign, had promised in the *Graces*, that sixty years' title held good against the resumption of lands by the Crown. He punished a Galway jury who refused to give a verdict on this point in favour of the Crown; and he brought great but self-seeking noblemen like the Earl of Cork and Lord Mountnorris to justice. Thus Wentworth showed that he did not know what fear was, and he claimed afterwards that his rule in Ireland "brought a blessing to the poorer sort." His devoted friend Laud urged him to be cautious. "I find," wrote the Archbishop, "that notwithstanding your great services to Ireland, which are most graciously accepted by the king, you want not them which whisper, and perhaps speak louder where they think they may, against your proceedings in Ireland as overfull of personal prosecutions against men of quality. . . . I know you have a great deal more resolution in you than to decline any service due to the king, State, or Church, for the barking of discontented curs, and God forbid that you should; and yet, my Lord, if you could find a way to do all these great services and decline those storms, I think it would be excellent well thought on."

In 1639 Wentworth's career in Ireland came to an end, for trouble had fallen on the king at home, and Wentworth's help was required by Charles.

(C) LAUD.

Laud, like his friend Wentworth, has often been judged too severely by historians. He was not a "ridiculous old bigot," as Macaulay has styled him, but a learned man who stood for views about the Anglican Church which were unpopular in his day, but have since won many adherents. His promotion was rapid. In 1611 he was President of St. John's College, Oxford; in 1621, Bishop of St. David's; in 1628 he became Bishop of London; and, in 1633, Archbishop of Canterbury. In doctrine he taught the divine origin of Episcopacy as against Presbyterianism or Congregationalism. He laid stress on the Apostolical Succession and on Sacramental Grace, rather than on the preaching to which the Puritans attached great importance. In ritual he desired decency and solemnity, and he caused much offence by insisting on the transference of the Communion Table to the east end of the churches in his diocese. In many places the Communion Table stood in the nave, and people had deposited their hats and even their babies upon it during the service. He enforced discipline rigidly, both on clergymen and laymen, hoping to bring unity out of uniformity; but he claimed a liberty for men's minds which he denied to their actions, and, like Elizabeth, was willing to leave freedom of thought to learned men provided there was outward conformity in worship. In politics Laud and his party leant upon the support of the Crown, and herein lay the weakest point of his position. He was a sincere Arminian (see page 287), and was utterly opposed to the teaching of Calvinism. Charles, like his father before him, was drawn to the Arminian party not only by his dislike of Calvinism, but because the Arminians supported the Royal authority and believed that it was given to the king by God to be exercised for his people's welfare. Charles could not let the new opinions win their own supporters; he identified himself entirely with Laud and his followers, and gave promotion to them alone; while the bishops, in their turn, supported his views in the House of Lords, and were often responsible for rejecting the proposals of the Commons. Thus the breach between the Crown and Parliament

became greater, and the constitutional opposition grew more and more identified with the cause of Puritanism.

Laud enforced his views by persecution. The Star Chamber and the High Commission Court punished resistance to the king or to Laud with a high hand. In 1628 Alderman Chambers was imprisoned by the Star Chamber for refusing to pay Tonnage and Poundage, and in 1630 Dr. Leighton lost his ears for writing against Prelacy. In 1637, Prynne, Bastwick, and Burton, three of Laud's most bitter opponents, were condemned to a heavy fine, the loss of their ears, and lifelong imprisonment for their scurrilous writings. Thus Laud met "rash and intemperate words" by brutal deeds. But he was entirely innocent of the charge, which many men levied against him, of wishing to re-introduce Popery.

(D) SHIP MONEY AND HAMPDEN'S CASE (1637).

The opposition to the king's religious policy had now blended with the opposition to the king's views on taxation. In spite of the expedients to which Charles had resorted for obtaining money, the royal treasury did not meet the expenses of government. In 1634, therefore, Charles took a tax called *Ship Money* from the seaport towns. In medieval times this tax had been levied on the ports in time of war, but in 1634 no war existed. In 1635 the tax was extended to inland towns also, and it would not have been unjust to demand that inland towns as well as the seaports should bear their share in the national defence had any war existed. But Charles was only taking Ship Money in order to get money without calling a Parliament; and when the tax was again levied in 1636, a Buckinghamshire squire named *John Hampden* refused to pay the small amount levied upon him, and the case came up in the Court of Exchequer (1637). Again the decision was for the Crown, and from the legal point of view it was justified. The judges could not decide upon matters of opinion, but only upon matters of law. A majority held that in cases of necessity the king was justified in setting aside the statutes from Magna Carta downwards forbidding taxation without consent of Parliament, and that the *king was sole judge of the necessity*.¹

¹ See Medley's *Constitutional History of England*, p. 617.

(E) THE FIRST BISHOPS' WAR (1639).

Once more we can trace the interaction of the religious and constitutional opposition to Charles. Laud's policy of silencing the Puritans was doing the king great harm in England, but now Charles and Laud attempted to enforce their views on Presbyterian Scotland. The Scottish nobles, whose power had never been broken by a king like Henry VII., were alienated by Charles's attempts to give the bishops political power in Scotland as in England, and national feeling was hurt by the issue of new canons in 1636, requiring the acceptance of Episcopacy and the recognition of Charles as head of the Scottish Church. The whole nation, therefore, was ready to bristle into resistance when Charles attempted in 1637 to force the English Liturgy upon the Scottish Church. Before long the opposition to Charles began to organise itself. Four "tables" or committees, representing the nobles, gentry, ministers, and burgesses, were appointed. In 1638 the whole nation bound itself by the *National Covenant* to maintain the Presbyterian form of religion, and in 1639 the Scots took up arms in self-defence. Charles and Laud had aroused a national opposition in Scotland as well as a Puritan and Constitutional opposition in England.

In the war which now broke out the majority of Englishmen sympathised with the Scots. Without money and with a disorderly army, Charles was no match for the enemy, who were led by experienced officers, like Leslie, fresh from fighting in The Thirty Years' War. By the *Treaty of Berwick* the king agreed, without fighting, that all civil matters should be settled by a Parliament, and all religious matters by an Assembly. But Charles still hoped to rouse a national opposition in England against Scotland; and when the Scottish Parliament demanded the abolition of Episcopacy and a veto on the king's appointment of governors to the royal castles, he resolved, on Wentworth's advice, to summon the English Parliament.

(F) THE SHORT PARLIAMENT (April 1640).

From the meeting of the Short Parliament dates the Parliamentary leadership of *John Pym*. Like almost all the Parliamentary opponents of Charles, he was a country squire. He was educated at

Pembroke College, Oxford, and called to the Bar. In 1621 he first entered Parliament as member for Calne. In 1626 he was one of the managers of the Buckingham impeachment, and in 1628 he took a leading part in drawing up the Petition of Right. His great gift was Parliamentary management. He now led the opposition to the Court in the Short Parliament, which gave vent to the indignation inspired in the hearts of most men by the king's eleven years of personal government. Not a penny would Parliament vote until the king redressed grievances, and, after sitting three weeks, it was dissolved.

(G) THE SECOND BISHOP'S WAR (1640).

In 1640 the Scots again invaded England. Wentworth, who was created Earl of Strafford in 1639, urged the king to adopt a strong policy, and to make use of the Irish army against the Scots. But Englishmen had no wish to see the Scots beaten, and in August 1640, Leslie, after an easy victory over the mutinous English army at *Newburn* on the Tyne, marched southwards into Durham and Yorkshire. At York, Charles called a great council of peers, but that body could only advise him to summon a Parliament. Accordingly the *Treaty of Ripon* was made with the Scots, Charles agreeing to pay them £850 a day for the expenses of their army till a permanent peace could be arranged. The only way in which Charles could obtain the money was by calling a Parliament.

CHAPTER XL.

CHARLES I. (*continued*).

THIRD PERIOD (1640-1649).

(A) THE Long Parliament at once set to work to make arbitrary rule by the king impossible for the future. Under the leadership of Pym, it impeached Strafford and passed many measures to strengthen its position, but then went on to attack Episcopacy by the Root and Branch Bill. This action led to a breach in the unanimity of its proceedings, and (B) the Grand Remonstrance (1641) was only passed by a majority of eleven, owing to the proposals for Church reform which it contained. Charles replied to the Grand Remonstrance by (C) the attempted arrest of the Five Members (1642). Civil War was now inevitable, and (D) Royalist and Parliamentary parties were formed. In (E) the Campaigns of 1642 and 1643 the Royalists on the whole were successful, and Pym made the Solemn League and Covenant with the Scots in order to obtain military assistance. The year 1644 was marked by (F) Royalist disasters, and in (G) the following year (1645) the ruin of the king's cause was made evident by his defeat at Naseby—largely brought about by the formation of the New Model Army which was officered by Independents. (H) Presbyterians and Independents differed widely in their religious and political views, and (I) a struggle for supremacy arose between the victorious Independent army and the Presbyterian Parliament. (J) The outbreak of the Second Civil War in 1648 caused the army to decide on (K) the trial and execution of Charles.

(A) THE LONG PARLIAMENT (up to September 9, 1641).

ON November 3, 1640, the Long Parliament, "that synod of inflexible patriots with some, that conclave of traitorous rebels with others," met at Westminster. In this assembly, which consisted mainly of country gentlemen like Cromwell, Hyde, and Falkland, two men at once sprang to the front. One was Hampden, the cousin of Cromwell, the other was John Pym. Pym, like Eliot, believed Parliament to be the centre of the State, and held that it was to "the body politic as the rational faculties of the soul are to a man." He did not at first intend to be revolutionary, but thought he was defending the law and the Church against the new-fangled notions of Strafford and Laud. His first aim was to get rid of Strafford and to punish the king's ministers. Laud was imprisoned in the Tower, while other ministers fled to the Continent.

The Impeachment of Strafford.—The first work of the Long Parliament was the impeachment of Strafford for treason. Now, treason is an offence against the king, defined by Statute (see p. 151), and whatever may be thought of Strafford's conduct, it is certain that he was not legally guilty of treason. It was only by employing the fiction that king and Commonwealth were identical, and by alleging that Strafford had injured the Commonwealth, and therefore had injured the king, that Pym and the Commons could proceed against him. Strafford, in an eloquent defence, maintained that he had done nothing treasonable, and explained away the principal charge against him, which was founded on very doubtful evidence. He was accused of having advised the King in Council to make use of his Irish army "to reduce this kingdom." Parliament asserted that "this kingdom" meant England, Strafford protested that he spoke of Scotland. But Strafford was much too powerful an opponent to be allowed to live. "Stone dead hath no fellow," said one of his enemies,—the Earl of Essex—and when the impeachment proved slow and difficult, Parliament abandoned it and voted Strafford to be guilty by means of a *Bill of Attainder*. On May 12, 1641, Strafford died a martyr to the cause of strong monarchical government, just as Eliot had died a martyr to the cause of Parliamentary supremacy. Strafford himself had asked Charles to obey the Commons. "Sire, my consent shall more acquit you herein to God than all the world

can do besides," said he; "to a willing man there is no injury done." Charles accepted the sacrifice.

Measures to Strengthen the Position of Parliament.—Parliament had now entered on its policy of redressing grievances and abolishing the means which had enabled Charles to rule without its aid. Not only was Strafford executed and Laud imprisoned, monopolies were condemned, while Ship Money was declared illegal, as well as the collection of Tonnage and Poundage without Parliamentary sanction. Distrain of Knighthood was prohibited, and the old boundaries of the royal forests were restored. The Star Chamber, High Commission, and other prerogative courts were swept away, and their victims released from prison. The *Triennial Act* secured that Parliament should meet at least once in three years (1641), and a Bill was passed depriving the king of the power of dissolving Parliament *without its own consent*. This act was revolutionary, for it made Parliament an indestructible oligarchy, but it found its justification in the needs of the time.

To all these measures Charles gave his consent. Indeed, he could not well withhold it, since the English Parliament virtually had an army at its disposal; for Charles had to pay the Scots' army, which was still on foot in the northern counties, and he could only get money from Parliament. Pym was determined to wring concessions from Charles before enabling him to send the Scots home.

During the first nine months of the life of the Long Parliament, hardly any division of opinion existed among its members as to the policy to be pursued. Men like Hyde and Falkland, who afterwards joined the king, acted in harmony with Pym and Hampden. But although Charles could not yet gain adherents on political grounds, he was destined to gain an Episcopal party, by reason of the attacks which were beginning to be made on the Church. Scarce a voice had been lifted in Parliament in favour of Laud, but many men, who disliked Laud's policy, were not content to see the abolition of Episcopacy, and when a *Root and Branch* Bill to do away with bishops was introduced into the Commons (1641) it met with a vigorous resistance and was dropped. Soon afterwards Parliament adjourned for a vacation (September 9–October 20, 1641).

In August 1641, both the English and Scottish armies were disbanded, and Charles shortly afterwards paid a visit to Scotland. In

spite of his concessions to Parliament he was known to be on the look-out for proofs of treasonable dealings between Pym and the Scots army. While Charles was in Scotland the *Incident* occurred. This was a plot to seize Argyle and other popular Presbyterian leaders. It created a great sensation in England, but Charles disclaimed all knowledge of the scheme.

Before Parliament reassembled, a terrible rebellion had broken out in Ireland (1641). Led by the exiled Owen Roe O'Neill, the Irish of the north rose and slaughtered the Protestant settlers, and Strafford's rule of Thorough crumbled to pieces.

(B) THE GRAND REMONSTRANCE.

When Parliament reassembled on October 20, 1641, a great problem confronted Pym. A reaction had begun in the king's favour. Many people disapproved of the Puritan sympathies of Parliament. Not only had an attempt been made in the last session to extirpate Episcopacy, but the Commons had issued an ordinance forbidding Sunday sports as well as the Laudian ceremonies. Moreover, many people held that Charles had done enough. He had sacrificed Strafford and given his consent to everything which Parliament had demanded. Henceforward men thought Charles would be content to rule as a constitutional monarch. Pym, however, understood the king better than the nation did. He knew that Charles had made all these concessions merely to gain time, and that when opportunity offered he would withdraw them and punish his opponents. Accordingly Pym resolved to appeal to the nation against the king. He drew up the *Grand Remonstrance*, reciting all Charles's illegal acts since his accession, and sketching a programme of Church reform. On the Grand Remonstrance two parties clearly emerged. After a heated debate it passed the Commons by the narrow majority of eleven (November 22, 1641). It was ordered to be printed and published.

(C) THE ATTEMPTED ARREST OF THE FIVE MEMBERS (1642).

The opposition to the Grand Remonstrance was due not so much to the constitutional questions involved as to the ecclesiastical changes

which had been suggested. Thus the Royalist party was at first Episcopal, and consisted of "strangers without any obligation to the Court." If Charles had been wise he would have thrown himself unreservedly on the support of this party, which included Sir Edward Hyde, the future Lord Chancellor Clarendon, and Lord Falkland, the gentle, tolerant scholar, whose home at Great Tew was like "a college situated in a purer air." But Charles, as ever, listened to the bad advice offered by the queen and her harebrained courtiers. He appointed a notorious officer named Lunsford to the command of the Tower, and then dismissed him in response to the outcry which ensued. He allowed the bishops, who had been excluded by a mob from the House of Lords, to protest against everything done in their absence. Finally, on January 4, 1642, he went in person to the House of Commons to arrest five of the popular leaders, Holles, Hampden, Pym, Haselrig, and Strode, only to find, as he himself put it, that "the birds" had "flown." The attempted arrest caused the *Five Members* to be regarded as national heroes. On January 10, 1642, Charles left London, never to return, save as a prisoner.

Civil War was now inevitable, for Parliament, when it passed the Grand Remonstrance, and Charles, when he attempted to arrest the members, had entered on a struggle so deadly that it could only be decided by the arbitrament of arms. For many months, however, the contest was delayed, and negotiations were carried on between the king and Parliament mainly centring round two points. One was the exclusion of the bishops from the House of Lords, and on this point Charles gave way (February 1642), because it did not affect the question of the divine origin of Episcopacy; the other was the question of the control of the national militia. An army was necessary to punish the Irish rebels. The command of it undoubtedly rested in the king, and the popular leaders feared that Charles would use it against Parliament. Accordingly they asked Charles to consent to a *Militia Bill*, allowing Parliament to appoint the officers of the army. On this point Charles would not give way. "Not for an hour," he said; "it is a thing with which I would not trust my wife and children."

On August 22, 1642, after being refused admittance to Hull by Sir John Hotham, and repudiating the final demands of Parliament

made in the "*Nineteen Propositions*," the king set up his standard at Nottingham. A gust of wind blew it down in the night. Meanwhile the Earl of Essex had been appointed captain-general of the Parliamentary forces, and the House of Commons, shorn of the Royalists who had gone over to the king, had declared "that in this cause, for the safety of the king's person, and the defence of both Houses of Parliament . . . they will live and die with the Earl of Essex."

(D) THE ROYALIST AND PARLIAMENTARY PARTIES.

The Great Civil War, which now began, was a war of religion even more than a war of politics. On the side of Parliament were the Puritans, including the Presbyterians, Sectarians, and many Puritan Churchmen; on the side of Charles were the Episcopalians, and, of course, the Roman Catholics, who knew what to expect from Parliament. Politically the king's party included all who viewed with distrust the growing power of Parliament. It included moderate reformers like Lord Falkland, who accepted a Secretaryship of State in 1642, "though he feared the king might demand submission to his commands which he could not pretend to give"; and constitutionalists like Hyde, who gained much support for the king by inducing him "to shelter himself wholly under the law," *i.e.* to come forward as the champion of law and order against the revolutionary policy of Parliament.

Socially the cleavage between parties was not great. Roughly speaking, the nobility and squires fought for the king, and the peasants at first were on the king's side. On the other hand, some influential peers threw in their lot with Parliament, and the leaders of the Parliamentary party, such as Hampden, Pym, and Cromwell, were country gentlemen. Most of the supporters of Parliament, however, were drawn from the trading classes, who were Puritan in feeling.

Geographically, the parties were roughly divided by a line drawn from Hull to Southampton. South and east of this line the country was Parliamentary; north and west of it, Royalist. Thus the poorest and most backward parts of the country rallied to the king, for the north was not yet a great industrial centre. Parliament, on the other hand, was supported by London and the wealthiest part

of the country, for the eastern district at this time contained two-thirds of the population and three-quarters of the wealth of England. Consequently Parliament was much better off for money than the king, who had to rely largely on the voluntary contributions of his followers,



although a Royalist Parliament which he summoned to Oxford voted him liberal grants. In course of time the Royalists, under the lead of Prince Rupert, son of the Elector Palatine and nephew of Charles, took to plundering to maintain itself, and alienated many supporters, especially among the peasantry. Parliament, on the other

hand, possessed all the great seaports, and could collect the customs dues, for it *secured the navy* at the outbreak of the war, and was thus able to prevent the arrival of any considerable reinforcements from abroad, whither the queen had departed in 1642 to seek help for the king.

(E) THE CAMPAIGNS OF 1642 and 1643.

From the outbreak of the war in 1642 up to the siege of Gloucester in 1643, the Royalists were, on the whole, successful. The first engagement of importance took place at *Edgehill, near Banbury* (October 23, 1642), where Charles, who had started from Shrewsbury ten days earlier, was intercepted on his way to London by the Parliamentary army under Essex, a man generally respected and absolutely loyal to his party, but lacking in enthusiasm and military genius. In his nephew Rupert the king possessed a dashing cavalry commander. At Edgehill, Rupert easily overthrew the horsemen of the enemy, although the Parliamentary infantry made a drawn fight of the battle while Rupert went too far in pursuit of the enemy's horse and wasted time in plundering the baggage.

After the battle, both Essex and Charles made a dash for London, Charles marching through Oxford along the valley of the Thames, while Essex took a more northerly route through Northampton hoping to get to the capital before the king. Rupert seized Brentford, but the militia of London supported the army of Essex, and drew up in such force on Turnham Green that it would have been madness for the Royalists to attack "that massy body." The king thereupon retired to Oxford, henceforward to be his headquarters, and Essex went into winter quarters at Windsor.

The Campaign of 1643.—Peace negotiations were opened at Oxford early in 1643 in order to satisfy the moderates on both sides, but it was not likely that the king, whose prospects of victory were good, would comply with the demands of his opponents, and surrender to Parliament the control either of religion or of the militia.

The year 1643 saw fighting in three parts of the country. In the *North*, a Royalist army under Newcastle beat Fairfax, the Parliamentary leader, at *Adwalton Moor* (June 30), and, having shut up the enemy in Hull, dominated the whole of Yorkshire. In the eastern counties, however, Parliament scored a success, for

Oliver Cromwell won a cavalry skirmish at *Gainsborough*. In the *West*, the Royalist Sir Ralph Hopton won victories at Braddock Down and Stratton. Then he defeated his old friend Sir William Waller at Lansdowne, near Bath, and at *Roundway Down*, near Devizes (July 13, 1643). He helped Rupert to capture *Bristol* (July 26), the second city in the kingdom, and swept on through Dorchester, Weymouth, and Winchester as far as Arundel in Sussex. In the west, only Plymouth and Gloucester remained in the hands of Parliament. In the *centre*, Hampden was slain in a skirmish at *Chalgrove Field*, near Oxford, but Essex held possession of Reading.

The king's plan at this juncture was to dash all three of his armies against London. But the local feeling of his troops rendered this course impossible. While Hull held out, Newcastle's army would not leave their homes in Yorkshire exposed to the sallies of its garrison; Hopton's army also wanted to get back to the west, to secure Plymouth. The king accordingly elected to besiege Gloucester, the only town of importance which broke the line of his communications in the west. Charles hoped to get Gloucester abandoned to him by treachery, but the town held out, and Essex with the London trained bands made a wonderful march along the line of the Cotswolds to relieve it. On his approach Charles raised the siege, and by skilful manœuvring tried to blind him to the plan he had now formed, viz., to attack London before Essex could get back. But on September 20 the two armies met at *Newbury*; Charles was foiled in his object, and retreated to Oxford.

In the First Battle of Newbury "was slain the lord viscount Falkland," a man much too good, clever, and thoughtful for the times in which he lived. The horrors of civil war weighed heavily on his spirit. "Sitting among his friends, often, after a deep silence and frequent sighs, (he) would, with a shrill and sad accent, ingeminate the word *Peace, Peace*, and would passionately profess that the very agony of the war, and the view of the calamities and desolation the kingdom did and must endure, took his sleep from him, and would shortly break his heart."

Hitherto the king had carried everything before him, and Pym, in despair, turned for help to the Scots. The price of the Scottish alliance was the *Solemn League and Covenant* (1643), whereby Parliament agreed to establish Presbyterianism in England and even

in Roman Catholic Ireland. Presbyterianism was an ecclesiastical system more rigid and exclusive than that of Laud, and was bitterly disliked by the Independents, who were beginning to assert their importance. But the alliance was a military necessity if the victorious career of the king was to be checked.

Just after he had called in the Scots, Pym died (December 8, 1643). He had worked with all his might to keep his party together, and to secure the triumph of Parliament and the freedom of Puritanism. He professed entire devotion to the doctrine of the Church of England, and did not wish to abolish bishops, but he was resolved to deprive them of political power. For Roman Catholics he had no sympathy. Pym was a great "Parliamentary man," and "certain it is, that his power of doing shrewd turns was extraordinary."

In September 1643, the king, through his agent Ormond, made a truce (the "Cessation") with the Irish rebels, hoping thereby to secure the services of the English troops from Ireland. This step did his cause no good in England.

(F) ROYALISTS' DISASTERS (1644).

The year 1644 saw the turn of the tide in favour of Parliament. The Scots, under Leslie, whom Charles had created Earl of Leven in 1641, crossed the border, and Sir Thomas Fairfax defeated the English forces coming to the king's aid from Ireland at *Nantwich*. Joining forces with the Scots, Fairfax shut up Newcastle in York. Fairfax also had the assistance of the *army of the Eastern Association* under the Earl of Manchester and Cromwell. The Eastern Association was a combination of Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Cambridge, and Hertford, for mutual defence. There was also a South-Eastern Association under Waller, and a union of Warwickshire and Staffordshire, but the army of the Eastern Association was already famous owing to the successes of Cromwell's cavalry regiment (soon to be known as the Ironsides) at Gainsborough and Winceby in 1643.

Newcastle's position in York was now critical, and Charles dispatched Rupert to assist him. Rupert succeeded in relieving York, but on July 2, 1644, the combined forces of Newcastle and

Rupert were disastrously beaten at *Marston Moor*, by Cromwell, Manchester, Fairfax, and the Scots.

Both armies were drawn up in the formation commonly adopted at that time, the infantry being in the centre and the cavalry on the wings. The right wing of the Parliamentarians fled before the Royalist cavalry under Goring, but on the left wing Cromwell beat Prince Rupert's horse. For the first time in a great battle the Cavaliers, born to the saddle, had encountered cavalry superior to themselves. "God made them as stubble to our swords," boasted Cromwell. In the other parts of the field, however, the Royalists were gaining ground, when Cromwell came to the assistance of his comrades, overthrew Goring, and secured the victory for his side. Some people now began to talk of Cromwell as "the saviour of the three kingdoms," and Prince Rupert gave him the nickname of "Ironside." By the defeat at Marston Moor Charles lost the whole of the North, and Newcastle, in despair, sought refuge abroad.

Meanwhile Hopton's Western army had been defeated by Waller at *Cheriton* (April 1644), and Waller had joined forces with Essex to besiege the king in Oxford. But Charles skilfully withdrew his army from that town when it was well-nigh surrounded, and set off towards Worcester, hunted, "as a partridge upon the mountains" by both the Parliamentary generals. If Essex and Waller had kept together they might have crushed the king, but the two generals quarrelled, and Essex marched off towards Cornwall. Charles thereupon turned on Waller, defeated him at *Cropredy Bridge*, and, following Essex into Cornwall, compelled his infantry to surrender at *Lostwithiel* (September 2, 1644).

On his way back from Cornwall, Charles encountered Essex and Waller and the army of Manchester and the Eastern Association at the *Second Battle of Newbury* (October 27, 1644). Owing to the sluggishness of Manchester, Charles was not decisively beaten, and succeeded in reaching Oxford.

At this point we clearly see a rift in the Parliamentary party. After the *Second Battle of Newbury* accusations of lukewarmness were levied against Essex and Manchester, and it is extremely probable that these men saw the danger of beating the king too decisively, and desired to negotiate with Charles. Such hesitation

MARSTONMOOR July 2nd 1644

ROYALISTS



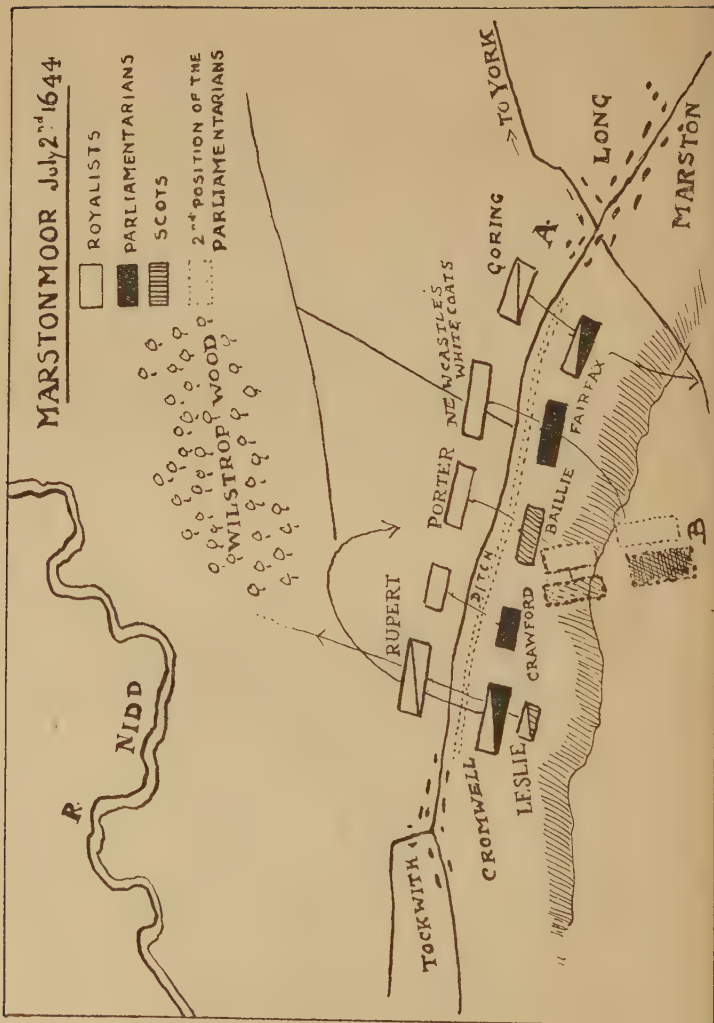
PARLIAMENTARIANS



SCOTS



2nd POSITION OF THE
PARLIAMENTARIANS



was hateful to men of action like Cromwell. He believed in making war thoroughly and in employing good troops. He was early convinced that Parliament could not win till its cavalry was equal to that of the king. After the battle of Edgehill he spoke to his cousin Hampden on this subject. "Your troops," he said, "are most of them old decayed serving-men, tapsters, and such kind of fellows. . . . Do you think that the spirits of such base and mean fellows will ever be able to encounter gentlemen that have honour and courage and resolution in them? You must get men of a spirit . . . that is likely to go on as far as gentlemen will go, or else you will be beaten still." Cromwell showed that such troops could be raised. He went down to the Eastern counties in January 1643, and raised a company of "godly men" whose faith in the justice of their cause bent them to discipline and inspired them with courage. Thus Cromwell could boast that his men "had the fear of God before them and made some conscience of what they did," and he proved their valour and efficiency at Marston Moor.

While Cromwell fumed at the inertness of his leaders, a large Peace party, both in London and about the king, insisted that overtures for peace should be opened.

(G) THE YEAR 1645.

In the *Propositions of Uxbridge* (1645), the two great questions of the Church and the Militia once more proved an obstacle to peace. Parliament insisted on the establishment of Presbyterianism and the control of the militia, and, as the king would give way on neither point, the Peace party was defeated. Cromwell, however, and the extreme party procured the passing of the *Self-Denying Ordinance* (April 3, 1645), which deprived members of Parliament of their commissions in the army, though an exception was made in Cromwell's favour. Another ordinance was passed for the remodelling of the army. All troops were concentrated under the command of Fairfax, and were paid regular wages. Henceforward Parliament possessed a permanent force. But the *New Model Army* was not likely to prove a body submissive to Parliament, for its officers consisted largely of Independents, whereas the majority in Parliament was Presbyterian. We shall soon see how widely Presbyterians and

Independents differed in their religious views. In January 1645, however, Archbishop Laud was put to death by both parties. His execution was a judicial murder.

The New Model Army was not long in proving its efficiency. On June 14, at the *Battle of Naseby*, Charles was hopelessly outnumbered, and suffered a crushing defeat. In the following month Goring was defeated by Fairfax at Langport, and in September Rupert surrendered Bristol. A few days later Charles witnessed the defeat of his last forces at *Rowton Heath*, near Chester. The whole of England had now been lost.

When Charles was defeated at Rowton Heath he was on his way to Scotland, where the *Earl of Montrose* had sustained his cause with much success. Montrose had, at first, sided with the Covenanters, but, being jealous of Argyle, he joined the Royalists, and put himself at the head of all the Highland clans hostile to Argyle's clan—the Campbells. A brilliant soldier, Montrose won a great victory at Tippermuir (1644), and captured Perth and Aberdeen. In 1645 he routed the Campbells at Inverlochy, won a still greater victory at Kilsyth, and entered Glasgow. Montrose now seemed to be master both of the Highlands and Lowlands, but, failing to keep his army together, he was beaten at Philiphaugh (September 13, 1645) by David Leslie, and the Royalist cause in Scotland was ruined. Disappointed of help from Montrose, Charles surrendered himself to the Scots army at Newark (May 5, 1646), and was carried off to Newcastle. Here he was presented with the *Newcastle Propositions* by Parliament and the Scots, requesting him to establish Presbyterianism, to take the Covenant, and to surrender the control of the militia for twenty years.

(H) PRESBYTERIANS AND INDEPENDENTS.

The Presbyterians.—From the outbreak of the war the Presbyterians possessed a majority in Parliament. They wished to establish Presbyterianism but did not desire the abolition of monarchy, and only favoured such success as would secure the liberties won by the Long Parliament. When disaster fell on the Parliament, they welcomed the aid of the Scots, but the half-hearted conduct of their generals, Essex, Waller, and Manchester, led to the formation of

the New Model Army and the ascendancy of Cromwell and Fairfax, who were Independents in religion.

The Independents.—The Independents disliked Presbyterianism as much as they disliked Episcopacy, but they were in a minority, and only began to make their influence felt by degrees. At the critical time of the war, after the Second Battle of Newbury, they stood forward as the party of no compromise, and through their exertions the king was brought to his knees by the New Model Army.

The complete success of the Independents alienated the Scottish Presbyterians, in whose hands the king was now virtually a prisoner. Charles was not slow to see the possibilities of the situation, and entered on a policy of playing off the Parliament against the Army. Writing to a friend, he said: "I hope . . . to draw either Presbyterians or Independents to side with me for extirpating one or the other, so that I shall be really king again."

In pursuance of this intention Charles refused the Propositions of Newcastle, whereupon the Scots surrendered him to the English Parliament, and, receiving their expenses, went off home. Charles was taken to Holmby House in Northamptonshire.

(I) THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN PARLIAMENT AND THE ARMY.

A long "triangular duel" now began between the King, the Parliament, and the Army, but the hostility between the Presbyterian Parliament and the Independent Army was more bitter than the hostility of either towards the king. On the one side Parliament was determined to impose Presbyterianism on the country, on the other side the Independents were determined to prevent the establishment of a system which they hated as much as Episcopacy. Milton's line, "New presbyter is but old priest writ large," describes the feelings of the Independents towards their former allies. The Parliament was strong in the attachment of London, but the Independents were masters of that all-powerful weapon—the army. They soon gave proof of their determination and of their strength. In February 1647, Parliament launched four ordinances—(1) to disband the army, (2) to deprive all members of Parliament of their commands, (3) to compel all the officers of the army to take the

Covenant, and (4) to give the soldiers only one-sixth of their arrears of pay. But the army naturally declined to be disbanded. It was not only a military machine but an organised political body, possessing its Council of Officers and its Adjutators or Agitators, consisting of delegates from each regiment. Three sharp strokes were dealt at the impotent Parliament. Cornet Joyce seized the king at *Holmby House* and brought him to the army at Newmarket (June 2), eleven Presbyterian members were forced to withdraw from Parliament, and the army marched on London (August 1647).

The army placed the king at Hampton Court and offered him better terms than he was destined to receive again. In the *Heads of the Proposals* (1647) it was laid down (1) that the existing Parliament should be dissolved within three months, that future Parliaments should only sit for two years, and that seats should be redistributed, (2) that the appointment of all great officials should rest with Parliament, (3) that Parliament should control the militia for ten years, and (4) that religious toleration should exist for all except Roman Catholics. Charles, trusting to his diplomatic skill, refused these favourable terms, and in November 1647 fled to the Isle of Wight, where he was detained as a prisoner at Carisbrooke Castle.

The king still hoped to be the arbiter between Parliament and the Army, but his policy was doomed to failure. "Your majesty has a mind to arbitrate between us and the Parliament," said Colonel Ireton, "but we mean to be the arbiters between you and the Parliament." Meanwhile Cromwell had risked his popularity with the troops by his efforts to come to an agreement with Charles. While he had striven to bring about an enduring settlement, the extreme democratic party in the army, known as the Levellers, had taken alarm. In the *Agreement of the People* the Levellers stated that religious liberty must not be touched by Parliament, demanded biennial Parliaments, manhood suffrage and other sweeping changes, and when these were rejected, they mutinied at Ware. Two regiments appeared wearing copies of the *Agreement of the People* in their hats, together with the motto "England's freedom! Soldiers' rights!" Cromwell's measures were swift and decisive. Dashing along the ranks, he ordered the soldiers to tear out the papers, and cowed them into obedience. Three of the ringleaders were condemned by court-martial, but were allowed to throw dice for their lives, and only one was shot.

From November 1647 to November 1648 Charles remained a prisoner at Carisbrooke. There he renewed negotiations with Parliament and also with the Scots. At length he signed a secret *Engagement* with the latter, promising to establish Presbyterianism for a term of three years and to suppress the Independents and other heretics if the Scots would restore him to the throne.

(J) THE SECOND CIVIL WAR (1648).

The Second Civil War began with Royalist insurrections in Wales and Kent. Fairfax defeated the Kentish Royalists at *Maidstone*, and followed up the fugitives into Essex, where he took *Colchester*. Part of the fleet declared for the king, but instead of attempting to carry off Charles from Carisbrooke, it merely blockaded the Thames for a few days. The rising in South Wales was crushed by Cromwell, who captured Tenby, Chepstow, and Pembroke. Then he turned northwards to meet a Scottish army under Hamilton which had invaded England on July 5. In the month of August Cromwell crushed the Scots at *Preston*, *Wigan*, and *Warrington*, and the Second Civil War was ended.

(K) THE TRIAL AND EXECUTION OF CHARLES.

Although Parliament had passed a *Vote of No Addresses* in January 1648, declaring that it would make no more proposals to the king, it entered on the Treaty of Newport (September 1648) with Charles as soon as the Second Civil War was over. But treaties between the king and the Parliament were now worse than useless, for the army had determined to sweep away both king and Parliament. Before the Second Civil War had broken out the Council of Officers had agreed that it was their duty to "call Charles Stuart, that man of blood, to account for the blood he had shed and mischief he had done to his utmost against the Lord's cause and the people in these poor nations." In order, however, to bring the king to trial, it was necessary to get rid of the Presbyterian majority in Parliament. This end was accomplished by Colonel Pride, who with some musketeers expelled the Presbyterian members of Parliament (December 6, 1648). The Independent minority,

numbering only fifty-three members, then passed an ordinance for the trial of the king before a High Court of Justice. Charles refused to plead before this tribunal, which had no legal authority, but on January 27 the Court condemned him to death, and three days later he met his doom on a scaffold at Whitehall with unflinching courage and noble dignity. The rule of the army had begun.

NOTE ON THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR (1618-1648).

The first stage of the 'Thirty Years' War lasted from 1619-1623, and was marked by the acceptance of the Bohemian Crown by Frederick the Elector Palatine, the Protestant son-in-law of James I., who opposed the Catholic Emperor, Ferdinand II., and was defeated at *White Hill* in 1620. His electorate was formally transferred to Maximilian, Duke of Bavaria, the head of the Catholic League, in 1623 (see page 292).

The second stage of the war (1623-1629) was marked by the attempt of the Hapsburg house of Austria to extend its power over the seaports of the Baltic, and, while the Protestant princes of North Germany were lulled into a false sense of security, two famous generals, Tilly and Wallenstein, made conquests in that region. In 1625 Christian IV. of Denmark came to the help of German Protestantism, but he was defeated by Tilly at Lutter (August 1626), while Mansfeld (see page 293) was beaten by Wallenstein. In 1629 matters reached a crisis. Christian could not attack the mainland, and his enemies could not reach him at sea. As Sweden, alarmed for her supremacy in the Baltic, seemed likely to intervene, Wallenstein was anxious to make peace with Denmark, and Christian IV. accepted the Peace of Lubeck (1629).

The third stage of the war (1630-1635) was marked by the intervention of Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden, who undertook a defensive war in the interests of Protestantism and Sweden. The twofold nature of his objects rendered the 'Thirty Years' War the first great war of politics, as well as the last great religious war. A statesman and soldier of the highest order, Gustavus Adolphus was at first hampered by the jealousy and timidity of the German Protestant princes, who believed that "to join with the foreigner would be both dishonourable and disloyal." But in 1630 Wallenstein was dismissed by the Diet of Ratisbon, owing to the jealousy of Maximilian, the distrust of the Jesuits, and the intrigues of the French minister Richelieu, who was anxious to hamper the Hapsburgs. Gustavus Adolphus was therefore able to defeat Tilly at Breitenfeld

(1631), and to carry the war into Southern Germany. In 1632 Tilly was defeated and mortally wounded at the battle of the Lech; but Wallenstein, who had regained his position, drove the Elector of Saxony, who had joined the Swedes in 1631, out of Bohemia. In the same year Gustavus defeated Wallenstein, but lost his own life at the battle of *Lützen*.

In 1634 Wallenstein was assassinated. His efforts to achieve German unity by combating the two evils of religious intolerance and the spirit of division had proved a failure, but a victory gained by young Ferdinand, King of Hungary, over the Swedes at Nordlingen made the conquest of South Germany by the Protestants impossible, and several Lutheran princes were detached from the Protestant alliance by the Peace of Prague (1635).

The fourth period of the war (1635-1648) was marked by the open intervention of France. At war with the Spanish Hapsburgs, France, under the leadership of the great minister, Cardinal Richelieu, joined Sweden from purely political motives in fighting the Austrian Hapsburgs. Richelieu wished to throttle Spain by seizing Alsace and Lorraine, thus cutting the Spanish communications with the Netherlands along the valley of the Rhine. In alliance with the Dutch, the Swedes, and several Italian princes, the French attack on the Hapsburgs proved irresistible once Alsace had been won (1639). Meanwhile the Swedes were driven back to the Baltic owing to the energy of Ferdinand III., who succeeded Ferdinand II. in 1637. Mazarin continued the policy of Richelieu, who died in 1642. His generals, Turenne and Enghien (afterwards Condé), won many victories over the Imperialists (Freiburg, 1644; battle of Zusmarshausen, 1648), and in 1648 Ferdinand III. was obliged to consent to the *Treaty of Westphalia* (see page 348), which drew a line between the Protestant and Catholic princes of Germany, legally recognised Calvinism, and marked the failure of the Hapsburgs both to impose Catholicism on the whole of Germany and to build up a strong Hapsburg Empire in that country. The peace also witnessed the advance of France, which was destined to continue for a long period, and the territorial expansion of Sweden, which proved to be transitory.

CHAPTER XLI.

THE COMMONWEALTH AND PROTECTORATE (1649-1660).

THE execution of Charles I. was followed by (*A*) the establishment of a Commonwealth, but the infant republic was confronted with difficulties, owing to the discontent of many people at home, and to the refusal of (*B*) Ireland and (*C*) Scotland to accept the new form of government. Cromwell broke the back of the Irish rising by his relentless treatment of Drogheda and Wexford, and subdued Scotland by his victories at Dunbar and Worcester. In 1652-1654 the English republic waged (*D*) war with the Dutch republic, owing to differences about matters of trade. Cromwell's victory at Worcester was followed by (*E*) his expulsion of the remnant of the Long Parliament, scornfully called the Rump, which had angered the army by refusing to undertake reforms. Cromwell and the army then carried on the government, and called an assembly named (*F*) Barebone's or the Little Parliament, which came to an untimely end owing to its impracticable policy. (*G*) The Commonwealth was then turned into a Protectorate (1653) by the Instrument of Government, and Cromwell became Lord Protector and undertook some of the duties formerly performed by the king, but subject to the checks of a Council and a Parliament. (*H*) The first Protectorate Parliament, however, criticised the Instrument of Government, and was therefore dissolved by Cromwell. Cromwell refused the title of king offered to him in "The Humble Petition and Advice," but created a new Second Chamber and called the Second Protectorate Parliament, which failed

to work harmoniously with him and was soon dissolved. (I) Cromwell's foreign policy centred round a French alliance, and was designed to serve the interests of Protestantism in Europe and to benefit English trade. On the death of Cromwell (September 3, 1658), his son Richard proved incapable of carrying on the government. (J) The Restoration of Charles II. became inevitable, but (K) the results of the Puritan Revolution proved to be lasting.

(A) ESTABLISHMENT OF THE COMMONWEALTH.

AFTER the execution of Charles I., the remnant of the Long Parliament, which was known as the Rump, abolished the House of Lords and the monarchy, and declared England to be a Commonwealth or Free State. A Council of State, consisting of forty-one persons, most of them members of Parliament, was created to act as the executive. The new government was a "mere burlesque on Parliamentary institutions." It was afraid to appeal to the country lest a newly-elected Parliament should sweep away the infant Commonwealth, and it could not have existed for a week save for the support of Cromwell and the army. In the country a great reaction in favour of the king had set in, but the Royalists were powerless before the military might of Cromwell. Even in the army the new government found opposition, for the extreme section of the Levellers, led by John Lilburne, demanded complete democratic government in a new version of *The Agreement of the People*. But Cromwell felt that the times were not ripe for manhood suffrage and the other sweeping changes which the Levellers demanded, and he put down a mutiny of the Levellers at Burford with a firm hand. Confronted at home by the hostility of the Royalists, the Levellers and the Presbyterians (who were very strong in London and among the middle classes, and were no longer able to force their exclusive religious system on the nation), the Commonwealth was also called upon to face the dislike of foreign nations and the active resistance of both Ireland and Scotland.

(B) IRELAND.

In Ireland, the native Irish, who were completely under the influence of the Roman Catholic priests, had gained the upper hand

since the "Cessation." Besides this native, separatist, Irish party, there existed a body of Roman Catholic Lords, who were loyal to the English connection so long as their religion was respected, and there was also the party of the Protestant Royalists. All these parties sank their differences on the death of the king, and rallied round Ormond when he proclaimed Charles, Prince of Wales, King of Ireland. The situation was so alarming that Parliament sent their strong man Cromwell to Ireland with the combined powers of Lord-Lieutenant and Commander-in-Chief. Cromwell landed in August 1649. His military task was soon accomplished. He captured Drogheda (September 1649) and Wexford (October 1649), and put their garrisons to the sword. "I do not think thirty of the whole number escaped with their lives," wrote Cromwell, after the storming of Drogheda; and he defended his stern measures both because they formed "a righteous judgment of God upon these barbarous wretches, who have imbrued their hands in so much innocent blood," and because they would "tend to prevent the effusion of blood for the future." Cromwell was wrong in regarding all the Irish who had taken arms against the Commonwealth as participants in the massacre of 1641, but he was right in believing that stern measures would prevent "effusion of blood." Town after town opened its gates, Ormond's coalition fell to pieces, and in the spring of 1650 Cromwell was able to leave Ireland.

Cromwell left his son-in-law Ireton to continue his work. Ireton captured Waterford (1650) and Limerick, the key to Connaught (1651), and then died of plague fever; but his successors Ludlow and Fleetwood completed the subjugation of the country, and the war ended with the fall of Galway (1652).

Cromwell's settlement of Ireland was based on the plan of plantations carried to extreme lengths. The native Irish were to be shut in by the Shannon, the rest of Ireland was to be colonised by Englishmen. Irish soldiers were allowed to take service abroad, and Catholic priests were expelled. The Irish Parliament was abolished, but the country sent thirty representatives, elected by the Protestants alone, to the English Parliament. Free trade was established with England. Cromwell relied on the impartial administration of justice and the assiduous preaching of "the Word" to reconcile the Irish to English rule and Protestantism. But his settlement as a whole was

overthrown before its merits or demerits had been thoroughly tested ; though, as we shall see, many of the new proprietors installed by him kept their estates after the Restoration.

(C) SCOTLAND.

Soon after his return to England from Ireland, Cromwell set out on a campaign in Scotland. On the death of Charles I., Argyle and the Covenanters, hating both Independency and Republicanism, had proclaimed Charles II. king not only of Scotland but of the British Isles. But Charles II. was unwilling to accept the Covenant and to promise to impose Presbyterianism on England and Ireland, and for a time he held back from Argyle's powerful Presbyterian party. Charles hoped much from the rising in Ireland, and he sent Montrose to Scotland to call the Scottish Cavaliers to arms. Montrose, however, was defeated at Corbiesdale, and then betrayed to the Covenanters, who hanged him at the Market Cross in Edinburgh (May 21, 1650). Charles thereupon accepted the terms of the Covenanters, and landed in Scotland in June 1650.

Fairfax refused to undertake the invasion of Scotland, and laid down his commission. Cromwell, however, thought it better "to have this war in the bowels of another country than our own," and on June 26, 1650, he was appointed by Parliament, Captain-General and Commander-in-Chief of the English army. Throughout the campaign Cromwell had command of the sea, but on land he found himself opposed by superior numbers. Failing to capture Edinburgh, he was compelled by lack of supplies and by disease in the English camp to fall back on Dunbar to get in touch with his fleet. Here his position was perilous, for, while sickness every day consumed his men, David Leslie, the Scottish commander, skilfully hemmed him in and cut off his return from England. Occupying a strong position at Doon Hill, overlooking Dunbar, Leslie seemed to have trapped Cromwell, just as Charles I. had trapped Essex at Lostwithiel. But, thinking that Cromwell had shipped most of his troops and his guns, and urged on to fight by the ministers in his camp, Leslie unwisely descended from his position at Doon Hill, and drew up his army behind a small stream. His left was now shut in between the hill and a ravine, and his centre was cramped for room at the base of the

hill. Cromwell knew that victory would be his if he could but overwhelm the Scottish right. A skilful flank attack in this quarter decided the day, and the *battle of Dunbar* was won (September 3, 1650). "They routed one another after we had done their work on their right wing," says one of Cromwell's officers, who also records that "the sun appearing upon the sea," he heard Noll say, "Now let God arise, and His enemies shall be scattered." Cromwell, though looking upon himself as a "poor worm" and a "weak servant," was filled with the intense conviction that God had chosen him to execute His will.

The battle of Dunbar was a crushing blow to the Covenanters. They treated Charles better than they had hitherto done, and came to an agreement with the Engagers, a Royalist party headed by Hamilton, who had made the treaty with Charles I. in the Isle of Wight. On January 1, 1651, Charles II. was crowned King of Scotland, and it was hoped that if a Scottish army entered England, the Presbyterians and Royalists in that country would also unite on his behalf.

Meanwhile Leslie had taken up a strong position near Stirling. Cromwell accordingly resolved to turn this position, and, sending his troops round by sea he captured Perth, thus cutting off Leslie from the Highlands. By this step, however, he deliberately left the road to England open, and the Scots, taking the young king with them, seized the opening and dashed into England. As the Scottish army marched southwards by way of Carlisle, Lancashire, and the Welsh border, Cromwell followed by a more easterly route through Yorkshire, reinforcing his army as he proceeded. At *Worcester* he came up with the Scots, who had not met with the help they expected, and there on September 3, 1651, the anniversary of the battle of Dunbar, he utterly routed the enemy, and won a victory which he styled his "crowning mercy," and which rendered the Commonwealth secure. Charles II. escaped to the continent, after meeting with many romantic adventures.

Scotland was now thoroughly beaten. Monk continued Cromwell's work in that country by capturing Stirling and Dundee, and Argyle made his submission. The Scottish Parliament was abolished, but thirty Scottish members were allowed to sit in the Parliament at Westminster. Freedom of trade was established

between the two countries, and toleration was secured for all Puritans. The Scots, however, bitterly resented the abolition of the Presbyterian supremacy and the loss of their national independence, and, on the accession of Charles II., all Cromwell's arrangements in that country fell to pieces.

(D) THE DUTCH WAR (1652-1654).

The victory of Cromwell at Worcester produced a great difference in the views of foreign powers with regard to the infant Commonwealth, which between 1651 and 1652 was recognised by the chief European Courts. With the one power, however, which might have been expected to be on good terms with England war broke out. The Calvinistic Dutch Republic had formally secured the recognition of its independence by Spain in 1648, in which year the Thirty Years' War in Germany was brought to a close by the Treaty of Westphalia. In the past, England had helped the Dutch to gain their freedom, but ever since 1642 the two countries had been drifting apart.

All through the seventeenth century two parties existed in Holland. One party was headed by the Stadtholder, William II. of Orange, who had married Charles I.'s daughter Mary. This party was monarchical in sympathy, and gave its support both to Charles I. and Charles II. The other party was republican, and sympathised with the English Commonwealth. In 1650 William II. died, and the office of Stadtholder was abolished. The republican party had thus gained the ascendancy, and the English Commonwealth sent commissioners to treat for "a strict and intimate alliance and union," *i.e.* for a political union. The negotiations, however, came to nothing, and the commercial rivalry which existed between the two nations soon led to war. Now began a new era in the politics of Europe, for the annexation of territory and disputes about trade henceforth took the place of religion as the main causes of hostility between nations.

The Dutch by this time had secured the monopoly of the carrying trade of Europe. To put an end to this state of things, the English Parliament, in 1651, passed the Navigation Act, declaring that henceforward all goods imported into this country were to be

carried in English ships, or in the ships of the countries producing the goods. Long-standing disputes also existed between the English and Dutch merchants in the East Indies. As far back as 1623, the Dutch had massacred the English traders at *Amboyna*, and driven the English merchants out of the Spice Islands to seek new markets in India. Other causes of quarrel were the English claims to the supremacy of the narrow seas and to the right to search Dutch vessels for French goods, — England, at the beginning of the Commonwealth, being practically at war with France. The Dutch insisted on the rights of neutrals, and claimed that the flag covered the cargo.

The English navy had been put into excellent order by Vane, and it possessed an advantage over the Dutch in being able to attack the Dutch ships as they made their way to Holland, bearing the foreign food supply upon which that country depended.

A chance collision off Dover in 1652, between the English admiral Blake, who had fought as a soldier for the Parliamentarians and was fifty before he ever went to sea, and the Dutch admiral Van Tromp, opened the war between the two republics. In November of the same year Van Tromp got the better of Blake off Dungeness; but in the following year Blake and Monk beat Van Tromp off Portland Bill (1653). Both sides continued the fight stubbornly and with divided fortunes, though Van Tromp was defeated and killed in a battle off the Texel in July 1653. In 1654 peace was made by Cromwell, who had all along disapproved of the war, the Dutch agreeing to accept the Navigation Act, to admit the supremacy of the British flag in the narrow seas, to pay damages for the outrages on English merchants in the East, and to give no help to the Royalists.

(E) THE EXPULSION OF THE RUMP (1653).

Though the battle of Worcester rendered the Commonwealth secure, it ensured the overthrow of the Rump, which had now lost the support of the army. The Parliament in no wise represented the people of England. The Royalists had left it on the outbreak of the Civil War, the Presbyterians had been “purged” out of it in 1648, and the average number of members who now sat in it was

only about sixty. A close oligarchical body with a bad reputation for jobbery, the Parliament pleased nobody, and it was compelled to levy heavy taxes for the army, the navy, and the Dutch War. The army was strongly republican in feeling, and was furious because Parliament favoured the navy and did not introduce "reforms" which many men believed would produce a political millennium. Cromwell was anxious that Parliament should adopt a "healing policy," but it preferred to persecute the Royalists and keep alive the old dissensions. As for the future government of the country, Cromwell had already grown to believe that "a settlement *with something of monarchical power in it* would be very effectual." But the Rump, inefficient as it had proved itself, was bent on clinging to office and keeping the government of the country in its own hands, and when it introduced a bill providing for a dissolution but also securing that its members should keep their seats in the next Parliament, Cromwell went down to the House and dissolved it by force (April 20, 1653). "I told them," he said afterwards, "that the Nation loathed their sitting. And so far as I could discern, when they were dissolved there was not so much as the barking of a dog, or any general or visible repining at it."

(F) BAREBONE'S OR THE LITTLE PARLIAMENT
(July–December, 1653).

Cromwell and the army were now in supreme authority, but Cromwell did not wish to rule by the power of the sword, though he could not risk a general election. In consultation with the Council of Officers he appointed a temporary Council of State, consisting of nine officers and four civilians, to carry on the ordinary administrative business. This interim Council of State, in conjunction with Cromwell, issued summonses for a new assembly, which met on July 4, 1653, and became known as Barebone's Parliament.¹ It consisted of 140 members, selected after consultation with the "godly" or Independent ministers, and contained men like Monk, Blake, and Cooper (afterwards Earl of Shaftesbury). But, lacking experience, it tried to do too much. It elected a new Council of State. It abolished the Court of Chancery and imprisonment for debt

¹ It was so called after a member known as "Praise-God Barebone."

as well as tithes and the right of private patronage, thus rousing the hostility of the clergy and the lawyers. The army also was displeased because the Assembly wished to alter the method of raising the money for its pay, and even expected the higher officers to serve for a whole year without wages. A minority in the Parliament saw the futility of this policy, and, getting up early on December 11 (before the other members knew what they were about), they passed a vote to dissolve, and resigned their power into the hands of Cromwell. The Rump Parliament had been dissolved for doing too little. Barebone's Parliament came to an end for attempting to do too much.

(G) THE INSTRUMENT OF GOVERNMENT AND THE FOUNDATION
OF THE PROTECTORATE (1653).

A change had now come over the work of Cromwell. Formerly he had been engaged in striking down the opponents of Puritanism, now he often had to check the wishes of those who exaggerated its mission. He believed himself to be "a good constable set to keep the peace of the parish." His difficulty was to keep the government going at all now that the old constitution of the country had been so radically altered. A new constitution was accordingly devised. It was drawn up by General Lambert, accepted by Cromwell and the Council of Officers, and was known as the *Instrument of Government* (December 16, 1653). The main interest of this document and, later on, of the Humble Petition and Advice, is that they embodied the only two attempts in English history to give the country a written constitution, such as the United States of America possesses to-day. There is, at the present time, no legal limit to the power of the English Parliament, but the American Congress is hedged in by restrictions on every side, because America has a written constitution which it is very difficult to alter.

Under the Instrument of Government a single chief of the State was established with the title of Lord Protector, who was to hold office for life and undertake some of the duties formerly performed by the king. But the power of the Protector was limited by two checks—one was a Council of not more than twenty-one nor less than thirteen members, which together with the Protector was to

form the executive, and whose members the Protector could not remove. Without the consent of the Council the Protector could not make war or take any step of importance. The other check was *Parliament*. Parliament was to consist of one house, to meet at least once in three years, and not to be dissolved till after an interval of five months. Parliament was to impose taxes and make laws with or without the assent of the Protector, who could veto the legislation he disliked only for twenty days. Members from England, Scotland, and Ireland were to come to Parliament, and many seats in England and Wales were transferred from rotten boroughs to larger but unrepresented constituencies, such as Manchester. A rather high property qualification for voters was established, but all who had borne arms against Parliament since 1641 were not to vote. Religious toleration was to exist except for Papists and Prelatists. *Parliament was to have no power to alter the Instrument.* Under this arrangement, Cromwell took office as Lord Protector. It had been ordained that Parliament should meet in September 1654, and that in the interval the Protector and the Council should make ordinances to carry on the work of government. Cromwell seized the opportunity not only to put an end to the Dutch War, but also to regulate religion. Two Committees were appointed, one known as *Triers*, to approve of candidates for livings; the other known as *Ejectors*, to turn out unfit ministers. Livings were still to be supported by tithes, but no question was to be raised as to whether the ministers were Presbyterians or Independents. One thing, however, was not permitted—the ministers could not be Episcopalians.

(H) THE FIRST PROTECTORATE PARLIAMENT (1654-1655), AND
THE SECOND PROTECTORATE PARLIAMANT (1656-1658).

On September 3, that fateful day in Cromwell's life, the first Parliament of the Protectorate met (1654). Cromwell dismissed the members to their work. The "great end" of their sitting, he told them, was "healing and settling," and he implored them, "not as one having dominion over them, but as their fellow-servant," to apply themselves to their great task.

Parliament at once proceeded to discuss the Instrument, and the position of the Protector. In words ringing with sincerity

Cromwell defended his position. "I called not myself to this place!" he said. "God and the People of these nations have borne testimony to it. God and the People shall take it from me, else I will not part with it. I should be false to the trust that God hath placed in me, and to the interest of the People of these nations, if I did." He drew a distinction between *Fundamentals* and *Circumstantials*. There were certain things that the Instrument had stated to be *Fundamentals* which Parliament must not touch. That government should be by a single person and a Parliament, that Parliament must not be perpetual, that the military forces were not to be at the sole disposal of Parliament or of one person, that there should be liberty of conscience in Religion—all these things were *Fundamentals*. All other things were *Circumstantials*, and could be regulated by Parliament.

Cromwell tried to silence opposition by requiring members to sign an engagement to observe the Instrument. About a hundred members refused to do so, and were excluded. The rest of the members then proceeded to make some judicious amendments on the Constitution, but showed a spirit hostile to religious toleration by drawing up a list of "damnable heresies." They also refused to vote the necessary money bills for the support of the army, which they thought should be cut down to thirty thousand men. This proved the finishing stroke, and at the end of five *lunar* months (January 22, 1655), Cromwell dissolved the Parliament.

For one year and eight months Cromwell ruled without Parliament, and his rule was as despotic as that of Charles I. Cromwell, however, was driven into arbitrary government unwillingly, and tried to get back to legal government as soon as he could, though he saw that "if nothing is ever done without a law, the nation's throat will be cut meanwhile." The country was full of disaffection. There was mutiny among the troops in Ireland, and a rising in Scotland. Plots against Cromwell's life were frequent, and Charles II. was sending commissions to loyalists. In March 1655 Penruddock headed a Royalist rising in Wiltshire, and tried to capture the judges at Salisbury. The result was the appointment of twelve *Major-Generals*, each of whom was empowered to rule a district of England by martial law, and to supervise the morals of the people. The property of all Royalists was heavily

taxed, and Episcopalian ministers were persecuted. Government by Major-Generals went on till September 1656, when *The Second Protectorate Parliament* met in order to supply the money which was urgently needed for a war against Spain.

From this Parliament more than a hundred members were excluded by Cromwell. The remainder voted supplies, secured the withdrawal of the Major-Generals, and, after three months' deliberation, drew up *The Humble Petition and Advice* (1657). By this document Cromwell was to take the title of king, and to set up a Second Chamber once more. Cromwell, however, refused the title of king. Many good men, he said, would not "swallow" it, "God had witnessed against kingship," and he was not the man "to begin rebuilding Jericho." He therefore accepted the title of Lord Protector, with the power of nominating his successor. In January 1658 the remodelled Parliament, which now included the Second Chamber, met; but the removal of many of Cromwell's supporters to the Upper House weakened his party in the Commons, where many Republicans began to attack the new House of Lords. Cromwell soon saw that the Parliament was useless for "healing and settling," and on February 4, 1658, he dissolved it. "I can say in the presence of God," he cried, "in comparison with whom we are but like poor creeping ants upon the earth, I would have been glad to have lived under my woodside to have kept a flock of sheep, rather than undertaken such a government as this. But, undertaking it by the Advice and Petition of you, I did look that you who had offered it unto me should make it good. . . . And if this be the end of your sitting—and this be your carriage—I think it high time that an end be put to your sitting. And I do dissolve this Parliament. And let God be judge between you and me."

Until his death in September, Cromwell ruled without Parliament.

(I) CROMWELL'S FOREIGN POLICY.

Throughout his foreign policy Cromwell appears to have been influenced by three motives: (1) To deprive the Stuarts of foreign aid; (2) to guard the interests of Protestantism in Europe; and (3) to secure the colonial and commercial expansion of England. During the Protectorate, England was almost always at war or

preparing for war, and the country was burdened by the enormous expense resulting from wars abroad and military government at home. As soon as he came into power, Cromwell put a stop to the war with the Dutch (1654), and made treaties with Sweden and Denmark, securing advantages for English commerce in the Baltic. He also entered into an alliance with Portugal in order to weaken Catholic Spain (1654). All these treaties, besides securing commercial benefits, debarred the Royalists from foreign assistance. But Cromwell also looked upon them as a means of building up a Protestant League to secure "the Protestant interest abroad." Cromwell's policy of a Protestant League proved unsuccessful. Since the Peace of Westphalia (1648), religious questions were sinking into the background in Europe, and divisions were opening among the Protestant States. Thus Charles x. of Sweden came into collision with his Protestant rivals, Denmark and Brandenburg (1657), who turned for help to Catholic Austria. Cromwell himself also concluded an alliance with a Catholic power.

Cromwell's dealings with France and Spain.—France and Spain had been at war since 1635, and both countries were anxious to secure the alliance of England. Cromwell, after much hesitation, decided against Spain, because that country refused to accede to his demand that it should give freedom of worship for Englishmen in the Spanish dominions and liberty of trade in the West Indies. The Spanish ambassador told Cromwell that he was asking for his master's "two eyes."

In one sense the war against Spain was inspired by hatred of the Inquisition, but in another it was a contest for "material gain." Abstaining from hostilities in Europe, Cromwell fell back on the old Elizabethan principle of "No peace beyond the Line," and dispatched his fleet to snap up Spanish colonies. Penn and Venables failed to take Hispaniola, but captured *Jamaica* (1655), whereupon Spain declared war (1656). It had proved impossible to fight Spain in America and maintain peace in Europe. Spain took up the claims of Charles II., and the English fleets won some brilliant victories over the Spaniards in European waters—notably at Santa Cruz (1657), where Blake, who had humbled the pirates of Tunis and Algiers, destroyed sixteen treasure ships.

Before long Cromwell entered into a definite *alliance with France*

(1657). The French minister Mazarin, anxious to secure the English alliance, at Cromwell's request, caused the Duke of Savoy to cease persecuting the Protestants of the Vaudois. Both countries were at war with Spain. The French were willing to forbid Charles II. to reside in France, and a treaty was drawn up whereby England agreed to help France in an attack on Flanders in return for a foothold on the Continent at Dunkirk or Mardyke. At the battle of the *Dunes* (1658), English soldiers assisted the French general Turenne to defeat the Spaniards and gain Dunkirk, which was handed over to Cromwell.

Cromwell has been blamed for assisting the rising power of France against the declining power of Spain. But war with Spain was inevitable, owing to the commercial rivalry between the two countries, and Spain still seemed to be a strong power. Moreover, Spain was Catholic and intolerant, whereas France, though Catholic, tolerated the Huguenots, and this consideration doubtless weighed with Cromwell. The rise of Louis XIV., which now began, and which proved dangerous to England, was greatly helped by the unpatriotic behaviour of the Stuart kings after the Restoration, and had Cromwell lived it might possibly have been checked. Cromwell made the name of England respected on the Continent, and even his enemies admitted that "he carried the keys of Europe at his girdle."

On September 3, 1658, Cromwell died. "A strong man armed," he was at length worn out by his hopeless task of holding back the forces opposed to his government;—the restoration of the Stuarts was inevitable.

(J) THE RESTORATION.

Richard Cromwell succeeded his father as Lord Protector, and called a Parliament from which no member was excluded (1659). The Republican leaders, such as Vane and Haselrig, were now able to criticise the acts of Cromwell and the position of Richard, but on the whole the Parliament was friendly to the new Protector, and sided with him when he refused the demand of the army that Fleetwood should not only be commander-in-chief, but should be independent of the Protector. The army, however, was all-powerful. It compelled Richard to dissolve Parliament, and to acquiesce in the restoration of the Rump. The Rump insisted on the re-establishment

of a Republic instead of a Protectorate, and Richard Cromwell abdicated (May 25, 1659). In a short time differences arose between the Rump and the army, and Lambert expelled it (October 13, 1659). But the soldiers found it impossible to carry on the government, and in a short time they restored the Rump again (December 1659).

At this juncture, *George Monk*, the commander of the forces in Scotland, resolved to intervene. Marching south with his army, he was joined by Fairfax at York, and soon after entering London he declared for a free Parliament (1660). The Presbyterian members, expelled in 1648, now joined the members of the Rump, and the Long Parliament at last voted its own dissolution (March 16, 1660). A *Convention Parliament*, i.e. a Parliament not summoned by royal writ, then met (April 1660), and resolved to restore Charles II., who was living in Brussels and had already been in communication with Monk. At *Breda*, in Holland, Charles signed a declaration offering (1) freedom of conscience, (2) an amnesty for all not excluded by Parliament, and (3) the payment of the arrears due to the army. The Parliament thereupon voted that "according to the ancient and fundamental laws of this kingdom, the government is, and ought to be, by King, Lords, and Commons." On May 25, 1660, Charles II. landed in Dover.

(K) THE END OF THE PURITAN REVOLUTION.

With the Restoration of the king the results of the Civil War and the Commonwealth seemed to have been completely undone. Weary of military rule, of Puritan restrictions, of the want of settled government, England went mad in showing its devotion to the monarchy and the restored Anglican Church. But much had been gained in the great struggle which was destined never to be surrendered. The nation had learnt its strength. Never again would it brook a Court of Star Chamber, nor for any length of time suffer a monarch's will to degenerate into wilfulness.

NOTE ON RICHELIEU AND MAZARIN.

During the reigns of Louis XIII. (1610-1643) and Louis XIV. (1643-1715), the way for absolute monarchy in France was paved by the work of two ministers, Richelieu and Mazarin.

(a) *Richelieu* (1585-1642) sought to secure order at home by ruining the Huguenot faction, and the supremacy of France abroad by ruining the Hapsburgs. He attacked Huguenotism on account of its decentralising tendencies—for it was a political as much as a religious movement and fell in with the desire for local independence, which was especially prominent in the South of France, and ran counter to the interests of the monarchy. Richelieu said that “the Huguenots shared the government with the king.” In 1627 Charles I. sent an English fleet to assist the Huguenots of Rochelle (see page 301); but in 1629 the Huguenots submitted in the Treaty of Alais, which left them liberty of worship while destroying their political privileges. Richelieu not only destroyed the political organisation of the Huguenots, he also crushed the territorial power of the French nobles, who gradually sank into the position of mere courtiers; and by establishing Intendants he created a bureaucracy of civil servants who carried on the local administration and were responsible only to the Crown. He never called the French Parliament (the States-General), and the government of France tended to become a highly centralised despotism. Richelieu’s foreign policy was completely successful. He stirred up Gustavus Adolphus to intervene in the Thirty Years’ War in Germany, and, later on, openly intervened himself and seized Alsace for France (see page 331). He embarrassed the Spanish Hapsburgs not only by destroying their maritime ascendancy (Battle of the Downs, 1639), but by weakening the Austrian Hapsburgs, and by striking at the Spanish lines of communication which curled like a snake around France. At Richelieu’s death, Roussillon, Cerdagne, and the passes of Savoy were in French hands, and French armies were in a strong position on the Rhine and in Piedmont. Spain was further weakened by a rising in Catalonia, and by the successful rebellion of Portugal, which regained its independence in 1640.

(b) *Mazarin* (1602-1661).—Mazarin continued the domestic and foreign policies of Richelieu, though he lacked the latter’s grandeur of character and singleness of aim, and relied on finesse where Richelieu employed force. He maintained the royal authority in France at a time when it was destroyed in England. Two rebellions, called the first and second *Fronde* (a sling), proved unsuccessful. The first or Parliamentary *Fronde* (1648) was an attempt on the part of the Parlement of Paris, a close corporation of lawyers representing not constitutional but official rights, to take the place of the French Parliament (the States-General). The second *Fronde* (1649-1653) was a struggle between the nobles, led by Condé, and the Crown.

In foreign politics Mazarin’s efforts were also successful, and led

to the Peace of Westphalia (1648), which closed the Thirty Years' War, and left France the leading state in Europe. In 1657 Mazarin concluded an alliance with Cromwell (see page 345). English soldiers assisted Turenne to overthrow Condé and the Spaniards, and after the battle of the Dunes (1658), Dunkirk was given to the English. In 1659 the *Treaty of the Pyrenees* (the complement of the Treaty of Westphalia) ended the war with Spain, and gave France a strong frontier on the south and the north-east. France gained Roussillon and Artois, Spain resigned all claims to Alsace, and Louis xiv. agreed to marry Maria Theresa, the elder daughter of Philip iv. of Spain.

CHAPTER XLII.

CHARLES II. (1660-1685).

(A) IN England the restoration of Charles II. was accompanied by an Act of Indemnity pardoning those who had fought against his father. (B) Scotland and Ireland both regained their own Parliaments ; but trouble was caused in Scotland by the attempt to restore Episcopacy, and in Ireland the Papists were discontented because the Cromwellian confiscations were not annulled, and the Protestants because Roman Catholicism was practically tolerated. (C) In 1661 the Cavalier Parliament met and passed a series of persecuting statutes against Nonconformists which became known as the Clarendon Code, because Charles's Chancellor, Lord Clarendon, was supposed to be responsible for this harsh treatment. (D) The reaction from the austerity of Puritan rule soon degenerated into license, and the Court became exceedingly profligate. (E) The Restoration was followed by a war with the Dutch (1665-1667), which was largely due to commercial rivalry, and which helped to bring about the fall of Clarendon. Charles thereupon governed by means of a small committee of the Privy Council, known as (F) the Cabal (1667-1673), which first made a Triple Alliance with Holland and Sweden against France, and then, by the Treaty of Dover, basely agreed to join France in fighting Holland. Charles wished to grant toleration to Roman Catholics, but his plans were defeated when Parliament passed a Test Act (1673) preventing Roman Catholics holding office under the Crown, and peace was made with Holland in 1674. (G) Charles's next minister was the Earl of Danby, who favoured friendship with Holland and arranged a marriage

between William of Orange and Mary, the elder daughter of the king's brother, James, Duke of York ; but Charles went on intriguing with Louis XIV., and the Cavalier Parliament was dissolved (1679) because it proceeded to impeach Danby, who had taken an unwilling part in some of Charles's negotiations with Louis. (*H*) The story of a Popish Plot alarmed the country (1678-1679), and between 1679 and 1681 various attempts were made to exclude the king's Roman Catholic brother, the Duke of York, from the succession to the throne by means of (*I*) the Exclusion Bill. The violence with which this project was pursued led to (*J*) a reaction in the king's favour, and during the last few years of his reign Charles ruled without calling a Parliament.

(*A*) THE RESTORATION SETTLEMENT IN ENGLAND.

THE Convention Parliament, which had recalled Charles II., continued to sit after his accession, and turned its attention to the settlement of many pressing matters. It accepted all the legislation passed by the Long Parliament down to August 1641. It passed an Act of Indemnity, pardoning those who had fought against Charles I., but put to death Vane and thirteen regicides, and dug up and hanged the bodies of Cromwell, Ireton, and Bradshaw. Many Royalists, however, who had forfeited their estates owing to their loyalty, failed to recover them, and Parliament was said to have passed an Act of Indemnity for the king's foes, and an Act of Oblivion for his friends.

The Convention granted Charles a revenue of £1,200,000, and abolished feudal dues, for which an excise on liquors was substituted. It also paid off and disbanded the army, but Charles retained a force of 5000 men, which included Monk's "Coldstream Guards." In December 1660 the Convention, which owed its existence to a coalition of parties, was dissolved, and in May 1661 a regularly elected Parliament took its place.

(*B*) THE RESTORATION SETTLEMENT IN SCOTLAND AND IRELAND.

The Restoration overthrew Cromwell's system not only in England, but in Scotland and Ireland. Both countries regained their

own Parliaments, and ceased to send representatives to the English Parliament.

(a) *Scotland*. — Charles pursued the policy of his family by attempting to keep Scotland in subordination to England. Episcopacy was restored, and the Covenanters were brutally persecuted, so that the Restoration soon became unpopular. The Marquis of Argyle suffered death as a traitor to Charles I. (1661), and Scotland lost her trade privileges. In 1679 Charles's illegitimate son Monmouth suppressed a Scottish rebellion at Bothwell Bridge. The Duke of York, the king's brother, punished the rebels with great severity, and drove the Earl of Argyle, whose father had been executed in 1661, into exile.

(b) *Ireland*. — Ormond granted the Irish Papists practical toleration for their religion, but they were almost excluded from any political power. The Catholics expected Charles II. to undo the work of the Cromwellian confiscations, and they were bitterly disappointed when an "Act of Settlement" was passed (1661), confirming the new proprietors for the most part in their estates.

(C) THE CAVALIER PARLIAMENT AND THE NONCONFORMISTS.

The Parliament which met in May 1661 was known as the Cavalier Parliament, because it consisted for the most part of Royalists. It at once set to work to extirpate Puritanism, and passed a series of persecuting statutes which are sometimes known as the Clarendon Code.¹

In 1661 the *Corporation Act* compelled all who held office in municipal corporations to renounce the Covenant, to receive the Sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England, and to take an oath declaring that it was unlawful to bear arms against the king. By this Act many Nonconformists were excluded not only from municipal offices in the towns, but from seats in Parliament, for in many towns the Parliamentary representatives were elected by the corporations.

In 1662 the *Act of Uniformity* compelled every clergyman, fellow of a college, or schoolmaster, to accept the doctrines contained in the

¹ So called after the Lord Chancellor, Lord Clarendon (Hyde), who had first supported the Long Parliament and then gone over to Charles I.'s side (see p. 317).

Book of Common Prayer, while another Act forbade any man to hold a living unless he had been ordained by a bishop. In consequence of this legislation about 2000 clergymen resigned their livings rather than do violence to their convictions, just as many Anglican clergymen had done previously when the Puritans held the upper hand. The year 1662, therefore, marks the final separation between the Church and the Dissenters, for many Presbyterians who up to this time had sought to remodel the Anglican Church according to their own ideas, now left its pale, and, like the Independents, the Baptists, and the Quakers, formed churches of their own. Before the Act of Uniformity was passed an attempt had been made at the *Savoy Conference* (1661) to effect a reconciliation between the Presbyterians and the bishops, who had resumed their sees at the Restoration; but the demands of the chief Presbyterian spokesman, Richard Baxter, the author of the *Saint's Everlasting Rest*, had not been conceded, and the desire of the king to enlarge the National Church so as to include both parties proved fruitless. In 1662 Charles, much to the displeasure of Clarendon, issued a declaration in favour of toleration, and asked Parliament to allow him to mitigate the harshness of the Act of Uniformity by using his dispensing power—*i.e.* the power which the sovereign at this time undoubtedly possessed of setting aside the operation of a particular law in particular cases. But even the enthusiastic loyalists of the Cavalier Parliament refused to give way to the king on this point. They would not hear of toleration either for Dissenters or Papists, and resumed their task of persecuting the Puritans.

In 1664 the *Conventicle Act*, forbidding Nonconformist prayer-meetings attended by more than five persons not of the same family, was passed, and in 1665 the *Five Mile Act* forbade the nonconforming ministers to teach in schools or to come within five miles of any corporate town.

(D) THE PROFLIGACY OF THE COURT.

A social as well as a political reaction against Puritanism also took place. The strenuousness of Puritanism and its dislike of worldly amusements, ceased to have the support of the government, and henceforward it was "relegated from the exercise of power to

the employment of influence." The reaction against Puritanism led many men into excesses, and an example of profligacy was set by the Court. Drinking and gambling, riot and debauchery, were encouraged by the king, while the theatre, and much of the literature of the time, cast aside all moral restraint. But the austere Puritan spirit was not dead. It was in this reign that Milton the poet, now blind and poor, produced both his *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained*, while the tinker John Bunyan, as he lay a prisoner for religion in Bedford Gaol, wrote that masterpiece of imaginative English prose, the *Pilgrim's Progress*. Nor must it be imagined that Charles II. was merely a rake. In spite of his love of enjoyment and distraction, he took an active part in public affairs, and he was keenly interested in everything new in nature, science, and art. He founded Greenwich Observatory and granted a charter to "The Royal Society of London," whose meetings he sometimes attended. In 1682 Sir Isaac Newton expounded his theory of gravitation to this learned Society, which still continues to exist.

A spirit fatal to the concentration of the old type of Puritanism was making headway. Men, who by no means pandered to their lower passions, began to take delight not only in religion, but in the study of man's complex life, and to cast off the old Puritan traditions because they stunted or failed to appeal to many sides of human nature.

(E) THE RESTORATION AND FOREIGN POLICY.

(a) *Friendship with France*.—Charles II. and Clarendon continued the alliance which Cromwell had made with Louis XIV. of France, although the power and ambition of the French king were already dangerous to the Balance of Power in Europe. In 1662 Charles married Catherine of Braganza, a Portuguese princess. The match was pleasing to Louis, who was supporting the efforts of the Portuguese to maintain their independence, which they had recovered from Spain in 1640. Catherine's dowry included Tangiers and the island of Bombay. The latter was handed over to the East India Company, and was the first possession of the English Crown in India. In the same year (1662), Clarendon incurred great unpopularity by selling Cromwell's conquest of *Dunkirk* to Louis.

(b) *War with the Dutch*.—In 1665 a naval war broke out with

the Dutch. The Navigation Act still remained in force. Dutch and English colonists were fighting in North America, the commercial jealousy between the two countries was keener than ever, and Charles was angry because the Dutch kept his nephew, William of Orange, out of power. The leading Dutch statesman, John de Witt, disliked the cession of Bombay to England, and a dispute with the Dutch East India Company as to the possession of the island of Pularoon was another cause of quarrel between two nations which ought to have united their forces against the growing power of France. The first victory in the Dutch War fell to the king's brother, the Duke of York, off *Lowestoft* (June 1665); but in January 1666, Louis XIV., alarmed at the success of the English navy, declared war against the English, and entered into an alliance with the Dutch. In June 1666 Prince Rupert and Monk¹ engaged in an indecisive battle with De Ruyter off the North Foreland, which lasted three days. A little later in the year Monk won a decisive victory, and the English fleet sailed along the Dutch coast burning ships and towns. But the national rejoicing was checked by the calamities which overtook the capital.

In 1665 the *Great Plague* claimed thousands of victims in London, and in September 1666 a *Great Fire* broke out which lasted for three days, destroyed eighty-nine churches and St. Paul's Cathedral, rendered 200,000 persons homeless, and devastated that part of London lying between the Tower and the Temple. The war with the Dutch went on for one year longer, but Charles wasted on his pleasures the money that should have been expended on his fleet, and the English "great ships" were laid up in harbour, leaving the Dutch masters of the sea.

In June 1667 the Dutch fleet appeared in the Medway, burnt three men-of-war which lay anchored in the river, and cut off London from the sea. The triumph of the Dutch was due not to the weakness of England; but to the folly of the English government, and the *Treaty of Breda* (July 1667), which brought the war to a close, showed by its favourable terms that England was still a match for Holland. England secured *New Amsterdam*, which had hitherto stood as a wedge between Virginia and the New England colonies, while the Dutch kept Pularoon.

¹ Now Duke of Albemarle.

The Fall of Clarendon (1667).—The appearance of the Dutch in the Medway was laid to the charge of Clarendon, who was now universally disliked. The alliance with France and the sale of Dunkirk had rendered him unpopular, and he was blamed for the waste of public money which had taken place. The Dissenters had no cause to love the author of the Clarendon Code, while the Cavaliers blamed him for the Act of Indemnity. The Chancellor had lost his influence with the king, whose desire for toleration and love of pleasure he had opposed. Clarendon was a lawyer, and his views had not progressed with the times. He wished, like Bacon, that the king should really rule the country, and, like Bacon, he wished him to work in conjunction with Parliament. But he viewed the growth of the power of Parliament with alarm, and when, in the course of the Dutch War, the Commons claimed to inspect the expenditure of the government, Clarendon opposed the innovation. He had incurred the hatred of the Londoners by his wealth and ostentation, and rendered the nobles jealous by marrying his daughter Anne to James, Duke of York, the heir to the throne. In August 1667 the king dismissed him, in October Parliament impeached him, and in November he fled to France. He died in exile after completing his *History of the Great Rebellion*.

(F) THE CABAL (1667-1673).

After Clarendon's fall Charles adopted a more self-willed policy, and strove to outwit his Parliament and to obtain toleration for the Roman Catholics. He no longer gave his confidence to a single minister, but to a small committee of the Privy Council called a Cabal. The word "Cabal" originally had much the same significance as our present word "Cabinet." But, strangely enough, the initials of the five ministers who formed the Committee—Clifford, Ashley, Buckingham, Arlington, and Lauderdale spelt the word "cabal," and it was the unpopularity which overtook these ministers that gave the word a sinister meaning. The Cabal shared the king's desire for religious toleration, and professed to aim at a peaceful foreign policy.

In 1668 the Cabal concluded a *Triple Alliance* with Holland and Sweden against France. For some time past the aggressions of

Louis XIV. had been viewed with alarm, and the national distrust of a policy of friendship with France had contributed to Clarendon's fall. In 1665 Philip IV. of Spain had died, and the Spanish Crown had passed to his young son, Charles II. Louis XIV. had married Maria Theresa, the elder daughter of Philip IV., and on the death of Philip he laid claim to the Spanish Netherlands, on behalf of his wife. In 1667 he invaded that country.

The formation of the Triple Alliance was a blow to Louis's ambitions, and forced him to conclude the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle with Spain (1668). But Louis was determined to upset the Triple Alliance, and he resolved to buy the support of Charles, who was anxious to secure money to carry out his own aims. In 1669 Charles told Clifford and Arlington, who were Roman Catholics, of his conversion to their religion, and in the following year he concluded the *Secret Treaty of Dover* with Louis (1670).

The Treaty of Dover consisted of two parts. One part was secret and known only to the king and Clifford and Arlington. By this Charles, in return for large subsidies, agreed to assist Louis in conquering Holland, while Louis agreed to give Charles more money, and, if necessary, to lend him troops, as soon as he saw fit to declare himself a Catholic. But there was also an open treaty known to the whole Cabal which referred to the joint war against Holland. The Cabal had therefore basely deserted Holland, and broken its treaty obligations. In 1671 Charles obtained a large grant from the Commons, nominally for the fleet, and then prorogued Parliament for a year and nine months.

The following year, 1672, was marked by three important events.

(a) *The Stop of the Exchequer* showed the progress of the king from treachery to fraud. Against the wishes of Ashley, who was now Chancellor of the Exchequer, he gave notice that the principal of loans due from the government to the goldsmiths, who were the bankers of that period, would not be paid that year. This was practically a declaration of the bankruptcy of the government, and a financial panic ensued.

(b) A "*Declaration of Indulgence*" was issued by the king, suspending all the laws against Roman Catholics and Nonconformists. This declaration was drawn up by Ashley, and it followed an announcement that the Duke of York had joined the Roman Church.

(c) *War with Holland* was begun in accordance with the Treaty of Dover. The English and the Dutch fought an indecisive battle in *Southwold Bay*, but De Ruyter damaged the English fleet sufficiently to render the Dutch coast safe from attack. On land, the Dutch, led by William of Orange, the great-grandson of William the Silent, met the French invasion by opening the dykes and flooding their country. For the next thirty years William of Orange made it the aim of his life to resist the aggressions of Louis.

In 1673 Charles, who had spent all his money, was obliged to let Parliament meet. Parliament at once compelled the king to withdraw the Declaration of Indulgence, and passed the *Test Act* (1673), requiring all office holders to renounce the doctrine of Transubstantiation and to take the Sacrament in the English Church. This Act deprived the Duke of York of his post of Lord High Admiral and broke up the Cabal ministry, for its Roman Catholic members, Clifford and Arlington, had to retire from office. Ashley, who had been created Earl of Shaftesbury, soon afterwards lost the Chancellorship, and joined the opposition. He headed a party opposed to the king's ministers which was known as the *Country Party*. Peace was made with Holland in 1674.

(G) DANBY.

Thomas Osborne, Earl of Danby, now became chief minister. He was, like Clarendon, a strong Churchman, and the Commons knew that he would favour no concessions to Papists or Dissenters. But Danby did not share Clarendon's views on foreign policy. He distrusted France, and wished to revive the policy of friendship with Holland. With this end in view he arranged a marriage between the Duke of York's daughter Mary and William of Orange (1677), and raised an army to fight the French.

But while his minister was pursuing this policy of hostility to France, Charles himself had been treating with Louis. In 1675, in return for a pension of £122,000 a year, he agreed not to make any wars or treaties without Louis's consent, and in 1678, when Parliament voted £1,000,000 for war with France, Charles proposed a new secret treaty to Louis, promising, in return for a grant of £300,000 for three years, to dissolve Parliament, to disband the army,

and to refuse help to the Dutch. In the same year, however, Louis made peace with the Dutch by the Treaty of Nimeguen (1678). The French king was now at the height of his power, and being no longer in need of Charles's help, he resolved to take his revenge for the discrepancy between Charles's promises and Danby's anti-French policy. Louis accordingly showered bribes on the Country Party, and roused its indignation by revealing his secret negotiations with Charles. Parliament turned in fury on Danby, who had done his best to check the king's French policy, but had taken an unwilling part in some of Charles's negotiations with Louis. He was at once impeached, and to save his minister Charles dissolved the Cavalier Parliament, which had existed for over seventeen years (1679).

(H) THE POPISH PLOT (1678-1679).

During the last months of Danby's ministry, the country was excited by the story of a *Popish Plot* spread abroad by a villain named Titus Oates. Oates was a clergyman of low character who had been expelled from the English Church for his vices. He had then gone abroad and joined the Jesuits, but his vices got him into trouble in his new faith, and he returned to England with the tale of a Catholic plot to murder the king. He told his story to a magistrate named Sir Edmund Bury Godfrey, who was shortly afterwards found murdered in a ditch near St. Pancras Church. The murder of Godfrey seemed to lend corroboration to Oates's lies, and the nation, remembering the Catholic plots of older days, and excited by the Duke of York's conversion to Roman Catholicism, raised an outcry against the Papists, who were not at all likely to murder their friend Charles. The popular outcry against the Papists was encouraged by Shaftesbury in order to overthrow Danby, and his management of the "Popish Terror" is a blot on his good name. Many innocent Catholics lost their lives, and Parliament passed an Act disabling all Catholics, except the Duke of York, from sitting in Parliament (1678).

(I) THE EXCLUSION BILL (1679-1681).

No less than three Parliaments met within the two years which followed the dissolution of the Cavalier Parliament.

(a) *The First Short Parliament of 1679.*—This Parliament renewed the impeachment of Danby, on the ground that the dissolution of Parliament did not break off an impeachment. Danby was deprived of his office and sent to the Tower, and the Commons introduced the famous *Exclusion Bill* (1679) to exclude the Duke of York from the throne because he was a Roman Catholic. In the same Parliament Shaftesbury brought in a bill abolishing the devices by which the right of any unconvicted prisoner to sue out from the Court of King's Bench a writ of *Habeas Corpus* and to be released on bail had been set aside (cf. p. 301). Charles allowed the *Habeas Corpus* Act to become law (1679), but, in order to prevent the Exclusion Bill passing, he dissolved Parliament, which had only sat for three months.

For some time past the relations of king and Parliament had reached a deadlock, and, to end this state of things, *Sir William Temple* suggested to Charles the need for a reform of the Privy Council (1679). The old Privy Council was too large a body to govern, and a new Privy Council was therefore appointed consisting of thirty members, of whom one half were servants of the Crown, and the other half influential peers and commoners nominated by the king. But the reformed Privy Council was still too large and too discordant a body, and it soon broke up.

Between the dissolution of the First Short Parliament in May 1679, and the meeting of the Second Short Parliament in October 1680, two violent parties arose, and the country was on the brink of civil war. Shaftesbury, relying on the popular hatred of Roman Catholicism, and the national dislike of foreign interference, was planning not only to exclude the Duke of York from the succession, but to set aside the claims of his daughter Mary, wife of the Prince of Orange, whom the first Exclusion Bill had proposed to set on the throne. Shaftesbury was now supporting the claims of the showy but shallow Duke of Monmouth, an illegitimate son of the king. Monmouth was very popular. People called him the "Protestant Duke," and Shaftesbury pretended to believe that Charles had married the Duke's mother before he married the queen. Monmouth was a favourite of the king, but Charles was loyal to his brother's interests, and headed the party opposed to Shaftesbury. The king knew that there was a widespread horror of civil war in the country, and at

this juncture he was encouraged by the success of the royal arms over the Scottish rebels at Bothwell Bridge (1679). A strong party named the "Abhorrrers," who hated the Exclusion Bill, rallied to the king's support, while another strong party named the "Petitioners" begged Charles to summon Parliament and let the Exclusion Bill pass. The Petitioners and Abhorrrers soon became known as *Whigs* and *Tories*. The word "Whig" denoted a Covenanting Scottish rebel, while the word Tory was a name given to a band of Roman Catholic brigands in Ireland.

(b) *The Second Short Parliament of 1680*.—In October 1680 a new Parliament met, and Shaftesbury at once put forward the claims of the Duke of York in a new Exclusion Bill. The Bill passed the Commons, but was thrown out in the House of Lords owing to the eloquence of Lord Halifax, who was known as the *Trimmer*, because, like a man who trims a boat by moving from one side to the other whenever its balance is threatened, he would never support any party if it went to extremes. On January 18, 1681, Charles dissolved the Parliament.

(c) *The Third Short Parliament, 1681*.—On March 21, 1681, another Parliament was summoned at Oxford, to which the Whigs came with armed followers. Civil war seemed imminent, but Charles would not sacrifice the principle of hereditary right, and declared that he would never assent to the Exclusion Bill. He proposed, however, that the Duke of York should succeed to the throne with merely nominal authority, and that the Prince of Orange should act as regent if James became king. The Commons, however, were still determined to proceed with the Exclusion Bill, and on March 28 Charles dissolved Parliament.

(J) THE ROYALIST REACTION.

For the last four years of his reign Charles ruled without a Parliament, although the Triennial Act was still in force. The violence of the Whigs had caused a reaction in favour of James and Charles, and a prosecution of the Whigs began. Shaftesbury was accused of high treason for plotting with Monmouth, but the Sheriffs of London, who were Whigs, chose a grand jury who threw out the bill against him. Charles thereupon found a flaw in the

City's charter, which was remodelled in the interests of the Court. Country towns were similarly treated, and a Tory majority was ensured at the next general election.

By this time Shaftesbury had sought refuge in Holland, where in January 1683 he died. Shaftesbury's career must have seemed a failure. Deserting Charles I. and Cromwell in turn, he had worked for the Court at the Restoration, but had joined the opposition at the break-up of the Cabal. Able, ambitious, and unscrupulous, he was the best party manager of his time, and he stood for two ideals which in the end were destined to triumph, the toleration of Protestant Dissent and the Supremacy of Parliament.

The downfall of Shaftesbury was followed by a plot hatched by some extreme but unknown Whigs to assassinate Charles and the Duke of York as they rode past Rye House on their way to Newmarket (Rye House Plot, 1683). The actual conspirators were executed, but some of the Whig leaders, including Monmouth, Lord Russell, and Algernon Sidney, a strong republican, were accused of complicity in the plot. Sidney and Russell were executed on very slender evidence, and Monmouth was banished to Holland. The king, in spite of the Test Act, now restored his brother to the position of Lord High Admiral, and again took bribes from Louis to withhold his support from Holland. The clergy everywhere were preaching the duty of *passive obedience* to the throne, and Charles was an almost absolute king, when death seized him on February 6, 1685. On his deathbed he received absolution from a Roman priest.

(K) COLONIAL EXPANSION.

Since the reign of James I. considerable progress in colonisation had been made. *Maine and New Hampshire*, dependencies of Massachusetts, were founded in Charles I.'s reign, and Cromwell's conquest of Jamaica added to the prosperity of Barbados and other settlements in the West Indies. The reign of Charles II. saw a great development in the growth of our American colonies.

(a) *Carolina*.—In 1663 Carolina was founded on the mainland of North America. The name of the colony and of its capital Charlestown was derived from that of the king. Bordering on the

south of Virginia, Carolina was a semi-tropical colony and employed much slave labour.

(b) *New York and New Jersey*.—Out of the *New Netherlands*, ceded by the Dutch at the Treaty of Breda, two colonies were formed. The Dutch settlement included two portions, New Amsterdam to the south and east of the New England States, which was renamed *New York* after the king's brother, and an unoccupied district between the Hudson and the Delaware, which the Duke of York sold to a Jersey man named Sir George Carteret, who set up the colony of *New Jersey* (1667). The gap between Virginia and the New England colonies was thus filled up.

(c) *Pennsylvania*.—In 1681 a Quaker named William Penn founded the colony of Pennsylvania, which stretched inland from the coast on the western bank of the Delaware, and adjoined the older Catholic Settlement of Maryland. Like Maryland, Pennsylvania was a proprietary colony, but Penn gave the settlers a popular assembly and granted toleration to all Christians. This Quaker colony refused to fight with the Indians. Its capital was *Philadelphia*, or the city of brotherly love.



CHAPTER XLIII.

JAMES II. (1685-1689).

(*A*) THE character of James II. colours the history of his reign, for his despotic instincts and bigoted Roman Catholic views brought about his downfall. (*B*) At the beginning of his reign he made a good impression by promising to observe the existing government in Church and State and by choosing ministers who inspired confidence. But his success in crushing the (*C*) rebellions of Argyle in Scotland and of Monmouth in England led to (*D*) unfortunate results, for James over-estimated his own power and began openly to favour the Roman Catholics. By means of (*E*) his dispensing power he placed Roman Catholics in high positions in the Church, the army, and the universities. (*F*) At length he issued a Declaration of Indulgence giving freedom of worship to Roman Catholics and Nonconformists, and caused the Seven Bishops to be put on their trial for petitioning to be excused from reading the Declaration in the churches. The bishops were acquitted, but the birth of a son to James and the knowledge that the heir to the throne would be a Roman Catholic caused (*G*) an invitation to be sent to William of Orange, the husband of James's elder daughter Mary, to come and protect the liberties of England. The landing of William of Orange in England led to (*H*) the flight of James, and brought about the (*I*) Revolution of 1688, whereby the throne was offered to William and Mary as joint-sovereigns.

(A) CHARACTER OF JAMES II.

JAMES II. was fifty-two years of age at his accession. The new king was as immoral as his brother, but lacked Charles II.'s geniality and power of attracting popularity. Moreover, he had not his brother's gift of seeing things as they were. "I will lose all or win all," he once said, and his despotic instincts and inability to recognise the force of public opinion made it certain that he would lose. Yet James, unlike Charles, was never idle nor careless. He was a man of "infinite industry" and an experienced soldier and sailor. In religion he was a bigoted Roman Catholic, but he had suffered for his convictions. The Whigs had done their utmost to exclude him from the succession, and had made the most of the story of the Popish Plot to his disadvantage. It remained to be seen whether a Roman Catholic could be a satisfactory head of the English Church.

(B) THE BEGINNING OF THE REIGN.

James made a favourable impression by announcing to Parliament, which met in May 1685, that he intended to "preserve this government both in Church and State as it is now by law established." Parliament, on its side, gave the king its support, for the remodelling of the corporations by Charles II. had helped to secure a Tory majority. An annual income of nearly £2,000,000 was settled on James for life—a sum that almost made him independent of Parliament. The king's choice of advisers inspired confidence. His two brothers-in-law, the sons of Clarendon, obtained good places. Rochester was practically Prime Minister with the office of Lord Treasurer; Clarendon obtained the Privy Seal. Sunderland and Godolphin, who were diligent men with no inconvenient opinions, kept their positions as Secretaries of State.

(C) REBELLIONS OF ARGYLE AND MONMOUTH.

(a) *Argyle's Rebellion*.—The first difficulty of the reign arose in Scotland. We have seen that in the reign of Charles II. the Earl of Argyle had been driven into exile for his share in the

rebellion of 1679. Argyle was one of the refugees with Monmouth in Holland, and it was now agreed that he should cross to Scotland and raise a revolt, while Monmouth tried his fortunes in the West of England.

The accession of James increased the hardships of the Scottish Covenanters, for a new Parliament met at Edinburgh and made it a capital offence to preach at an indoor or to attend at an outdoor conventicle. This stern decree was ruthlessly enforced by Graham of Claverhouse, Viscount Dundee. Under these circumstances Argyle landed in Scotland (May 2, 1685). The rising was doomed to failure. Its leader was put under a committee who interfered with his plans, while many Covenanters were too cowed to come to his support. Argyle's forces melted away when he deserted the Highlands for the Lowlands, and he himself was captured and executed (June 1685). Many of his followers were sold into slavery.

(b) *Monmouth's Rebellion.*—On June 11, 1685, Monmouth landed at Lyme Regis in Dorset. He put out a declaration demanding effective Parliamentary government and freedom of worship for Protestant Nonconformists, and accusing James of having caused the fire of London, the murder of Godfrey, and the death of Charles II. By the time he reached Exeter, Monmouth had gathered a large force of peasants about him, but the gentry held aloof from his cause. At Taunton he was proclaimed king on the very day (June 20) when Argyle was being led captive through the streets of Edinburgh "bareheaded, and his hands behind his back, the guards with cocked matches, and the hangman walking before him." Monmouth moved from Taunton towards Bath and Bristol, but on the approach of the king's troops he fell back on Bridgewater. The royal army was commanded by Lord Feversham, under whom Churchill, afterwards Duke of Marlborough, served as a captain. Monmouth's raw peasants were no match for trained soldiers, and at the battle of Sedgemoor (July 6, 1685) his cause was irretrievably ruined. Lying half-starved in a ditch and disguised as a peasant, Monmouth himself was captured two days afterwards. On July 15 he bravely met his fate on Tower Hill, although he had grovelled to James to spare his life. Among the faithful peasants of the West, Monmouth's memory was long cherished,

and a strange story arose that he was still alive. A popular ballad gave expression to this idea.

Though this is a dismal story
Of the fall of my design,
Yet I'll come again in glory
If I live till '89.
For I'll have a stronger army
And of ammunition store.

Then shall Monmouth in his glories
Unto his English friends appear,
And will stifle all such stories
As are vended everywhere.
They'll see I was not so degraded,
To be taken gathering pease,
Or in cock of hay upbraided.
What strange stories now are these.

The adherents of Monmouth paid heavily for their devotion to his cause. Colonel Kirke hanged many rebels immediately after the battle, and in the autumn Chief Justice Jeffries went on circuit in the West, where he hanged three hundred and transported eight hundred people. On his return from the Bloody Assize James made Jeffries Lord Chancellor.

(D) THE RESULTS OF THE KING'S VICTORY AT SEDGEMOOR.

The unsuccessful rebellion of Argyle and Monmouth led James to over-estimate his own strength. He took advantage of the situation to increase his army, and appointed many Roman Catholic officers, in defiance of the Test Act. Lord Halifax, the President of the Privy Council, who had saved James's throne by his opposition to the Exclusion Bill, was turned out of office, and the Tory Parliament itself was prorogued for refusing to support the repeal of the Test Act (November 20, 1685). The Tories were devoted to the Crown, but they were still more devoted to the Church, and they hated a standing army. Nine-tenths of the English people disliked the Roman Catholic faith, and had no sympathy with the king's natural impatience at the restrictions imposed on his co-religionists. The opposition to the king's wishes was strengthened by the arrival of

refugees from France, where Louis XIV. had *revoked the Edict of Nantes* (October 1685) and deprived the French Huguenots of toleration.

(E) THE DISPENSING POWER.

The king had failed to persuade even his enthusiastic Tory Parliament to abolish the Test Act, and he never suffered it to meet again. It was prorogued from time to time, and in 1687 was dissolved. James now fell back upon the Dispensing Power to obtain his ends, and attempted to govern by means of the judges, a High Commission Court, and the army.

(a) *The Judges*.—By making use of the Dispensing power Charles II. had claimed, as part of his prerogative, the right of setting aside the operation of the law in any particular case. James determined to get this right confirmed by the judges; though he first took the precaution of removing from the Bench four judges who disagreed with his views. In 1686 a collusive action was brought by a servant named Godden against his master, Sir Edward Hales, for accepting a commission in violation of the Test Act. Hales set up in defence that he had procured a dispensation from the king, and the judges decided that it was part of the royal prerogative “to dispense with penal laws in particular cases, for reasons of which it was sole judge.”

James now paid no attention to the Test Act, and proceeded to give Roman Catholics a share of patronage out of all proportion to their numbers. He granted a dispensation to Obadiah Walker, Master of University College, Oxford, who turned two sets of the College rooms into an oratory, and openly celebrated the Mass. The undergraduates of the period marked their sense of the proceeding by chanting under the Master’s window a song which began—

Old Obadiah
Sings Ave Maria.

He promoted the Roman Catholic Massey to the Deanery of Christ Church, and he deprived the Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge for refusing to confer a degree upon a Benedictine monk (1687).

(b) *The Court of Ecclesiastical Commission*.—In 1686 James established a Court of Ecclesiastical Commission, presided over by

Jeffries, which was not unlike the High Commission Court abolished by the Long Parliament. This Court was empowered to inquire into all cases of clerical misconduct, and to suspend or deprive offenders. It suspended Compton, Bishop of London, and expelled the Fellows of Magdalen College, Oxford, for refusing to make Parker, the Catholic Bishop of Oxford, President of the College.

(c) *The Army at Hounslow Heath*.—To overawe the Londoners, an army, which included many Roman Catholic officers, was encamped on Hounslow Heath (July 1686), but “the king had forgotten that vicinity operates in more ways than one. London converted the army—which did not overawe London.”

James also proceeded to weed out his ministers. He dismissed Rochester and Clarendon for refusing to turn Roman Catholics, and sent Tyrconnel, a Roman Catholic, to take Clarendon's place in Ireland (1687).

(F) DECLARATION OF INDULGENCE AND THE TRIAL OF THE SEVEN BISHOPS.

The king had declared open warfare against the Church, and he now sought to conciliate the Nonconformists. In April 1687 he issued his first *Declaration of Indulgence* suspending all penal laws in matters of religion in the interests of Roman Catholics and Nonconformists alike. The mass of the Nonconformists, however, were not deceived by the Declaration, for they were not attracted “by the prospect of illegal toleration offered in the interests of Popery.”

James also hoped to gain his ends by means of a packed Parliament. Following the precedent set in his brother's reign, he set to work to purge the corporations by substituting Nonconformists for Tories, in order to secure the return of borough members favourable to his views. He also ordered the lords-lieutenant of the counties to send him lists of Roman Catholics and Nonconformists who would serve in Parliament. The lords-lieutenant refused to countenance this illegality; sixteen of them resigned, and the scheme failed.

Having set the Church, the universities, and the nobility and gentry against him, James issued his *Second Declaration of Indulgence* (1688), and ordered all the clergy to read it in their churches. Thereupon seven bishops, including Sancroft, Archbishop

of Canterbury, petitioned the king to be excused. James ordered the bishops to be prosecuted for "making and publishing a seditious libel," and they were committed to the Tower, amid a popular demonstration in their favour. On June 30, 1688, a London jury pronounced the bishops "not guilty." Even the troops at Hounslow Heath took part in the universal rejoicing which greeted the verdict.

(G) THE INVITATION TO WILLIAM OF ORANGE.

The birth of a son to the king, while the trial of the bishops was still pending, brought matters to a crisis. Mary of Modena, James's second wife, had been so long without children, that the nation looked upon Mary, the wife of William of Orange, as the old king's successor. The birth of a Popish heir disappointed this hope, and on the very day of the bishops' acquittal, seven men, who between them represented every party in England, sent a letter to William of Orange inviting him to bring over an army for the protection of the liberties of England. Tories like Danby, as well as advanced Whigs like Sydney and Russell, whose brothers had been executed by Charles II., and even Compton, the Bishop of London, signed the appeal.

(H) THE DOWNFALL OF JAMES.

William of Orange accepted the invitation not only because he wished to secure the succession for his wife, but out of a desire to gain the support of England in his struggle against Louis XIV. of France. His preparations for the invasion of England were known to Louis, who warned James of the impending danger. James, however, refused Louis' offer of the French fleet, and Louis, believing that a civil war in England might leave him a freer hand to prosecute his plans in Europe, neglected to invade Holland, and attacked the Palatinate. William was therefore able to accept the invitation, and on November 5, 1688, he landed at Torbay in Devonshire. The whole nation thereupon deserted the king. At the instigation of Churchill, who owed his rapid advance to James's favour, his army went over to William, and even his younger

daughter Anne deserted his cause. On December 23, 1688, James, with William's connivance, escaped to France, and became a pensioner of Louis XIV., from whom he had received money at various times during his reign. On January 22, 1689, a Convention Parliament met to settle how the kingdom was to be governed. It decided that James had broken "the original contract between king and people," and by his flight had abdicated the kingdom, and it offered the crown to William and Mary as joint-sovereigns. Together with the crown, William and Mary accepted a "*Declaration of Rights*" covering the points which had been most in dispute between the Stuarts and the nation.

(I) CHARACTER OF THE REVOLUTION OF 1688.

The Revolution of 1688 was accomplished without bloodshed, and was undramatic in character. It was a political revolution, whereas the Revolution of 1641 was both political and ecclesiastical. The Revolution of 1641 failed because it sought not only to set Parliament above the king, but to introduce religious changes which were distasteful to a large part of the nation. The Revolution of 1688 was brought out by the whole nation in revolt against the illegal means by which James sought to exalt the importance of a small Roman Catholic minority. Unlike the Revolution of 1641, the Revolution of 1688 was final. Its most important consequence was the change it made in the succession to the throne. The theory of divine, hereditary right received its death-blow when Parliament offered the crown to William and Mary. Henceforward, although the full extent of the change was only gradually felt, power passed more and more out of the hands of the king into the hands of Parliament, and the House of Commons became the most important element of the Constitution. Hitherto England had been governed by the king, subject to the criticism of Parliament. The time was coming when the country would be governed by Parliamentary leaders in the name of the king.

CHAPTER XLIV.

THE ASCENDANCY OF FRANCE UNDER LOUIS XIV.

IN studying the reigns of Charles II. and James II., we have seen that, under these two Stuart kings, England was in danger of an “unnational and catholicising” alliance with France. Though Charles II. sometimes acted energetically in opposition to France, he was, on the whole, attracted by a policy of friendship to Louis XIV., whose bribes neither he nor his brother James II. disdained to accept.

Louis XIV. (1643–1715) did not take the government of France into his own hands till 1661, in which year his famous minister Mazarin died. Now twenty-three years of age, Louis was determined to rule France as an absolute king by divine right, and he boasted that he himself was the State (*L'état c'est moi*). With the aid of his minister Colbert, he reorganised the finances of the country, and set up a protective system to encourage native French industries by means of tariffs levied on the importation of articles which could be manufactured at home. He built canals and roads and fostered colonial settlements in the West Indies, Louisiana and India, while the army and navy were brought to a high state of efficiency. Louis' polished and refined Court set a pattern to Europe, and great men of letters, e.g. Corneille, Racine, and Molière, flourished in his reign. But the French king was ambitious of military glory, and in 1667 he entered on a policy of aggression, which, indeed, at first met with success, though ultimately it brought down great suffering upon France.

(1) *The War of Devolution* (1667–1668).—We have seen that on the death of Philip IV. of Spain, Louis invaded the Spanish Netherlands, which he claimed as belonging by right of devolution

to his wife Maria Theresa, daughter of Philip iv. But the Triple Alliance of England, Holland, and Sweden (1668) upset his plans, and Louis accepted the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, whereby he annexed only a frontier strip of the Spanish Netherlands.

(2) *The War with the Dutch* (1672-1678).—Louis' wrath thereupon fell upon Holland, whose allies he determined to win over to himself. He made treaties of neutrality with Sweden and the Emperor, and even bound the English king, Charles ii., to render him active assistance by the Secret Treaty of Dover (1670). In the spring of 1672 he invaded Holland, but the Dutch rallied round William of Orange, who cut the dykes, and called into existence an alliance with the Emperor, the English, and Spain. All Europe was now opposed to Louis, who in 1678 made the Peace of *Nimeguen*, whereby he incorporated Franche Comté with France. But after the Peace of Nimeguen Louis' aggression became more barefaced than ever, and in 1681 he seized the imperial city of *Strassburg* in time of peace. Meanwhile Louis had fallen under the influence of Madame de Maintenon, a devout Roman Catholic, who became his second wife, and in 1685 he revoked the Edict of Nantes, whereby Henry iv. had granted toleration to the French Huguenots. Thousands of French Protestants thereupon fled from the country, and enriched England, Holland, and Prussia, the enemies of France, as well as America, by their industry.

(3) *The War of the League of Augsburg* (1688-1697).—In 1686, William iii., the leader of the Anti-French powers, brought about *The League of Augsburg*, which was joined by the Emperor, the German princes, and Spain. Spain was drawn in partly owing to her connection with the House of Austria and partly because she knew that Louis wished to deprive her of the Spanish Netherlands. If Louis succeeded in this aim the independence of Holland would be over, and William of Orange was therefore anxious to add the strength of England to the coalition against France. "The glorious Revolution" of 1688 set William on the English throne, and Louis found himself without a friend. The War of the League of Augsburg was marked by many French victories; but the expense of the war exhausted the country. In 1697 the *Peace of Ryswick* was signed, and France abandoned all the annexations (except *Strassburg*) made since the Treaty of Nimeguen. Louis' advance

had been checked for the first time—the relatively enormous wealth of England and Holland had been too much for him.

(4) *The War of the Spanish Succession* (1702-1714).—The last great war undertaken by Louis XIV. was the war of the Spanish Succession, the causes and course of which we shall trace in the reigns of William III. and Anne. Soon after the conclusion of this war Louis died (1715), foiled in his ambitions and leaving his country burdened with debt.

CHAPTER XLV.

WILLIAM III. AND MARY II. (1689-1694)

—WILLIAM III. (1694-1702).

ON the accession of William and Mary the Declaration of Rights was turned into (*A*) the Bill of Rights, which curtailed the power of the Crown and provided for the succession to the throne. (*B*) The Revolution settlement in England was marked by other important constitutional changes, while it produced (*C*) a rising in Scotland on behalf of James II. (*D*) In Ireland the Revolution led to a serious war, but James's chances of success were rendered hopeless by William's victory at the battle of the Boyne (1690). This war was part of (*E*) the War of the League of Augsburg against France (1688-1697) which was brought to a close by the Treaty of Ryswick. The cost of the war was enormous, but the (*F*) financial expedients of Montague made the most of the national wealth. (*G*) The death of Queen Mary in 1694 added to William's difficulties, for personally he was not very popular and he met with much opposition. In 1696 (*H*) the first united ministry was formed. Hitherto William had attempted to combine all parties in the government. In foreign politics he continued to oppose Louis XIV., and arranged (*I*) the Partition Treaties with that monarch to provide for the parcelling out of the Spanish Empire when the childless Charles II. of Spain should die. (*J*) The opposition to William in England grew more troublesome when a Tory reaction set in (1698-1701). An Act of Settlement was passed settling the succession to the crown on the Electress Sophia of Hanover and her descendants being Protestant, but William's popu-

larity was restored when Louis XIV. recognised James II.'s son, the Old Pretender, as King of England, and he was able to set on foot the Grand Alliance against France. (K) William's achievements as a statesman were of the greatest importance not only to England but to Europe.

(A) THE BILL OF RIGHTS.

ON February 13, 1689, William and Mary were declared King and Queen of England. A few days later, to avoid further delay, the Convention was turned into a regular Parliament and the Declaration of Rights became the *Bill of Rights*. The Bill of Rights is one of the most important statutes in English history. It declared:—

- (1) That the suspending power, and the pretended power of dispensing¹ with laws by royal authority "as it hath been assumed and, exercised of late," are illegal.
- (2) That the Court of Ecclesiastical Commission and all courts of a like nature are illegal.
- (3) That the king cannot raise money nor keep a standing army within the kingdom in time of peace without the consent of Parliament.
- (4) That subjects have a right to petition the king.
- (5) That the election of members of Parliament ought to be free, that Parliaments ought to be held frequently, and that freedom of speech and debate in Parliament ought not to be questioned.
- (6) That excessive fines ought not to be imposed nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

The Bill also stated that all "who profess the popish religion or marry a papist shall be incapable to inherit or possess the crown," and proceeded to confer the throne on William and Mary and their offspring. If William and Mary died without children the throne was to pass to the Princess Anne and her offspring, and, failing them, to the children of William by any wife other than Mary.

¹ Every one agreed that to suspend or set aside a law put an end to constitutional government, but it was argued that the public good might render it advisable that the Crown should exercise the dispensing power in particular cases, which were to be specified later on. The definition, however, was found to be impossible, and the dispensing power has virtually perished.

Thus this great measure summed up in favour of the nation the questions which had long been at issue between the Stuarts and the people. It brought in a series of sovereigns owing their title to Parliamentary election, and put an end to the figment of divine right. It defined the relations of the sovereign to Parliament, and secured the growth of the supremacy of Parliament. In the reign of William and also in the reign of Anne the full extent of these changes was not perceived. William was too able to be content with a nominal sovereignty, and he ruled in a time of crisis which afforded scope for the exercise of his personal qualities. He was his own Foreign Secretary and Commander-in-chief. In the reign of Anne the loyalty of the nation to a native sovereign, and the renewal of Tory zeal for the Crown, also disguised the altered position of the ruler. Nevertheless the change had been made, and when a foreign prince, George I., ascended the throne (1714) its full extent became manifest.

(B) THE SETTLEMENT OF AFFAIRS IN ENGLAND.

A number of very important minor changes followed the passing of the Bill of Rights, and tended to increase the power of Parliament.

(1) *Appropriation of Supplies*.—Parliament was less liberal to William than it had been to James. It cut down the revenue of the Crown to £1,200,000, of which one-half was given to William under the name of the Civil List, for the support of the civil government, and the other half to the army and navy. Thus Parliament claimed to decide how the money it voted should be spent (appropriation of supplies, 1689). Since then the principle of appropriating supplies has been carried further and further, and to-day every item of expenditure is fixed by Parliament.

(2) *The Mutiny Act* (1689).—Although the Bill of Rights had declared that it was illegal to maintain a standing army in time of peace, the prospect of war with France and the troubles which, as we shall see, accompanied the Revolution in Scotland and Ireland, rendered the disbanding of the army impossible. No party at this time was in favour of a standing army, for the Tories remembered Cromwell's military rule and the Whigs had not forgotten James II.'s attempt to overawe the capital by an armed force. Accordingly,

when it became necessary to enforce discipline in the army, Parliament passed a Mutiny Act for six months only (1689), enabling the officers to try military offenders by court-martial, although martial law in times of peace had been declared illegal by the Petition of Right. This Act was re-enacted when the six months had expired, and was afterwards re-passed annually, till 1879, when the Army Act, which is also annually renewed, took its place. The Mutiny Act therefore not only secured for Parliament the control of the sword, but indirectly rendered necessary an annual meeting of Parliament, for the time had gone by when the nation could dispense with a standing army.

(3) *The Toleration Act* (1689).—The greater part of the Non-conformists had refused to take part with James against the Church, and had been active in promoting the Revolution. Two schemes were now put forward for their relief. The first, a Comprehension Act, failed, because it was opposed both by zealous Churchmen and zealous Dissenters. It was the “last attempt to obviate Nonconformity by widening the bounds of the Church.” The second, the Toleration Act, was passed in 1689. By relieving them from the penalties for holding conventicles, it enabled all Nonconformists, except Unitarians and Papists, to worship in their own chapels, but it did nothing to relieve Dissenters from the civil disabilities which excluded them from corporations, from offices of State, and from the universities. This Act, however, marks a change in the attitude of the State towards religious belief. Down to the Reformation it was an accepted principle that only the one Catholic faith could be permitted in any country. At the Reformation it was seen that the nation could take its own course in matters of religion, but both parties in the Church agreed that the State must control religion, and Puritan and Anglican each sought to obtain victory for his views. The idea that the State might permit differences of opinion between Protestants was for the first time partially accepted by Cromwell, and the Toleration Act finally adopted the same principle, but it gave the Dissenters toleration and not equality. The Papists continued outside the pale of toleration, and their legal position was made worse in the years following the Revolution. On the whole, however, the spirit of religious intolerance was dying down, and in the eighteenth century public opinion became more and more averse

to enforcing the persecuting laws. But nearly one hundred and fifty years elapsed before men of all religions were free to enter the service of the State.

William's policy of tolerating Dissenters was obnoxious to many of the High Church party, and the new king's accession was disliked by many who had been preaching the doctrine of *passive obedience* but had been forced to desert James in order to save the Church. Accordingly, when an oath of allegiance to the new sovereign was imposed on all holding offices in Church and State, many clergymen resigned their livings. They did not necessarily intend to oppose the Government, but they had sworn allegiance to James, and could not reconcile it with their consciences to take another oath to William. Amongst the non-Jurors were two of the "seven bishops"—Archbishop Sancroft, and Ken, the saintly Bishop of Bath and Wells. Between three and four hundred clergymen went out of the Church, and for nearly a hundred years the *nonjurors* formed a party of their own and elected their own bishops. Their secession, however, was not formidable, for the laity held aloof from the movement, and the majority of the High Church clergy took the oath and retained their livings, together with their old opinions. Many of the High Churchmen, however, grew more and more discontented with the Government, and gave much trouble by becoming *Jacobites* and using their influence as partisans of James. William, on the other hand, gave preferment in the Church only to the Low Church party.

In the early part of his reign William encountered difficulties from the Whigs. He was determined to be king of a nation not of a party, and his first Ministry included men of both political views. The Tory Danby, now Marquis of Carmarthen, who had arranged the marriage between William and Mary, was President of the Council; Halifax, the Trimmer, was Privy Seal; while one Secretary of State, Nottingham, was a Tory, and the other, Shrewsbury, a Whig. William's first Parliament, however, was violently Whig, and opposed the king's desire to inaugurate his reign with a *Bill of Indemnity*. They introduced so many exceptions into the Bill that it became a Bill of vengeance on the enemies of the Whigs, and William, after threatening to withdraw from England, finally decided to dissolve Parliament (1690). A new Parliament met in 1690 in which the numbers of the Whigs were considerably reduced, and an *Act of Grace*

was passed giving indemnity to all but regicides and about thirty others. The people excepted were for the most part dead or abroad, and those in England were not proceeded against. It was largely owing to William's firmness that no blood was shed in the Glorious Revolution.

(C) THE REVOLUTION IN SCOTLAND.

The first stage in the Scottish Revolution passed without conflict. A Convention Parliament met in Edinburgh and offered the Scottish crown to William and Mary. It also drew up a *Claim of Right*, demanding the abolition of episcopal government in the Church of Scotland. The new sovereigns acceded to this demand, and the final triumph of Presbyterianism in the Scottish Church was won. The bishops and their supporters set up a separate Church and were bitterly persecuted, but the Scots had now obtained the religion they desired, and were freed from the Anglicising policy of the Stuarts.

But though the Lowland Presbyterians accepted the Revolution, everything was different in the Highlands. The Highlands had no grievances against the Stuart government, for they were not in the habit of obeying any government. The politics of the Highlands really turned on the jealousy between the Campbells and the adjoining clans. The Macdonalds and the Camerons especially hated the return to domination of the Earl of Argyle, the head of the Whig Campbells, whom the Revolution had restored to power. Accordingly a large army gathered round John Graham of Claverhouse, Viscount Dundee, and met the English general Mackay at *Killiecrankie*, where Mackay's regular troops were beaten by the fierce rushes of the Highlanders, though Dundee fell in the moment of victory (July 27, 1689). After sustaining defeats at Perth and Dunkeld, the Highland army melted away, and Mackay built Fort William, right under Ben Nevis, to shut in the Highlands.

The pacification of the Highlands which followed was marred by the infamous *Massacre of Glencoe* (1692). For neglecting to take an oath of allegiance to William before January 1, 1692, the MacDonalds of Glencoe were treacherously massacred at the instigation of their enemies, the Campbells (February 1692). None of the actors in the massacre received adequate punishment, though William dismissed from his service John Dalrymple, the Master of Stair, who

had acted with the Campbells, and had induced him to sign an order "to extirpate that set of thieves." The harsh lesson kept the Highlands in peace for many years.

(D) THE REVOLUTION IN IRELAND.

At the end of the reign of Charles II. Ireland was suffering from two grievances: (*a*) agrarian, and (*b*) religious.

(*a*) *Agrarian*.—A series of enormous confiscations, begun by Mary Tudor and ending with Oliver Cromwell, had deprived the Irish of nearly all the good land and handed it over to English and Scottish Protestant settlers. We have seen that the Irish were bitterly disappointed on the restoration of Charles II., because the new proprietors for the most part had been confirmed in the possession of their estates. In the north of Ireland a great Protestant colony had settled in Ulster, of which Londonderry was the centre, and smaller ones were scattered about in the other provinces, but there were few in Connaught.

(*b*) *Religious*.—Charles II. allowed the Irish Roman Catholics practical toleration, but the Irish Parliament contained an overwhelming Protestant majority, and the corporations of municipal towns were exclusively Protestant. Thus the Irish Catholics were excluded from political power.

James had dealt with Irish problems in a very unstatesmanlike manner. His sole endeavour was to substitute a Roman Catholic for a Protestant ascendancy, and the instrument of his policy was Tyrconnel, who, as we have seen, superseded Clarendon as Lord-Lieutenant in 1687. Tyrconnel transferred the offices and estates of Protestants to Catholics, replaced Protestants by Catholics in the corporations, and built up a Catholic army. The English Revolution took the deputy by surprise, and at first he seemed inclined to accept the liberal terms which William III. offered both to himself and the Catholics. But the Irish, with arms in their hands, were determined to shake off the English supremacy, and Tyrconnel was compelled to swim with the tide. A great and disorderly rising broke out in Ireland, causing many of the Protestants in the south to seek refuge in England. In the north the Protestants shut themselves up in the strongholds of Enniskillen and Londonderry, and declared for William and Mary. Such was the state of affairs when James crossed over

from France to Dublin (March 1689), bringing some French officers in his train.

James wished to make Ireland a stepping-stone for the recovery of England, but the Irish aimed only at the independence of their country. On the whole, the French troops sided with the Irish, wishing to embarrass England by securing a Catholic Ireland ruled by the Stuarts and hostile to England.

While the Protestants were holding out in Enniskillen and Londonderry, James summoned a Parliament at Dublin (May 1689). Full of resentment, this Parliament repealed Charles II.'s Act of Settlement, and passed a sweeping Act of Attainder condemning 2500 supporters of William. James's financial measures were desperate. He issued a false coinage of copper and brass, and kept down prices by law. If his cause succeeded, creditors, who were mostly Protestants, would be ruined.

Meanwhile military operations centred round the defence of Londonderry and Enniskillen. The siege of Londonderry began on April 20, and lasted 105 days. On July 30, two ships laden with food broke the boom across the mouth of the river Foyle, and brought the sufferings of the heroic and starving garrison to an end. Three days later the men of Enniskillen gained a victory at Newtown Butler, but an army under Schomberg which William sent to the north of Ireland met with no success, partly owing to an epidemic which raged in its ranks (1689).

In 1690 William resolved to go to Ireland himself. Landing at Carrickfergus he marched to meet James, who had been reinforced by six thousand French troops under Count Lauzun. He found James holding the southern line of the river Boyne, which separates the counties of Louth and Meath and falls into the sea at Drogheda. On July 1, 1690, the famous *Battle of the Boyne* took place. Early in the morning, young Schomberg, the son of William's general, was sent some miles up the river to cross at the bridge of Slane, and turn the left flank of the Irish. Four miles south of the river was the narrow pass of Duleek, and if Schomberg secured this the Irish would be trapped. The French troops were therefore drawn off to face young Schomberg, and the Irish infantry were left to guard the river, which the English infantry forded under a heavy fire, with the loss of Schomberg, their general. The cavalry under William also fought

its way over on the left wing, and came up on the flank of the Irish. The Irish cavalry resisted bravely, but the Battle of the Boyne ended in a complete victory for William, and James fled to France. William returned to England in September 1690, after failing to capture Limerick, but in the same summer Marlborough secured the whole south coast of Ireland. By the end of 1690 Ireland was divided into two halves. East of the Shannon it was in possession of the English, while to the west of the Shannon the Irish still held out. In 1691 the Dutchman Ginkel secured the passage of the Shannon at Athlone, and in July won a decisive battle at Aghrim. The second siege of Limerick followed, but easy terms were offered to the besieged, who surrendered on October 3, 1691. *The Treaty of Limerick* (1) allowed all officers and soldiers, who desired it, to go to France, (2) promised that Roman Catholics should enjoy such privileges as they possessed under Charles II., and (3) admitted all who took an oath of allegiance to an amnesty. The treaty, however, was not observed. The Irish Parliament was once more in the hands of the Protestants, who passed penal laws against the Roman Catholics not only in William's reign, but also in the reigns of Anne and the first two Georges. Irish Roman Catholics were excluded not only from political power but from the learned professions, and the penal laws degraded and impoverished the country in every way. They also kept alive the bitter hatred of the Irish Catholics for England.

(E) THE WAR AGAINST FRANCE.

The English Revolution of 1688 marked a turning-point in foreign as well as domestic politics. France was now the greatest and richest nation in Europe. Under Louis XIV. and his minister Colbert a first-class navy had been created, and everything was done to promote French trade and colonial expansion. France was therefore gradually drawn into conflict with England and Holland, the two great naval powers. But for some time (owing to the relations of Charles II. and James II. to the French king) England did not take a decided place in the coalition formed by William of Orange against Louis. The accession of William to the English throne brought England into line against France, and the war in Ireland, which ensued, was part of the War of the League of

Augsburg against Louis XIV. It was the first of a series of eight great wars¹ waged between England and France between 1689 and 1815, a period which has been designated the *Second Hundred Years' War*. The first two wars against France—the War of the League of Augsburg and the War of the Spanish Succession (1702-13)—were waged to maintain the Revolution Settlement of 1688, as well as to maintain the European Balance of Power. All the wars more or less were waged with this latter object, and it became a permanent tradition of English foreign policy to keep the French out of the Spanish Netherlands (Belgium), for the possession of that country by France would imperil the independence of Holland and entail maritime danger to England. Commercial and colonial rivalry also caused lasting friction between the two countries, and as time went on a great struggle for supremacy arose between the English and French colonists in North America and India.

In the year of the English Revolution (1688), Louis invaded the Palatinate, and in the following year the *War of the League of Augsburg* or of the *English Revolution* was formally opened. England, Holland, Spain, and Savoy, as well as the Emperor and most of the German princes, were all arrayed against France. Spain was anxious to save the Spanish Netherlands from the grasp of Louis. Germany was disorganised by the Thirty Years' War, but was determined to resist Louis' desire to be predominant in that country and possibly to be Emperor. Yet France was almost a match for the coalition. Her central position, her great resources, her able generals and administrators, gave her great advantages, and coalitions are always weak when opposed to one great State led by a single man. From 1689-1697 the war waged all round France, in the Netherlands, on the Rhine, in Savoy and in Spain. The second year of the war saw the English victorious in Ireland at the Battle of the Boyne (1690), but in the same year the French admiral Tourville beat the combined English

✓(1) War of the English Revolution or League of Augsburg (1688-1697).

✓(2) War of the Spanish Succession (1702-1713).

(3) War of the Austrian Succession (1744-1748).

(4) The Seven Years' War (1756-1763).

(5) War of American Independence (1778-1783).

(6) War with the French Republic (1793-1802).

(7) Napoleonic War (1803-1814).

(8) The brief war of 1815.

and Dutch fleets off *Beachy Head* (June 30, 1690) and burnt Teignmouth. For a time the French were masters of the sea, but in 1692 the English admiral Russell regained the command of the Channel by a decisive victory off *La Hogue* in Normandy (May 1692). On land the Netherlands was the chief scene of action. The French took *Namur*, the most important fortress held by the allies (1692), and William and the allies were badly beaten by Luxemburg at *Steinkirk* (1692). In the following year the French attacked an English merchant fleet bearing the result of a year's trade with the East and known as the *Smyrna Fleet*. They also won their last great victory at *Landen or Neerwinden*, where William commanded the allies (1693). After that the war languished. The greatest French general Luxemburg died in 1695. By that year France, for the time being, was exhausted, and William was able to recapture *Namur* (1695). In 1697 Louis was obliged to treat. By the *Treaty of Ryswick* (1697) he abandoned all his annexations made since the Treaty of Nimeguen (except Strassburg),¹ promised to allow Dutch garrisons to hold the chief fortresses of the Netherlands, and recognised William as King of England. For the first time Louis had gained nothing by fighting, and his advance had been checked. ✓

(F) NEW FINANCIAL EXPEDIENTS.

The financial burden of the war was enormous, but the necessities of the government were met by a number of great financial measures associated with the name of Charles Montague, afterwards Earl of Halifax. Montague was the first of the modern English ministers of finance, and takes his place with Walpole, the younger Pitt, Peel, and Gladstone as a great original financier. In 1691 he became a Lord of the Treasury. In the following year he reorganised the *Land Tax*, much to the disgust of the county gentlemen, whose estates had grown in value and were now subjected to a new and more accurate valuation.

The Origin of the National Debt (1693).—In 1693 Montague originated the National Debt by borrowing money to meet the expenses of the war on the security of an Act of Parliament.

¹ Strassburg was retained by a treaty made between France and the Emperor a month later.

Hitherto money had been borrowed on the credit of the Crown and not always repaid, but the tenure of the new king was precarious, and the new loans were therefore guaranteed by Parliament, while the interest on them became a fixed charge on the revenue. The principal of former loans had been repaid by the Crown, but now the principal was retained by the Government and investors who wished to recover their capital had to sell their rights to interest to someone else.

Establishment of the Bank of England (1694).—In the past loans had been made to the Crown by private bankers called goldsmiths, but a Scotchman named Paterson now suggested to Montague the formation of a national bank. Montague took up the idea. He borrowed £800,000 at eight per cent. and constituted the lenders into a joint-stock company with power to do banking business. They were allowed to treat their loan to the Government as part of their capital, and the interest on it, which was secured upon taxes, gave them the requisite supply of ready money. The bank transacted the money business of the Government.

The Restoration of the Currency (1696).—Two years later, Montague, with the assistance of Locke, Somers, and Sir Isaac Newton devised a plan for the restoration of the coinage, which had become greatly depreciated. New money was given for old, and the government bore the loss on the transaction. All the new coins were milled round the edges to prevent the clipping which had reduced the weight and value of the old ones.

(G) DEATH OF QUEEN MARY (1694).

William's difficulties were not confined to those which arose out of the French war. His ideas were in many ways strange to Englishmen. He was a foreigner with a very imperfect knowledge of English men and English politics. All his bosom friends were foreigners, and he showered honours on his Dutch favourites. He was lacking in personal charm, his health was bad, and he was always overburdened with work. For these defects, however, the qualities of his queen made some amends. Mary was a thorough Englishwoman possessing a full share of the Stuart power of attraction, and she used all her influence in the service of her taciturn husband,

to whom she was devoted. Mary's death therefore, in 1694, weakened William's position. William was on bad terms with his sister-in-law, the Princess Anne, who was now heir to the throne. Anne was greatly influenced by Churchill, the Earl of Marlborough, who, without going too far, had corresponded with James at St. Germain's since 1691, perhaps owing to resentment at the unjust preference given by William to Dutchmen. William, indeed, in spite of his clemency, was always troubled by two-faced politicians. There was hardly a single public man who did not keep up a correspondence with James. But in 1696 the discovery of a Jacobite plot, hatched by Sir John Fenwick, to assassinate William, temporarily restored his popularity. A *Bond of Association* was formed to protect his life and crown, similar to that formed to protect Elizabeth from the followers of Mary Queen of Scots.

(H) THE FIRST UNITED WHIG MINISTRY (1696).

In spite of his wish to stand outside English politics and parties, and to combine all parties in the government, William was at length compelled to dispense with a mixed ministry. As time went on it became more and more apparent that the dominant party in the House of Commons, which had become the most important part of the Constitution, could only be managed by ministers in sympathy with it. The change came between 1693 and 1696. The Tory ministers either retired or were dismissed, and in 1695 the Duke of Leeds (formerly Danby) was involved in a charge of taking bribes from the East India Company. By 1696 all William's advisers were Whigs, and four of the most prominent of them became known as the *Junto*. These were Somers, the Lord Chancellor; Montague, the financier, now Lord Halifax; Admiral Russell, the victor of La Hogue, now Earl of Oxford; and Wharton, who was a great electioneer.

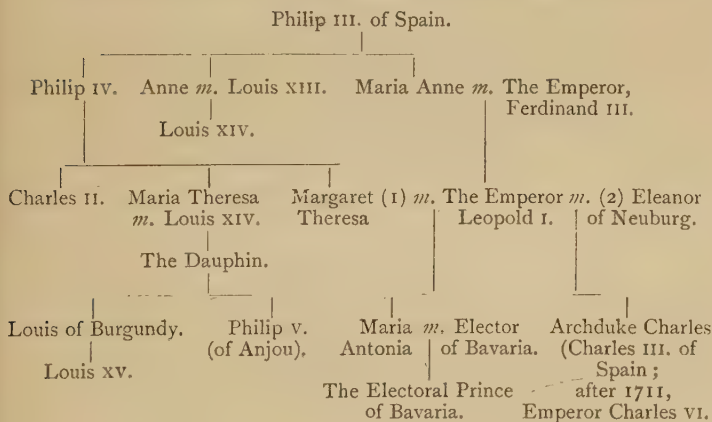
Meanwhile, in 1694, William had given his assent to the *Triennial Bill*, which he had previously rejected, limiting the duration of Parliament to three years, in order to prevent the life of a subservient Parliament being indefinitely prolonged. In 1695 the Commons refused to re-enact the Act for the censorship of the press. The emancipation of the press from the restrictions imposed on it since

the invention of printing, first by ecclesiastical hands and then by the Star Chamber, resulted in a great increase of the number of newspapers. But there was still considerable risk attached to any strong criticism of the Government, for newspapers were liable to prosecution for the publication of a seditious libel, the definition of which was very vague.

(I) THE PARTITION TREATIES.

In making the Treaty of Ryswick, Louis XIV. had been influenced not only by the exhaustion of France, but by the necessity for husbanding his resources for a still greater conflict which he knew to be at hand. Charles II., the childless King of Spain, although only thirty-five, was slowly dying, and the question of the succession to his vast domains was of the greatest importance.

TABLE SHOWING CLAIMANTS TO SPANISH CROWN.



A glance at the table printed above will show

(1) That the Dauphin was the nearest heir to the throne of Spain by blood. But his mother, Maria Theresa, the elder sister of Charles II., had solemnly renounced all claims on the Spanish Crown when she married Louis XIV.

(2) That the Electress of Bavaria, the daughter of Charles's younger sister, Margaret Theresa, and the Emperor Leopold, was

next in succession, but her mother had likewise renounced all claims on the Spanish Crown when she married Leopold.

(3) That the Emperor Leopold himself was the third claimant. His mother Maria, the aunt of Charles II., had made no renunciation like her nieces.

If, therefore, the renunciations held good, the Emperor's claim was the best. If they did not hold good, the Dauphin had the best claim.

But legal considerations took second place to the overwhelming practical considerations which the succession to the Spanish throne involved. The Spanish monarchy, although rotten, was by far the greatest of all the Christian kingdoms. In Europe it included Spain, Naples and Milan, Sardinia and Corsica, and the Spanish Netherlands, one of the richest lands in Europe and of the greatest strategic importance. In the New World all South America (except Brazil and Guiana), Central America, Mexico, Cuba, and other West Indian Islands, and in the East Indies the Philippine Islands belonged to Spain. If France obtained this immense domain her power would be overwhelming and dangerous to the rest of Europe. If the Emperor obtained it, a power would be created not quite so great but still colossal. But Louis knew that France would not be allowed to obtain the whole of the Spanish possessions without a European war, and he therefore entered into negotiations with his most powerful adversary, William III., for the division of the inheritance.

Accordingly, in 1698, by the *First Partition Treaty*, it was agreed that the Electoral Prince of Bavaria, the grandson of Margaret Theresa and Leopold, should have Spain, the Indies, and the Netherlands, because he was the weakest claimant. Louis' son, the Dauphin, was to have Guipuscoa, Naples, and Sicily; and the Duchy of Milan was to go to Leopold's son by his second wife, the Archduke Charles of Austria.¹ In 1699, however, the Electoral Prince unfortunately died, and the whole question was reopened. A *Second Partition Treaty* was drawn up (1700), transferring the share assigned to the Electoral Prince to the Archduke Charles, and giving the Dauphin his old share and the share originally assigned to the Archduke Charles, namely, *Milan*. In exchange for Milan,

¹ The Archduke Charles was Leopold's second son. His elder son, Joseph, became Emperor, and died in 1711.

however, Lorraine was to be handed over to Charles. Thus the Second Partition Treaty gave France all the Spanish possessions in Italy. News of the Treaty, however, leaked out in Spain and caused the greatest indignation in that country. Charles II. thereupon made a will leaving all his possessions to Philip, Duke of Anjou, the younger son of the Dauphin. Charles died in November 1700, and Louis at once tore up the Partition Treaty. For a time it seemed as though he would not meet with any opposition. Leopold could not take the field alone against France; Spanish feeling was, on the whole, in favour of a French Prince; England was weary of the last war, and not on good terms with William; and the Dutch could not move by themselves. But the French king by his mistakes brought down war on his own head. He proceeded to place French garrisons in the fortresses of the Spanish Netherlands, and when James II. died in 1701, Louis, moved by generosity and impulse, recognised his son James, the Old Pretender, as King of England. This was a breach of the Treaty of Ryswick, and gave great offence to English national feeling. William accordingly was able to prepare for war and to set on foot a *Grand Alliance* against Louis. This took shape in 1702, but in March of that year William died.

(J) OPPOSITION TO WILLIAM IN ENGLAND.

After the Peace of Ryswick divergences of opinion broke out between William and the English people. A Tory reaction had set in (1698-1701), and in a new Parliament, which met in 1698, an attack was made on the army, which was cut down to 7000 native English troops, while William's Dutch guards were sent home. The Parliament, which was now Tory, was determined to drive William's Whig ministers out of office, and in 1700, by a Resumption Bill tacked on to a money Bill which the Whig House of Lords could not alter, it attacked William's grants of land, especially of Irish forfeitures, to friends and favourites. In 1700 William was compelled to form a Tory ministry, in which Rochester and Godolphin were the most important persons; and in 1701 Somers, Halifax, Orford, and Portland (a favourite of the king) were impeached for their share in the Partition Treaties, and on other charges. But many of the charges against the fallen Whig ministers were unproved, the

Whig House of Lords was on their side, and the prosecution proved abortive. In 1701 the Tories passed the *Act of Settlement*, settling the Crown after Anne on the Electress Sophia¹ of Hanover and her Protestant descendants, and insulting William by enacting that (1) no future sovereign was to leave England without the consent of Parliament; (2) only born Englishmen were to be capable of holding office or grants from the Crown; and that (3) England was not to be involved in war for the defence of any territory not belonging to the Crown of England. It was also enacted that the King of England must in future be a member of the Church of England, and that judges should hold office *quamdiu se bene gesserint*, or during good behaviour, and not be removed except upon a joint address of both Houses of Parliament. No minister or placeman was to sit in the House of Commons, and State business was to be transacted in the Privy Council.² The violence of the Tories produced a reaction in the country, a symptom of which was the *Kentish Petition* to the Commons begging them "to turn their loyal addresses into Bills of Supply" (1701). This petition was voted to be scandalous, and the Commons committed the persons who brought it. Then came the foolish act of Louis XIV. in recognising the Pretender, and William was able to summon a new Parliament containing a great majority of Whigs and to dismiss his Tory ministers (1701).

(K) DEATH OF WILLIAM.

William died on March 8, 1702, having fallen from his horse on February 20 and broken his collar-bone. It is hardly possible to overestimate the results he achieved. He secured the independence of his own country, carried out the English Revolution, and set a limit to the power of Louis XIV. Between Richelieu and Chatham no one man made so deep an impression on the history of Europe. He was only a second-rate soldier, though brave and tenacious, and personally and in private life he was not so amiable or high-minded as is sometimes supposed.

¹ Daughter of Elizabeth, wife of the Elector Palatine (see p. 291).

² Had these provisions been carried out the development of Cabinet Government would have been checked, and the Executive would have been separated from the Legislature.

CHAPTER XLVI.

ANNE (1702-1714).

(A) IN character Queen Anne was usually amiable and easy-going, but she took up a decided attitude at various times in her reign. At first she was under the influence of Sarah Jennings, the wife of (B) Marlborough, a great soldier, to whom fell the task of carrying on the war against Louis XIV. abroad. At home Godolphin was the head of (C) a Tory ministry, but the Tories had no real liking for an active foreign policy. (D) The War of the Spanish Succession lasted from 1702 to 1713, and in spite of Marlborough's victories gradually became unpopular owing to its long duration and costliness. (E) Party conflicts grew keen, and as the Tories showed little zeal for the war they were gradually weeded out of Godolphin's ministry, which from 1708 to 1710 was purely Whig in composition. (F) From 1710 to 1714, however, the Tories were again in power, and in 1713 they put an end to the war by (G) the Treaty of Utrecht. (H) The collapse of the Tories was, however, assured by the divisions between their leaders, Harley (Oxford) and St. John (Bolingbroke), and by the efforts which they made to secure the succession of the Old Pretender, James II.'s son. The most important constitutional event of the reign was (I) the Parliamentary Union of England and Scotland (1707).

(A) CHARACTER OF THE QUEEN.

THE history of the reign of Queen Anne, the last of the Stuart monarchs, was largely determined by the very curious character of the queen. Anne was the most commonplace of the

Stuarts, and yet she was the only one whose reign was glorious. The younger daughter of James II., she was educated as a Churchwoman, and in 1683 she married the Protestant Prince George of Denmark. She was devoted to the Church of England, sincerely pious, and exemplary in private life. In many respects she resembled Charles I., though she lacked his talents and accomplishments. Like her grandfather in his younger days, she gave her confidence to favourites, but at times she could strike out a strong line of her own. At first, however, Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, exercised great influence over her. Handsome, clever, and imperious, Sarah was deeply attached to her husband, and her power was his. The queen, however, fully appreciated Marlborough's great talents, and during the first part of her reign was content to see the only man in England capable of carrying out William III.'s policy directing affairs both at home and in the field.

(B) MARLBOROUGH.

Born in 1650, of a Cavalier family, John Churchill obtained a commission at the age of sixteen. His subsequent promotion was rapid, because his sister Arabella attracted the admiration of the Duke of York. He saw service at Tangiers, and served conjointly with the French against the Dutch. At the Revolution he changed sides and kept all that he had gained. Under William he conducted a campaign in the south of Ireland (1690), but afterwards he received no employment suitable to his deserts and began to correspond with James II. By the close of William's reign, however, he was reconciled to the king, and on the accession of Anne he bent all his energies to the task of carrying out William's policy of crushing France. His military talent was of the highest order, and it is questionable whether England ever produced a greater soldier. He could not only form great and daring plans, but he could carry them out with unfailing attention to detail. He never lost his head or his temper, and rarely left an opening to his enemies. With all his great gifts, however, he was avaricious and selfish, and he never lost sight of his own advancement. In politics he was a neutral Tory, but his main interest was in the war, which the Tories disliked, and he was gradually drawn into an alliance with the Whigs.

(C) THE TORY MINISTRY.

Marlborough was able to take an active part in politics, although he was Captain-General of the English and Dutch armies, for it was the practice at that time for armies to go into winter quarters. It was a great proof of his ability that he was able to persuade the Tory ministry, which on Anne's accession succeeded the late king's Whig ministry, to prosecute the war against Louis, although the Tory tradition was opposed to a policy of active intervention on the Continent. The head of the new Tory ministry was Godolphin, and in the early part of Anne's reign Marlborough and Godolphin were the real rulers of England. Tories like Nottingham, a High Churchman, and Sir Charles Hedges, filled up the other vacant places in the ministry.

(D) THE WAR OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION (1702-1713).

(1) *The Allies*.—The war of the Spanish Succession broke out early in Anne's reign. The *Grand Alliance* included England and Holland, the Emperor, and many of the smaller German princes, among whom was the King of Prussia. In 1703 the Duke of Savoy, who at first sided with Louis, joined the coalition, and in the same year Portugal threw in her lot with England, partly owing to the *Methuen Treaty*, which bound Portugal to give a free market to English woollen goods, and England to admit Portuguese wines at a duty one-third less than that imposed on French wines. In consequence of this treaty port wine largely displaced claret and burgundy in England.

(2) *The Position of Louis*.—At the opening of the war Louis' position was in some respects more favourable than in the war of the League of Augsburg. He had now to defend and not to conquer the Spanish Netherlands, and the bulk of Spain was loyal to Philip of Anjou. A part of his eastern frontier was covered by his alliance with the Elector of Bavaria, which gave him the means of striking at Vienna, while his alliance with the Elector of Cologne gave him command of the Rhine. The prestige of his army was great, but Louis was growing old and had lost much of his remarkable power

of selecting the right men for responsible positions. Even at the commencement of the war the French finances were in a deplorable condition.

(3) *The Character of the War.*—The war was mainly a land-war, and (a) Spain, (b) Italy, (c) the Rhine valley and the Netherlands were the three great scenes of action. Spain might have been expected to be the main battle-field, but as a matter of fact the war in Spain was of much less importance than the war in the Netherlands. It was vital to the interests both of England and Holland that France should not hold the Netherlands¹; the dominion of Spain was a secondary matter.

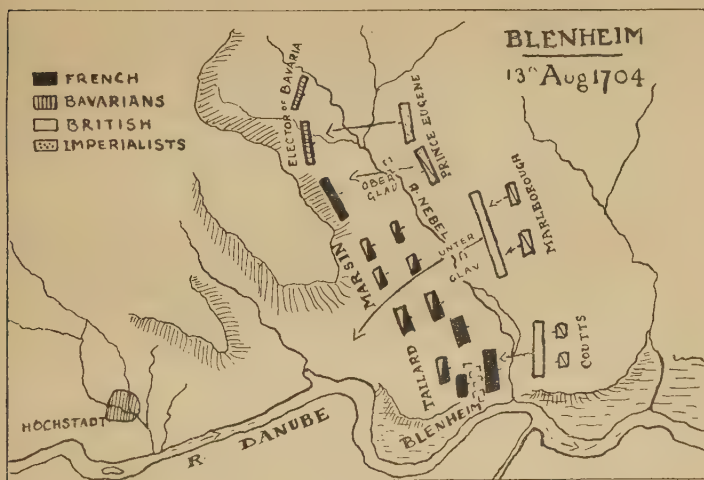
(4) *The Campaigns of 1702–1703.*—Marlborough's first task was to check Louis' advance towards Holland. The first year of the war was marked by no great battle, but Marlborough pushed up the valley of the Meuse, one of the great avenues leading into France, and captured Liège and several fortresses. In the following year he turned east from the lower valley of the Meuse, captured Bonn, and subdued the Electorate of Cologne. He was now master of the district between the Meuse and the Rhine.

(5) *The Campaign of 1704 and the Battle of Blenheim.*—We have seen that Louis' alliance with the Elector of Bavaria gave him the means of striking at Vienna. In 1703 the French under Tallard and the Bavarians under the Elector joined forces for the invasion of Austria. Circumstances were now very favourable to an attack on Vienna, for a great Hungarian rising had been stirred up by Louis, and the Hungarians menaced Vienna on the east. With the French and Bavarian armies advancing from the west, the position of Vienna was critical, and if the capital fell Austria would probably have to make peace with France. Marlborough recognised the gravity of the situation. Blinding the Dutch as to his intentions, for they would never have consented to his leaving their own frontier, he made a great march up the Rhine, across the Neckar, and through Wurtemberg, to save Vienna. On his way he was joined by *Prince Eugene of Savoy*, an Imperial general who was almost as great a soldier as Marlborough, and who rendered him most loyal co-operation. Together they found Tallard and the

¹ The Netherlands have been described as "a loaded pistol pointed at the heart of the British Empire."

Elector of Bavaria at Blindheim or *Blenheim*, a village on the north bank of the Danube (August 13, 1704).

At Blenheim the little river Nebel flows into the Danube. Above the Nebel and facing eastwards, the French and Bavarians were posted on some rising ground. Tallard commanded the French right, which rested on the village of Blenheim, another French marshal, Marsin, was in the centre; on the left were the Bavarians under their Elector. The allies took up their position east of the Nebel, Marlborough commanding the centre and left, and Eugene the right wing. It was a charge of Marlborough's cavalry in the



centre that won the day, for Marsin's forces had been weakened to support Tallard owing to Marlborough's fierce but fruitless attacks on Blenheim. When the centre was pierced the defenders of Blenheim were caught in a trap, and forced to lay down their arms, while the Elector of Bavaria retreated with the left wing. The results of the Battle of Blenheim were of the greatest importance. Not only was Vienna saved, but the French army had at last been beaten in a pitched battle and had lost its prestige. No longer was there any immediate danger of a Jacobite Restoration in England, for a French invasion of England was impossible. Nor was

Blenheim the only success which marked the year 1704, for Admiral Rooke captured the strong fortress of *Gibraltar*, the possession of which was destined to strengthen England's naval position in the Mediterranean.

(6) *The Year 1705: (a) In the Netherlands.*—In 1705 Marlborough assembled his troops at Coblenz, and designed to invade France by the valley of the Moselle, which was much less protected by great fortresses than the other avenues into France. He was, however, called back to the Netherlands by an offensive French movement, and although he restored the supremacy of the allies in that region, the obstinacy of the Dutch prevented him from fighting a decisive battle.

(b) *In Spain.*—Barcelona was won by the allies owing to the fact that the Catalans stood apart from Castile. The Catalans accepted the Archduke Charles as King of Spain, but Castile was loyal to Philip v.

(c) *In Italy.*—The French had taken vengeance on the Duke of Savoy, who had deserted their cause in 1703, and had won nearly all his territory.

(7) *The year 1706: (a) In the Netherlands.*—In 1706 Marlborough won the great battle of *Ramillies* (May 23), and became master of the Spanish Netherlands. He occupied Brussels, Antwerp, Ghent, and other towns. Only the fortresses close to the French frontier remained in Louis' hands. Thus one great object of the war had been achieved, for the frontier of Holland was rendered safe from attack.

(b) *In Spain.*—An Anglo-Portuguese army, under Lord Galway, entered Madrid, and proclaimed the Archduke Charles King of Spain.

(c) *In Italy.*—Prince Eugene won a great victory over the French under the walls of *Turin*, and compelled them to evacuate Italy.

At this juncture Louis, beaten on every side, offered to give up Spain, if Philip might retain Naples, Milan, and Sicily. These terms were refused both by the English and the Dutch, who reposed no faith in Louis' promises, and had rashly committed themselves to secure the whole of the Spanish Empire for the Archduke Charles.

(8) *The years 1707-1710.*—Louis now redoubled his efforts, and proved that France was, as yet, by no means beaten. The

year 1707 was marked by the defeat of the allies in Spain. The Spaniards rose in favour of Philip v., won the battle of *Almanza* (1707), and restored Philip to the Spanish throne. Though in 1708 the allies captured *Minorca*, which the English retained for many years, it was not till the year 1710 that they were again dangerous in Spain. In that year Stanhope entered Madrid, but the allies were forced to retreat on the arrival of a French army, and were decisively beaten at *Bribuega* and *Villa Viciosa*. Henceforward Philip v. was practically master of Spain.

In the Netherlands Marlborough won two more great victories. The battle of *Oudenarde* (1708) was followed by the surrender of Lille, the key of French Flanders, and by fresh overtures for peace on the part of Louis. But the allies were not content with the French king's offer to give up everything except Naples and Sicily. They actually asked Louis to assist them in expelling his grandson from Spain. Marlborough's last great victory was won at *Malplaquet* (1709), where the allies lost more men than the French, who fought under cover. Marlborough and Eugène afterwards penetrated a little way into France (1710), but they met with no great success, and henceforward operations in the Netherlands lost all vigour. In 1710 the Tories, who were anxious to bring the war to a close, had come into power in England.

(E) THE CONFLICT OF ENGLISH PARTIES.

We have seen that Marlborough and Godolphin started with a solid Tory ministry, but the Whigs were the true supporters of the policy of William III., and it was essential that they should be treated in a conciliatory manner. Accordingly Marlborough and Godolphin gave the orthodox Tories no support when they introduced a *Bill against Occasional Conformity*, to prevent Nonconformists receiving the Communion in the Church of England to qualify for office, and then attending their own places of worship. Rochester and the High Churchman Nottingham thereupon left the ministry (1703-1704), and Tories of a newer type were put into their places. Robert Harley became Secretary of State, and Henry St. John Secretary for War. Harley had started life as a Whig, but by the beginning of Anne's reign he was recognised as one of the most

prominent and most moderate of the Tories. He possessed considerable Parliamentary tact, his manner was grave and impressive, and he had thrice filled the office of Speaker. His private life was highly respectable. His colleague St. John was a Tory of another type. Brought up in a Puritan home, he developed into one of the most able and dissipated men about town. Possessing great talents, eloquence, and self-confidence, he attached himself to the Tory party, which was strong in numbers and social position, but weak in leaders. He shared, however, but few of the prejudices of his party, and later on he became the great apostle of the eighteenth-century Toryism as distinguished from Cavalier Toryism.

But the accession of Harley and St. John to the ministry was not enough to keep the Tories in power. The war was a Whig war for Whig objects, and sooner or later the Whigs had to be brought into the ministry. The first step was taken in 1706, when Marlborough's son-in-law Sunderland, an aristocratic Whig, was made Secretary of State. By 1710 Harley and St. John had left the ministry, and Whigs like the young Norfolk squire, Robert Walpole, and Somers and Orford of the old Junto had been brought in. Marlborough and Godolphin now possessed a substantially Whig ministry.

The Tory Triumph.—But though the ministry had become substantially Whig, it had meanwhile lost the support of the queen, for Anne always disliked the views of the Whigs, and especially their sympathy with the Nonconformists. In 1709 the Duchess of Marlborough had quarrelled with the queen, who now fell more and more under the influence of Harley's cousin, Mrs. Masham. Mrs. Masham, unlike the imperious Duchess of Marlborough, was of a placable disposition, and Harley made use of the new favourite to play on Anne's fears for the welfare of the Church.

About this time Marlborough, aware that power was slipping away from him, applied to be made Captain-General for life. The queen refused his request, which had aroused great indignation and caused men to compare Marlborough with Cromwell. Anne, indeed, was only waiting for an opportunity to get rid of her great general. The occasion was offered by a High Church and Tory reaction which brought about the downfall of Godolphin's ministry with dramatic suddenness.

A Tory parson, of no great ability, named *Sacheverell*, had

earned great popularity by preaching political sermons against the Whigs. In 1710 the Whigs, who had not entirely lost their old persecuting spirit, impeached Sacheverell. This step was ridiculous. The Whigs were treating a foolish clergyman as though he were a Strafford. Sacheverell at once became a martyr, and came up to his impeachment amid every mark of popular sympathy. The queen herself was present at his trial, and the mob showed their sympathy with him by attacking the Nonconformist meeting-houses. Political ballads reflected the popular feeling.

Invidious Whigs, since you have made your boast
That you a Church of England priest will roast,
Blame not the mob for having a desire
With Presbyterian tubs to light the fire.

After a trial of three weeks, before a Whig House of Lords, Sacheverell was prohibited from preaching for three years. This verdict was equivalent to an acquittal, and made Sacheverell more popular than ever. Anne accordingly resolved to take advantage of the High Church reaction and the dislike with which the war was now viewed in the country. The nation, indeed, was tired of the Whigs and their war policy. Men felt that good terms had been refused, and that the expensive war was kept going solely in Marlborough's interests. The queen therefore began to take counsel with Harley, and to remove the Whig members from office. A general election was held in 1710, and the Tories obtained a large majority. In the House of Lords, however, a Whig majority still existed.

(F) POLICY OF THE TORY MINISTRY (1710-1714).

From 1710 to the end of Anne's reign the Tory ministry remained in power. Harley, who was created Earl of Oxford in 1711, was Lord High Treasurer and chief minister, while his more brilliant rival, St. John, was Secretary of State. The new ministry was bent on putting an end to the war, dismissing Marlborough, and reducing the National Debt. These objects could not be openly pursued at first, but in 1711 an event occurred which made peace seem even more desirable. In that year the Emperor Joseph I., brother of the Archduke Charles and successor of Leopold I., died.

On his brother's death the Archduke Charles became ruler of Austria and Emperor, and it was felt that if he also obtained the Spanish monarchy his power would be dangerous. The great political writer *Swift*, who was afterwards Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin, lent the Government his fierce support. "Six millions of supplies and almost fifty millions of debt," he complained, were bringing ruin upon England. During the greater part of 1711 the Government was secretly negotiating with Louis XIV., though we were bound by treaty and honour not to set a negotiation on foot without the knowledge of our allies. At the close of 1711 Marlborough was dismissed from all his employments. Charges of peculation were brought against him, but it is not clear that he had made use of his office for his own profit more than the usages of the times permitted. But though the Tories were masters of the House of Commons, and though the *Occasional Conformity Bill* had, at last, been passed (1711), the Whig majority in the House of Lords was still opposed to a policy of peace. At the end of 1711, therefore, twelve new Tory peers were created, and the Government obtained a majority in the House of Lords, as well as in the Commons. On the 13th of March 1713, the war was brought to a close by the Treaty of Utrecht.

(G) PEACE OF UTRECHT (1713).

In January 1712 a Peace Congress was opened at Utrecht, but a whole year passed before peace was concluded. In the interval, St. John, now *Lord Bolingbroke*, carried on secret negotiations with Louis, side by side with the open negotiations of the allies at Utrecht. The eagerness of the Tories for peace encouraged the French king to take a high tone, but at last he consented to terms which the English Commissioners thought sufficient. A great obstacle had delayed the conclusion of peace. The Dauphin had died in 1711, and, a little later, his son, the Duke of Burgundy, had also died, so that only one sickly infant stood between Philip V. and the French throne. This obstacle was at length removed, for Philip renounced his rights to the Crown of France.

Terms of the Treaty.—The Treaty of Utrecht, together with the Treaty of Rastadt, which was concluded between Louis and the Emperor in the following March, gave the allies much less than they could have obtained several years before. Louis, however,

acknowledged the Hanoverian Succession, and, on the whole, England obtained substantial advantages by the war and the treaty. (1) In the Mediterranean, Gibraltar and Minorca were ceded to the English, and with these acquisitions English naval supremacy in the Mediterranean begins. (2) In North America, England obtained Newfoundland, Nova Scotia (Acadie), and the Hudson's Bay Territory, while in South America the Spaniards, by a contract known as the *Assiento*, allowed the English to supply their colonies with negroes. Spain also permitted England to send one ship annually to trade with Portobello. Thus the treaty recognised the commercial and maritime supremacy of England. The extension of commerce had been one of the chief aims of the Whigs in undertaking the war. On the continent Louis' friends, the electors of Bavaria and Cologne, were restored to their territories, but *the Spanish Netherlands were transferred to the House of Austria*, which also obtained Naples, Milan, and Sardinia. The Duke of Savoy obtained Sicily, with the title of King, and Louis recognised the King of Prussia. Thus France was girded about on her frontiers by states powerful enough to keep her in check. On her north frontier were the Austrians and Dutch. Prussia and the Empire lay to the east. On the south-east was the new monarchy of Sicily-Savoy, while Austria stood in reserve in Italy. But Spain and the bulk of the Spanish possessions were retained by Philip, and the House of Bourbon still reigns in Spain.

Several points in the treaty are open to hostile criticism. The mode of obtaining it was, on the part of the English, dishonourable and imprudent. The Catalans, who had supported the Archduke Charles early and late, were left to the mercy of Spain, and the renunciation of the French Crown by Philip was not worth the ink it was written in. But the Tories are not to be blamed for professing to be satisfied with Philip's promise. The choice lay between two evils, that of Charles, who was already Emperor, getting Spain and restoring the Empire of Charles v., and the possibility of Philip retaining Spain and also succeeding to the French throne. As a matter of fact, the sturdy independence of the Spanish national character was a guarantee against French domination in the Peninsula, but the rule of the Bourbons in Spain doubtless altered Spanish relations to England. In the eighteenth century Spain

generally followed the lead of France, and was hostile to England whenever France was hostile, but the curious inefficiency of Spain rendered its hostility of little moment.

The Treaty of Utrecht marked the downfall of Louis xiv.'s policy of aggression. The "Grand Monarque" died on September 1, 1715, having lived to see the futility of his belief that "self-aggrandisement is the noblest as well as the most pleasant occupation of kings." He was succeeded by Louis xv., for whom his uncle the Duke of Orleans acted as regent.

(H) THE COLLAPSE OF THE TORIES.

The Tory ministry, supported by the queen, by a majority in Parliament and by a majority in the nation, seemed destined to a long lease of power. It had succeeded in reversing the foreign policy of the Whigs, and in 1714, in pursuance of the Tory policy of setting a barrier against the power of the Dissenters, it passed the *Schism Act*, which aimed at preventing Nonconformists from acting as schoolmasters or tutors, and was the last of the persecuting statutes. Meanwhile the relations between Oxford and Bolingbroke had become strained. The two men, as we have seen, differed in temperament and talents, and the passing of the Schism Act, which was contrary to Oxford's instincts, was an indication of his approaching fall. In matters of religion Bolingbroke had no real sympathy with the High Tories, but only thought of his party's ascendancy. The problem of retaining power in the future had now become pressing. Anne's health was bad, and, by the terms of the Act of Settlement, the crown of England would soon pass to George, Elector of Hanover, the son of the Electress Sophia. George was known to favour the Whigs, and both Oxford and Bolingbroke began to intrigue with the Pretender. Bolingbroke was the leading spirit in this doubtful policy, not because he believed in hereditary succession, for he despised the sincere ideas of the Jacobites who were now a very small body, but because he disliked the idea of a foreign king, and because George was deeply committed to the Whigs. Anne herself favoured her half-brother's claims, and had the Pretender forsaken his religion he might possibly have won over the mass of the nation. Bolingbroke's intrigues with the Pretender, however, were too reckless for the cautious Oxford, who was jealous

of his rival on personal grounds. A violent quarrel broke out between the two in the queen's presence, and Oxford was dismissed from office (July 27, 1714). A few days after Oxford's dismissal Anne died. Her death found Bolingbroke with his plans still incomplete. The Whig Dukes of Argyle and Somerset had claimed their right as privy councillors to be present at the meeting of the Cabinet, and their claims were backed up by one of the ministers, the Duke of Shrewsbury, who had gone over to the Whigs. On the death of the queen the three Whig dukes took steps to secure the accession of George I., and Bolingbroke's political career was ruined.

(I) THE PARLIAMENTARY UNION OF ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND
(1707).

The reign of Anne was marked not only by a great war and by fierce party conflicts; it also saw the Union of England and Scotland completed. The two countries were separated by grave political and social interests. In the past they had been drawn together by their common interest in Protestantism and by the union of the Crowns, but Scotland had remained independent in every respect, and it was uncertain how long the union of the Crowns would resist the forces drawing the two countries asunder. Religious and commercial difficulties stood in the way of a Parliamentary union. All through the Stuart period the Scots had shown that they would not brook Episcopacy, and it was evident that any proposals for closer union must leave the Scots their Presbyterian Church. The commercial difficulty was more acute. The Scots, relatively to the English, were a poor, backward nation, and before the Union they had little share in the benefits of English commerce. The weakness of their position was brought home to the Scots, in the reign of William III., by their failure to establish a colony on the Isthmus of Darien or Panama (1699).

The *Darien Scheme* was devised by William Paterson, who intended to make the Scots rich by setting up a great free port through which the trade between Europe and the Pacific should pass. The scheme, however, was destined to failure. The site was pestilential, the English gave no support to a colony which, if successful, would ruin the East India Company, the Spaniards treated

the settlers as pirates, and the Scots had no means of defending the settlement. The failure of the Darien scheme embittered the national dislike of England. William III., with the eye of a statesman, recognised the gravity of the situation. More than once towards the end of his reign he recommended a Parliamentary Union with Scotland. Matters came to a climax in 1703, when the Scottish Parliament passed an *Act of Security*, refusing to accept on Anne's death the ruler chosen by England, "unless the sovereignty of this kingdom, the frequency of its Parliaments, and its religious freedom and trade be secured from English or any foreign influence." The English Parliament took up the challenge. All trade with Scotland was broken off, Newcastle and Carlisle were fortified, and English troops marched to the border. At the same time Commissioners were appointed to treat for a Union.

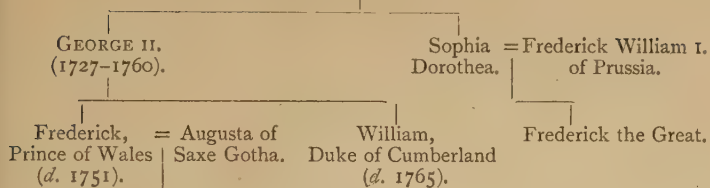
It is difficult to realise how unpopular the Union was both in Scotland and England. The English regarded Scotland with contempt, and were disinclined to share their commercial advantages with their poorer neighbours; the Scots were zealous for their nationality and religion, but anxious to obtain a share in English commercial benefits. In 1707, however, an *Act of Union* was passed by both Parliaments, though the Scottish Parliament only accepted the measure by a narrow majority.

Henceforward (1) the two States were to form one united kingdom of Great Britain, and possess one Parliament and the same sovereign. Forty-five Scottish members were added to the existing English House of Commons, and sixteen peers, elected for each Parliament by the whole body of the Scottish peers, joined the House of Lords. (2) The Scottish Church and the Scottish law were to remain unaffected, while (3) all rights of trade were to be common to both countries.

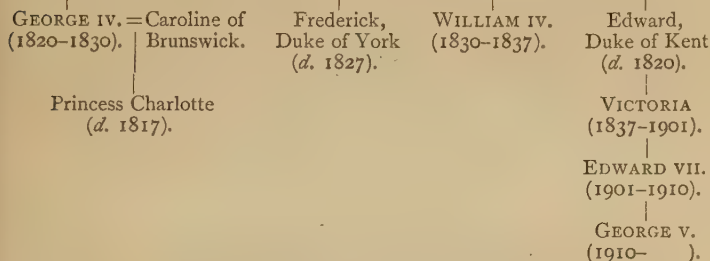
Importance of the Union.—If England and Scotland were to act together permanently, Parliamentary Union was a necessity. The Union rendered England safe from the danger of an enemy in her rear, while it opened up to Scottish commerce a full share in the profits of English trade and colonisation, and extended to Scotland the protection of the English fleet. For many years, however, Scotland remained unreconciled to the Union, and dislike of the Union was in part the cause of the Jacobite rebellions of 1715 and 1745.

THE HOUSE OF HANOVER.

GEORGE I. (1714-1727).



GEORGE III. = Sophia Charlotte of Mecklenburg-Strelitz. (1760-1820).



CHIEF CONTEMPORARY RULERS.

SWEDEN.	FRANCE.	SPAIN.
Charles XII. (1697-1718).	Louis XIV. (1643-1715). Louis XV. (1715-1774). Louis XVI. (1774-1792) (<i>executed</i> 1793). The Republic (1792-1795). The Directorate (1795-1799). The Consulate (1799-1804). Napoleon I. (1804-1814). (Emperor). Louis XVIII. (1814-1824). Charles X. (1824-1830). Louis Philippe (1830-1848). Second Republic (1848-1852). Napoleon III. (1852-1870). Third Republic (1870-).	Philip V. (1700-1746). Ferdinand VI. (1746-1759). Charles III. (1759-1788). Charles IV. (1788-1808). Ferdinand VII. (1808). Joseph Bonaparte (1808-1813). Ferdinand VII. (1813-1833). Isabella II. (1833-1868).

PRUSSIA.	RUSSIA.	THE EMPIRE.
Frederick William I. (1713-1740).	Peter the Great (1689-1725).	Charles VI. (1711-1740).
Frederick II. (1740-1786).	Catherine I. (1725-1727).	Charles VII. (1742-1745).
(the Great)	Peter II. (1727-1730).	Francis I. (1745-1765).
Frederick William II. (1786-1797).	Four Sovereigns (1730-1762).	Joseph II. (1765-1790).
Frederick William III. (1797-1840).	Catherine II. (1762-1796).	Leopold II. (1790-1792).
Frederick William IV. (1840-1861).	Paul (1796-1801).	Francis II. (1792-1806).
William I. (1861-1888).	Alexander I. (1801-1825).	(took title of Francis I. Emperor of Austria, 1806-1835).
(Emperor of Germany 1871).	Nicholas (1825-1855).	<i>Empire of Austria.</i>
*Frederick III. (1888).	Alexander II. (1855-1882).	Ferdinand I. (1835-1848).
*William II. (1888-). *Kings of Prussia and Emperors of Germany.		Francis Joseph (1848-).

CHAPTER XLVII.

GEORGE I. (1714-1727).

THE accession of George, Elector of Hanover, to the English throne was a triumph for Whig principles, and led to (*A*) a long Whig ascendancy, and (*B*) the consequent development of Cabinet Government. But the accession of George and the victory of the Whigs roused (*C*) a Jacobite rebellion in Scotland and the North of England which directly resulted in the passing of the Septennial Act. (*D*) Differences about foreign politics led to a (*E*) schism in the Whig party. Finally, a commercial crisis known as (*F*) the South Sea Bubble placed (*G*) Walpole in power, who aimed at making the new dynasty popular by avoiding war, reducing taxation, and maintaining material well-being.

(*A*) THE WHIG ASCENDANCY.

GEORGE I. was fifty-four years of age when he ascended the throne. He laboured under many disadvantages. He was a foreigner. He had ruled Hanover as a despot, and therefore could not be expected to understand Parliamentary government. Under no circumstances could he inspire enthusiasm among his new subjects. Though he had common sense, personal courage, and considerable honesty, he never understood the English people; he could not even speak their language. His affections and diplomacy naturally centred in his Electorate. Luckily, he was willing to manage Hanover, while the Whigs managed England. On the whole, it was "an excellent bargain for England."

The Reasons for the Whig Ascendancy.—With his accession began the long Whig ascendancy which lasted till the beginning of the reign of George III. The Whigs had invited George to England.

Gratitude and ignorance of English politics naturally led him to entrust the government to the one party of whose allegiance he was certain. The Revolution of 1688 and the accession of the House of Hanover marked the triumph of Whig principles. The Tories looked upon these events as lamentable necessities in which they had acquiesced 'solely to save the English Church. Had either of the Pretenders abandoned the Church of Rome, many of the English Tories would have made an attempt to restore them to the throne. Even as it was, until the failure of the "Forty-five," nearly all the party were suspected of Jacobitism.

In foreign affairs, the Whigs, on the whole, were in favour of an active policy to push England's commercial interests. A considerable number of them sympathised with George's Hanoverian ambitions. The Tories, on the other hand, favoured comparative isolation, the abolition of the standing army, and a purely naval policy. But the Tories were divided and out of office. The strength of the rank and file were the fox-hunting squires and High Church parsons, who sometimes complained that "the only Presbyterian in the county was the bishop." On the other hand, the Whig party included many great noblemen and the bulk of the "monied" classes—merchants and manufacturers who felt that order, and, above all, the interest payable on the National Debt, depended on the maintenance of the House of Hanover. Though deprived of direct political power, the Nonconformists supported the Whigs, to whom they looked for relief from their remaining disabilities. The Whigs, moreover, were strong in Parliament. In the Upper House the Whig Lords were reinforced by the appointment of Whig Bishops. The same noblemen owned many of the pocket boroughs which returned members to the House of Commons. A policy of Parliamentary corruption, begun by Danby, was continued. Votes were largely a question of bargaining, and Walpole used to talk of his administration at the time when he was "in business." In short, the Government during the reigns of the first two Georges was controlled not by the King, but by the Whig aristocracy, the "Venetian oligarchy" as Disraeli afterwards called it.

(B) THE RISE OF THE CABINET.

The supremacy of the Whigs, and the fact that the king was a German, resulted in the development of Cabinet government. In

earlier times the Privy Council formed the board of royal advisers. As time went on it grew too unwieldy for its duties, and the king was accustomed to consult an inner ring of its members. To-day, in theory, the king can still choose his own advisers; in practice, he must choose them in accordance with the wishes of Parliament. In Stuart times, the king's freedom of choice was a fact. But the inner circle of Privy Councillors was regarded with great jealousy (cp. Sir William Temple's scheme, p. 359). It was said that men were chosen because they were personal friends of the Sovereign, not because they were capable. Even when parties were fairly formed, the members of this inner ring were not necessarily drawn from one particular party. Many of the boards of advisers chosen by William III. and Anne were drawn from both great parties. With the accession of the House of Hanover a change took place. The king chose his advisers from the Whig party alone, for various reasons. As George I. could speak no English, and hardly any of his advisers could speak a word of German, the royal presence at Cabinet meetings was useless. George therefore gave up attending them, and thus left these meetings without a recognised head. In theory, all ministers were equal. In practice, a new head of the Cabinet was found in the Prime Minister, an honourable title applied at a much later date to that minister who could best carry through the royal business of government. The first Prime Minister in all but name was Walpole, and it is to his masterful management that the modern Cabinet owes much of its form and methods of procedure.

(C) THE JACOBITE REBELLION.

On the accession of the king, the Whigs attacked their fallen enemies. The Tory leaders Ormond and Bolingbroke fled to the Pretender's Court at St. Germain. Oxford was less fortunate. He was impeached and for a time imprisoned in the Tower. He was thus the victim of the last serious attempt to treat defeated ministers as criminals. George's first Parliament contained a large Whig majority, which came up to Westminster determined to prevent for the future the violence which Tory mobs had shown at the recent elections, chiefly against Dissenters. In 1715 the *Riot Act* was passed, providing that persons who continued rioting, after

a magistrate had read a proclamation warning them to disperse, were guilty of felony. Force can always be used if necessary, even without "reading the Riot Act"; but the penalty for rioting after warning is much heavier.

The Jacobite Rebellion of 1715 proved that the Riot Act was by no means unnecessary. The supporters of the Stuarts felt that they must strike before George was firmly seated on the throne. The moment seemed favourable. There was much discontent in England, especially at Oxford. The Lowlanders of Scotland were bitterly hostile to the Union; the Highlanders would follow any one in search of plunder, or to the massacre of Argyle's hated Campbells. Simultaneous risings were planned in England and Scotland. Both were foredoomed to failure. The Government took prompt measures in England which rendered Ormond's attempt to raise Devonshire futile. In the North, however, Lord Derwentwater and Mr. Foster, M.P. for Northumberland, raised a small force; but, in spite of some Scottish aid, it was cut to pieces at Preston. In Scotland the rebels had little better fortune. The Jacobites had no regular army; the promised French assistance was not given; the organisation of the movement was taken out of Bolingbroke's hands and given to the Earl of Mar, who made the mistake of raising the Highlands instead of the discontented and more dependable Lowlands. Finally, the Pretender was not present when the standard was raised at Braemar (September 1715).

"Bobbing John" (Mar) and his Highlanders fought a drawn battle with Argyle at *Sheriffmuir*. Both sides retired, each claiming the victory. Towards the end of the year the Pretender arrived in Scotland. But he was not the man to rouse enthusiasm. The Jacobites complained that "he never appeared with cheerfulness and vigour to animate us. . . . Our men began to despise him; some asked if he could speak; his countenance looked extremely heavy." On the advance of Argyle through the early snows of 1716 the Highland army melted away, and James Stuart and Mar took ship for France. Derwentwater and one or two others were executed; but on the whole the rebels were treated with politic leniency. The Highlands especially were left unpunished. The one permanent result of the rising was the *Septennial Act* of 1716, which extended the possible existence of Parliament from three to seven years. The measure

was passed to avoid the necessity of a general election at a time when the rebellion had hardly been suppressed. The disappointed Tories wrongly blamed the Legislature for a breach of trust worthy of the Long Parliament. But lawyers hold that Parliament is not merely the trustee of the nation; it is the nation itself present at Westminster in the persons of its representatives. Legally, the King in Parliament can do anything "except make a man a woman." The Septennial Act illustrates this power. The Act still remains in force and prevents the confusion entailed by frequent general elections; but for many years after 1716 the fact that a seat in Parliament could be held for seven years, not only increased the expenses of election, but rendered the members of the House of Commons more independent of their electors and more at the disposal of the Whig lords.

(D) FOREIGN POLITICS (1714-1720).

The maintenance of the Revolution Settlement by the Whigs largely depended on foreign policy; but though they were agreed as to the end, they differed as to means. It was on this ground that a Whig opposition¹ grew up and incidentally maintained the semblance of party government.

In 1714 Great Britain had not a friend in Europe, since Bolingbroke had thrown over the Allies. On the other hand, this isolation could not last long. England already had a considerable Empire beyond the seas, whose interests in the then universal race for colonial supremacy must come into conflict with those of other nations. The possession of Minorca and Gibraltar made her, for the first time since the days of Cromwell and Blake, a power to be reckoned with in the Mediterranean. She herself was ruled by the Elector of Hanover. It was true that Hanover would be involved in wars that might arise over colonial matters, in which she had no interest. It was certain that England would be dragged into Continental politics at the heels of the Electorate. Lastly, Stanhope, who for the time was in power, desired a policy of active interference

¹ Stanhope, Townshend, and Walpole were the heads of the Whig administration in 1714. In 1716 Stanhope became chief minister, and in 1717 Townshend, Walpole, and Pulteney resigned owing to their differences with Stanhope.

in Europe. England's isolation ended in 1716. That year was marked by nothing less than a diplomatic revolution—an alliance between England and her ancient enemy, France. Louis xiv. had died in 1715. His successor, Louis xv., was a sickly baby. There was a chance that the French Crown might pass to the Regent of France, the *Duke of Orleans*, uncle of the infant king. This could only happen if the Treaty of Utrecht were observed, for if it were set aside Philip v. would unite the Crowns of France and Spain. Accordingly, Orleans suggested an alliance with England to maintain the Treaty of Utrecht. While Orleans was Regent the Whigs need fear no French assistance to the Stuarts.

In 1717 the Dutch joined France and Great Britain in the *Triple Alliance*. Louis xv. had not died as was expected, but the Treaty of Utrecht was still threatened from Spain. *Elizabeth Farnese*, the Italian wife of Philip v. proposed to secure Italian principalities for her sons. Philip's minister, the able Italian, *Cardinal Alberoni*, aimed at re-establishing that Spanish supremacy in his native land, which had been lost to Austria by the Treaty of Utrecht (see p. 401). To counteract the Triple Alliance he turned to the Northern Powers—Russia and Sweden. This unnatural union of North and South was made possible by the fact that George i. was a North German prince. As Elector of Hanover he had not only quarrelled with *Peter the Great* (see p. 418), who in his efforts to make Russia mistress of the Baltic had seized Mecklenburg; but also with *Charles xii.* (see p. 418), the last great King of Sweden, who claimed the rich ports of Bremen and Verden, then held by Hanover. The understanding between Spain and the Northern Powers, however, led to very little. Russia and Sweden were natural enemies, and in 1718 Charles xii. was killed, it is said, by one of his own soldiers. English ships even gave some assistance to Sweden in her struggle with the Czar, but supremacy on the Baltic was secured to Russia by the *Treaty of Nystadt* (1721). In the Mediterranean the Spaniards drove the Austrians from Sardinia and the Savoyards from Sicily. But the tide soon turned. *Admiral Byng* crushed the Spanish fleet off *Cape Passaro* in Sicily (1718). The attack on his Italian possessions drove the Emperor Charles vi. to join England, France, and Holland in the *Quadruple Alliance*. Alberoni was dismissed and Spain made peace. The Emperor received Sicily in exchange for Sardinia,

which the Duke of Savoy took with the title of King of Sardinia. His descendants held that title till 1860, when Victor Emanuel became king of a united Italy (see p. 531).

(E) THE WHIG SCHISM.

Stanhope's policy of active intervention abroad had apparently been a success. At home its results were not so happy, for it led to a schism in the Whig party.

The chief Whig ministers at the beginning of the reign were *Townshend* and *Stanhope*, Secretaries of State; *Walpole*, Chancellor of the Exchequer; and *Sunderland*, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. Stanhope sympathised with George's Hanoverian policy and desired active intervention in European affairs. Townshend and his brother-in-law Walpole were anxious to let well, or ill, alone, and when Stanhope carried through the Triple Alliance in 1717 they left the Government. It was beginning to be seen that members of the Government must not only be drawn from the same party, but must support the same policy. Sunderland remained in the ministry, and the great essayist Addison joined it as one of the Secretaries of State.

The *Stanhope-Sunderland* administration held office till 1721. The schism raised high the hopes of the Tories, but the Whig party was so large that it could afford to split. Walpole and the opposition Whigs played the part of "candid friends" to the Government. It was at this time that the former laid the foundations of his later power, and it is worth noting that he attached men to him at a time when he had few means of corruption at his disposal. While in office Stanhope secured the repeal of the *Occasional Conformity* and *Schism Acts* (1718), but Nonconformists were still subject to the limitations imposed by the *Test and Corporation Acts* (see pp. 351, 357). In 1719 the Government brought forward the ill-fated *Peerage Bill*. This measure provided that the number of peers should never exceed the number then existing by more than six. The aim was to secure a permanent Whig majority in the House of Lords by preventing a Tory ministry from creating a batch of new Tory peers, as had been done in the reign of Anne (1711). The Upper House naturally passed the Bill. Had it passed through the House of Commons and

received the royal assent the English peerage would have become a close caste. The king could have put pressure on the Commons by means of dissolution; the Commons could have retaliated by cutting off supplies. No one could have put pressure upon the Lords. Whig as he was, Walpole led the opposition to this measure. The county gentlemen and merchants of the House of Commons saw no reason why they should cut themselves and their heirs off from all chance of a peerage, and threw the Bill out.

Soon afterwards Townshend and Walpole rejoined the administration in subordinate capacities. Less than a year, however, passed before they were called to the front by a great financial catastrophe.

(F) THE SOUTH SEA BUBBLE (1720).

The South Sea Trading Company had been founded by Harley in 1711. To most Englishmen of that day the name "South Sea" suggested an Eldorado of indefinite richness. The actual sources from which the company drew its wealth were whaling and a limited trade in slaves and other commodities with the Spanish colonies in South America. By the Treaty of Utrecht one ship of 600 tons was admitted yearly to Spanish waters, and though this ship was attended by other vessels which secretly replenished her with goods, the amount of wealth to be gained by this means was strictly limited. The famous "Bubble" was blown from this small beginning. Two causes combined to bring about the crisis. Englishmen were growing rich. Capital was increasing, and men were anxious to invest their savings in profitable enterprises. Paper securities were as yet unfamiliar. Men had not learnt that credit must be backed by capital. The second cause encouraged the evils of the first. The Government was anxious to get money at a cheaper rate of interest than was paid on the National Debt, which now amounted to £54,000,000. In 1717 the Government agreed to persuade its creditors to exchange their Government stock for shares in the South Sea Company. A company thus closely associated with the Government seemed to offer ample security; the stories of the "golden" south dazzled the imagination of the public which had money to spend. In three months (April to July 1720) the price of the shares rose from £100 to more than £1000.

For a time all promised to go well. It was a period of feverish speculation. In France a Mississippi scheme had been floated by Law; in England companies were formed to import jackasses from Spain, to melt down saw-dust and chips into clean deal boards, and, in one case at least, to carry on "an undertaking which should in due time be revealed." Large sums of money were lost in these bubble companies. Suspicion was at last turned upon the South Sea Company. A panic ensued. Every one tried to sell out. Hundreds of families were ruined. As usual in times of financial distress, the Government was blamed for the disaster—in this case with some justice. Some of the ministers had taken bribes from the promoters of the company. Aislaby, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, was expelled from Parliament; Stanhope died suddenly; Sunderland was forced to resign. In their dismay and confusion all men turned to the one prominent Whig who had steadily opposed the South Sea Bubble in the House of Commons. In 1721 Sir Robert Walpole became Chancellor of the Exchequer.

(G) WALPOLE IN POWER.

From 1721 till 1742 Walpole was the leading minister. This blunt, level-headed Norfolk squire was practically supreme longer than any man in English history who was not a king. Though fond of hunting and his glass, he found more time than did most squires of his day for cultivated pursuits. It is true that he despised literature and underrated the power of the Press, as he found to his cost; but he was fond of pictures, of gardening, and the rather gorgeous architecture of the period. Finance was his greatest gift. It was he who restored the national credit after the bursting of the South Sea Bubble. His policy both at home and abroad was based upon commercial lines. Peace was essential to give British merchants time and money to develop their commerce. Secure from attack, British manufacturers and farmers were encouraged to seek wealth and pursue it by remission of taxation, the granting of bounties, and other financial aids. Walpole believed that "a man can do more with figures of arithmetic than with figures of rhetoric." It was by these means that he reconciled the nation to the House of Hanover.

Walpole's chief colleagues in his first ministry were *Townshend*, *Carteret*, and *Pulteney*. His supremacy was by no means unchallenged; but his treatment of his colleagues did much to fix the customary lines on which modern Cabinet Government is run. Formerly, loyalty to the Crown was all that was expected of a minister. Walpole insisted on loyalty to himself as Party chief. If a fellow-minister opposed him, Walpole, strong in the support of the king, got rid of him. George naturally clung to the man who could, as he said, "make gold out of nothing." The discovery of a plot (1722) engineered by *Atterbury*, the Jacobite Bishop of Rochester, still further decided George to stand by his Whig advisers.

Quarrel with Carteret.—Carteret was the first of Walpole's colleagues to go. He had been specially entrusted with foreign affairs, for, as he could speak German, he was liked by the king. But Carteret opposed the cordial understanding with France which Walpole was determined to preserve at all costs. He lost his Secretaryship of State, and was sent into honourable exile as Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland (1724).

Ireland.—Carteret arrived at Dublin just as a serious disturbance was settling down. In spite of the fact that Stanhope in 1719 had passed a *Declaratory Act* allowing the English Parliament to legislate for Ireland over the head of the Irish Parliament (cp. p. 462), Walpole, true to his maxim of "*quieta non movere*," left Ireland very much to herself. In 1722, however, he had granted a patent to an ironmaster named *Wood* for coining £108,000 of copper to restore the Irish coinage. The suspicion of the Irish was stirred, mainly by *Swift*, the fiery Dean of St. Patrick's, who expressed the popular discontent in *Drapier's Letters*. "Wood's half-pence" were at once withdrawn by Walpole; nor did he interfere with Ireland again. The country was left to the mercy of the Irish Parliament at Dublin, which in 1727 disfranchised all Catholics. Till 1793 Ireland was represented in Parliament solely from among the Protestant minority.

Foreign Policy.—Walpole had broken with Carteret rather than interfere actively in European politics. Complete neutrality, however, was impossible (cp. p. 411). Difficulties arose in two quarters. That virago, Elizabeth Farnese, acting on the advice of her minister *Ripperdú*, a Dutchman, thought that the Italian possessions of her

sons would be better secured by an alliance than by war with the Emperor. *Charles VI.* was disposed to listen, as he wanted Spain to ratify the *Pragmatic Sanction* securing the Austrian dominions to his daughter, *Maria Theresa*. Further, he had just granted a charter to the *Ostend East India Company*, which must necessarily damage English commercial interests. A treaty was therefore signed between Spain and the Emperor at *Vienna* (1725). Charles had thus fallen out of the Quadruple Alliance. To fill the gap Walpole persuaded *Prussia* to join in the *League of Hanover*. Meanwhile the Emperor, who found that Spain would not fulfil his wishes, quietly backed out of his engagement. The Spaniards were beaten off *Gibraltar* (1727) by the English fleet, and in 1729 Walpole, who had returned to power soon after the accession of George II. (1727), with the aid of the great French Cardinal *Fleury* made peace with Spain at *Seville* (1729). Spain reconfirmed England's trading privileges in the New World (see p. 401), withdrew her support from the Ostend Company, and promised to recognise the Pragmatic Sanction. England agreed to assist Spain to get Parma and Tuscany for Elizabeth Farnese's son. Walpole had thus gained peace; but it was at the cost of a breach with Britain's historic ally—Austria.

Quarrel with Pulteney, and Growth of the Opposition.—Walpole's difficult task abroad was made none the more easy by opposition at home. He had always to face the opposition of Jacobites like "Honest Jack" *Shippen* and of Tories like *Windham* and *Bolingbroke*. The latter had returned to England, but was kept out of Parliament. He vigorously expressed his opinions in the *Craftsman*, the first regular opposition newspaper. The opposition gained strength as time went on. Carteret was drifting further away from Walpole every day; it was a question how long Townshend would continue to work with him. In 1725 *Pulteney*, who was not prepared for political extinction, openly put himself at the head of the Opposition. That party gathered round the *Prince of Wales*, who, in common with every Prince of Wales till the time of George IV., displayed a complete lack of filial duty.

On June 10, 1727, George I. died in his beloved Hanover. Men asked one another whether his successor would dispense with the services of the all-powerful minister, whom, as Prince of Wales, he had opposed.

NOTE ON PETER THE GREAT OF RUSSIA.

Peter the Great (1689-1725) was a "barbarian of genius," who set himself the task of (1) "Europeanising" his country, and (2) providing it with ports on the Baltic in the north of Europe and on the Black Sea in the south. In spite of its vast extent, Russia was deficient in sea-board, and was hemmed in by the possessions of Sweden, Turkey, Poland, and Persia. Peter's first conquest was the Port of Azov on the Black Sea, which he seized in 1696 while Turkey was at war with the Emperor. He then travelled in Europe for two years, eagerly acquiring knowledge for his task of improving the material conditions of Russia, and especially studying shipbuilding in Holland and England. He found himself hampered in Russia by the tyranny of the *Streletsi*, the military force which formed his bodyguard, and by the power of the Eastern Church. Over 1000 of the *Streletsi* were executed (1698), and Peter is said to have assisted personally in their execution. He substituted an army based on European models. He made himself virtually head of the Russian Church, and broke the power of the *boyars* or nobles. He had his own son Alexis tortured to death for leading a reaction against his Europeanising policy (1718). He built roads, canals, mills, etc., founded schools, established a navy, and introduced the Western mode of dress.

His attempt to extend his power on the Baltic coast was frustrated for a time by the victory of Charles XII. of Sweden at Narva (1700); but while Charles was occupied in Poland, Peter conquered much Swedish territory on the Baltic, and in 1703 founded St. Petersburg. Finally, at Pultava (1709) he won a great victory over Charles, who had invaded Russia. By 1721 (Peace of Nystadt), Russia, and not Sweden, was supreme in the Baltic. Some of Peter's successors did not carry out his policy, but Russia gradually obtained recognition as a European Power; and Catherine II. (1762-1796), an unscrupulous but able ruler, continued the work of fostering European civilization and of Russian expansion towards the west.

NOTE ON CHARLES XII. OF SWEDEN.

Gustavus Adolphus (1611-1632) made Sweden the leading Power in the north of Europe, and extended his sway over a great part of the northern and eastern shores of the Baltic. His daughter Christina got Western Pomerania as the spoils of the Thirty Years' War (Treaty of Westphalia, 1648). But the growth of Sweden had been at the expense of her neighbours, and in 1699 Denmark,

Poland, and Russia formed a league against her. Charles XII. of Sweden (1697-1718), who possessed "a perfect genius for fighting," captured Copenhagen and compelled Denmark to make peace, defeated the Russians at Narva (1700), and fought against Poland till 1706, when he forced Augustus the Strong to renounce the Polish Crown in favour of his adherent Stanislaus Leszczynski. Next followed his Russian campaign and his defeat by Peter at Pultava (1709). Charles then made his way to the Turks, and stirred up war between Russia and Turkey. Peter the Great was defeated by the Turks, and gave back Azov by the Treaty of the Pruth (1711); but the Sultan came to an agreement with Russia, and seized and imprisoned Charles XII. Charles escaped from captivity, and spent the last few years of his life struggling against his enemies—Prussia, Russia, Denmark, Poland, and Norway. He was killed while besieging the castle of Fredrikshald in Norway (1718), and Sweden hastened to make peace with her enemies, for the country was exhausted and her greatness was over. Charles XII. had lost all the Swedish possessions in Germany, Augustus the Strong was king again in Poland, while Russia gained the Baltic provinces of Ingria, Esthonia, Livonia, and Carelia.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

GEORGE II. (1727-1760).

THE reign of George II. falls into two distinct parts. For most of the first part (1727-1742) the country enjoyed profound peace while (*A*) Walpole was in power. True to his policy of "quieta non movere," he abandoned his Excise Bill, and left Scotland, on the whole, to itself. Abroad (*B*) he kept Great Britain out of the War of the Polish Succession, but he failed to avoid a Colonial war with Spain. Though a "peace" minister, Walpole continued to hold office and thus put himself in a false position. From this and from other causes (*C*) he fell in 1742. His government had been eminently useful, but it had been based upon very utilitarian ideals and a complete contempt for enthusiasm of all sorts. Towards the end of his period of office began (*D*) the Wesleyan movement, which did much to awaken England to higher ideals. Meanwhile the "War of Jenkins' Ear" had become entangled in the general European (*E*) War of the Austrian Succession, which was accompanied by (*F*) a Jacobite rebellion in Scotland. Peace was made at Aix-la-Chapelle, and England entered upon a period of lethargy chiefly remarkable for the (*G*) rise of William Pitt.

The second part of George's reign begins with (*H*) the Seven Years' War, which was fought in (*I*) Europe, (*J*) America, and India. The war developed into a struggle with Spain as well as France, and was ended in the next reign by the Treaty of Paris (1763). But Great Britain's success in India, America, and at sea was largely won by men in the service of George II.

(A) WALPOLE IN POWER (1727-1742).

CHARACTER of George II.—Though the new king's sympathies were still German, he had an advantage over his father. He could speak a certain amount of English. As Prince of Wales he had earned some popularity with those who were opposed to Walpole; but he was not a man to excite much general enthusiasm. He was personally brave, as his conduct at the Battle of Dettingen (1743) sufficiently proved; but he was wrong in imagining that he had great military talents. Among his few virtues were absolute punctuality and a fair measure of honesty. As Walpole remarked, "the king does not lie often." The King of Prussia was less complimentary. He spoke of George as "my uncle the comedian." Frederick the Great was hardly fair. Largely owing to the king's moderation and unselfishness, the first part of George's reign was the most peaceful, and the second one of the most glorious of English history.

George's greatest good fortune lay in his choice of a wife and her choice of his minister. Caroline of Anspach was a good and clever woman, who as queen sacrificed her happiness to public interests. In spite of her taste for intellectual pursuits, she spent many dreary hours with her dreary husband in order to secure his confidence for herself and Walpole. The value of the queen's support of Walpole may best be judged by the effects of its loss on her death in 1737.

George's accession to the throne was not resisted by the English or Scottish Jacobites, but, in accordance with his policy as Prince of Wales, the new king dismissed Walpole and summoned Sir Spencer Compton to his councils. Pulteney, however, lost his head in the emergency; Sir Spencer had very little to lose. The queen saw that he was utterly contemptible, and in a few days Walpole and Townshend were fully reinstated. Walpole was too useful to be discarded. Till his fall in 1742 he was practically supreme.

Walpole's Domestic Policy.—Walpole has been blamed for not carrying out great reforms. But his was not a reforming nature, nor was it a reforming age. People wanted peace and settled government in which to carry on business, and Walpole fulfilled

their wishes. He refused to repeal the Test Act, for he had no wish to revive the Sacheverell troubles (see p. 399). But he did pass a yearly Act of Indemnity securing in office those Nonconformists who chose to make the flimsy plea of "ignorance of the law." Acts of Indemnity were passed annually till the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts in 1828.

It was in the same spirit of letting sleeping dogs lie that in 1728 it was formally announced that reports of parliamentary debates were breaches of privilege. In those days there was no reporters' gallery in the House of Commons; writers took notes as best they could, or else wrote up reports from memory. That eminent Tory, "the Great Cham of Literature," *Dr. Johnson*, earned a living in this manner as a young man,—always taking care, as he said, that "the Whig dogs had the worst of it." After 1728 it was customary to report parliamentary debates, under feigned titles such as "Debates in the Senate of Rome" or "Debates in the Senate of Lilliput." But Parliament always declared that its debates were covered by privilege, and it was not till 1771 that the right of publication was tacitly admitted (see p. 450).

Resignation of Townshend.—This declaration of the privacy of debate tended to strengthen Walpole's hold on Parliament, a hold which was made more complete in 1730 by the resignation of Townshend. "As long as the firm was Townshend and Walpole the utmost harmony prevailed; but it no sooner became Walpole and Townshend than things went wrong." Townshend left the ministry, but did not join the Opposition. He retired to his estates in Norfolk to study scientific farming, especially the growing of turnips. The name of "Turnip" Townshend ranks high in the list of those "spirited cultivators" who, in an age of agrarian revolution, by their experiments in farming, deserve, according to Arthur Young,¹ "every acknowledgment which a lover of his country can give."

Finance.—Supreme in Parliament, Walpole turned his attention to finance. The National Debt was large, and the bursting of the South Sea Bubble had not improved matters. Walpole, however, managed to reduce the amount of interest paid on the debt by the

¹ Arthur Young, a celebrated authority on agriculture, both in Great Britain and in Western Europe, of the middle of the eighteenth century.

Government, though he would not reduce it too far for fear of offending the Whig moneyed classes. For a time he also maintained a Sinking Fund, into which so much a year was paid to wipe off the debt. But in 1733 he gave it up, when he found the only alternative was heavy taxation. By these steps he gained three classes of supporters for the House of Hanover—the fundholders who valued security, the tax payers in general, and some of the landed men in particular, who escaped a heavier land-tax. His commercial policy was equally effective. He relieved many exported manufactured articles and much imported raw material of customs duty, and even relaxed some of the restrictions placed upon the trade of American colonies, notably in the case of Georgian rice.

The Excise Bill.—The Excise Bill of 1733 was intended to be the corner-stone of Walpole's commercial policy. Wines and tobacco were to be allowed in freely at the ports, and were to be stored in bonded warehouses, from which merchants could draw them when required on payment of an excise. Goods re-shipped for exportation would pay nothing. Such a scheme would make the collection of rates cheaper and more easy, would render smuggling far less profitable, and would make London the great free port and market of the world. But a bitter opposition to the Bill was engineered by Bolingbroke in his newspaper, the *Craftsman*, and by Pulteney and Carteret in Parliament. The excise was associated with Cromwell's army, and the Standing Army was one of the standing grievances of the Opposition. The possible house to house searches of excisemen were looked upon as violations of English liberties; worse still, the excise was foreign in origin. Mobs paraded the streets shouting "No slavery! No excise! No wooden shoes." Inside the House Walpole's colleague Chesterfield turned against him; the Government majority sank to seventeen, and though the king and queen supported Walpole, he refused to proceed with the measure, with the remark that "this dance will go no further." As a result London did not become a free port, and the Tory gentry, much to their disgust, continued to pay the land-tax.

In spite of this the trade and material prosperity of the nation increased faster under Walpole than it did for nearly a century after his fall.

Porteous Riots.—In no part of the kingdom had Walpole's

peaceful policy had better effect than in Scotland. That country was beginning to feel the commercial benefits of the Union, and though the imposition of a 6d. duty on each barrel of ale had caused some dissatisfaction, Scotland in 1735 was much better inclined to the House of Hanover than she had been in 1715. A passing storm, however, arose in 1736. Alarmed by the attitude of the mob at the execution of two smugglers, Captain Porteous of the Edinburgh Town Guard ordered his soldiers to fire. He was condemned to death, but afterwards reprieved, whereupon the mob broke into the Tolbooth and hanged him in the Grassmarket. In spite of popular outcry in England, Walpole refused to stir Scottish national sentiment by vigorous measures, and contented himself with fining the Edinburgh City Council £2000, which was paid to Porteous' widow. The same wish to avoid disturbance prevented him from organising the Highland clans into regiments, as Chatham did afterwards.

Walpole's home policy, therefore, though not very inspiring, was fairly successful and eminently useful. It was made possible by his foreign policy.

(B) WALPOLE'S FOREIGN POLICY (1727-1742).

The keynote of Walpole's foreign policy was peace and alliance with France. The question was how long could this good understanding last. Louis xv. was growing more healthy day by day, and the Duke of Orleans' hopes of the Crown were growing proportionately weaker. There was, accordingly, less need for France to support England in maintaining the Treaty of Utrecht. Again, the interests of France and England jarred. There were colonial difficulties in North America; trading disputes in India; the memory of Blenheim was not dimmed, and France was jealous of England's naval supremacy. Nor was it likely that George, as Elector of Hanover, could sympathise with French designs in the Rhineland. Finally, there was a growing tendency towards a reconciliation between the Bourbons of Paris and Madrid. Acting as he was, under a new and stubborn king eager for military glory, Walpole's task of reconciling England's good understanding with France with the spread of England's commerce was by no means an easy one.

Fortunately for Walpole, French policy from 1726 onwards was guided by the peaceful *Cardinal Fleury*. Partly through Walpole's own exertions, partly through those of the cardinal, peace was made with Spain in 1729 at *Seville* (see p. 417). At the same time, Fleury paved the way for the First Family Compact of 1733 by coming to terms with Spain. What is more, the Treaty of Seville had detached England from the Emperor, who was left in angry isolation. There was danger that war might break out between France and Austria, into which England would be drawn. Walpole, who, by the retirement of Townshend in 1730, had supreme control of foreign affairs, accordingly opened a secret negotiation with the Emperor Charles, and in 1731 concluded the *Treaty of Vienna*. England ratified the Pragmatic Sanction, a document intended to secure the Austrian possessions to Charles's daughter, *Maria Theresa*. In return the Emperor gave up the Ostend East India Company. Walpole had thus made foreign politics react favourably on affairs at home by securing the English East Indian merchants from competition. Above all, he had avoided war, though possibly not in the most honourable manner.

The European situation, however, was still critical. Elizabeth Farnese now demanded Naples for Don Carlos and Tuscany for a younger son. France, again, had not ratified the Pragmatic Sanction. Worse still, the hostile influence of *Chauvelin* over the mind of Fleury was growing, when, in 1733, two events occurred which almost dragged England into war.

War of the Polish Succession.—Augustus, "the Physically Strong" of Poland, died in 1733. The Polish Crown was elective: Russia and Austria championed Augustus, son of the dead king; France and Spain supported Stanislaus, father of the young French queen. In spite of Fleury's efforts, war broke out (1733). George II., as Elector of Hanover, was eager to help the Emperor; but Walpole and the queen were against interference. Great Britain had no real interest in Polish affairs. To assist Austria meant the loss of the French alliance and a probable Jacobite rising aided by the Bourbons. Walpole's determination to remain neutral was strengthened by the news of the *First Family Compact* concluded between the Bourbons of Paris and Madrid (1733), and in spite of the efforts of the Opposition to force him into war he was able to boast that there

were 50,000 men "slain in Europe this year, and not one Englishman." The dreary struggle was ended by the *Treaty of Vienna* (1738), by which "Baby Carlos" got Naples. Augustus gained the perilous throne of Poland; and Stanislaus received Lorraine for life. On his death Lorraine reverted to France. Fleury had thus rounded off the Rhine frontier. In return France guaranteed the Pragmatic Sanction.

The Treaty of Vienna marks the beginning of a new period in European politics. The two everlasting questions were settled. Elizabeth Farnese had had her way; the "Shadow-hunting Kaiser" Charles vi. had caught France, the last of his shadows. On the other hand, the Anglo-French alliance could not last much longer. Its work was done. The Hanoverian dynasty was firmly on the throne. The commercial and colonial interests of both France and Spain were really opposed to those of England. Walpole up till 1738 had successfully warded off European war. Could he succeed now that circumstances were altered?

The War of Jenkins' Ear.—It was soon evident that war must come. The English nation was tired of peace; it was heartily suspicious and more than a little afraid of the Bourbons, especially France; and it was eager to spread its commerce. The trouble arose over commercial rights. Spain, in common with all eighteenth-century nations, claimed the right of searching ships found in her colonial waters. A trading captain named Jenkins had in 1731 been captured smuggling in the West Indies by Spanish coastguards, who, so he said, cut off his right ear. On his return to England he showed his severed ear, remarking that when he was in the hands of the Spaniards he commended his soul to God and his cause to his country. The phrase sounds more like one from the lips of Bolingbroke or Pulteney than from those of a rough sea captain, but it appealed to the injured pride of a nation spoiling for a fight. Walpole was in a difficult position. His political power was slowly waning. To refrain from war would offend the English merchants, who were his chief political supporters; to go to war meant an open breach with France, disaster to his financial schemes, and almost certainly a Jacobite rebellion.

For more than a year Walpole held out against popular clamour, but late in 1739 he declared war on Spain. Popular enthusiasm was

boundless, but Walpole saw further than the populace. "They are ringing their bells now," he said, "but they will soon be wringing their hands." The prophecy was fulfilled. Though *Vernon* sacked *Porto Bello* (1739), and *Anson* sailed on his famous voyage round the world (1739-1744), *Vernon's* attack on *Carthagen*a failed dismally (1741). The long peace had rendered England unfit for a great struggle; worse still, within three years of the beginning of the duel with Spain, England had been drawn into the general European *War of the Austrian Succession*. But before that disaster happened Walpole had fallen.

(C) THE FALL OF WALPOLE.

For many years Walpole's position had been growing more difficult. In his determination to be master he had driven his colleagues one by one into opposition. *Pulteney* had gone in 1725; *Townshend* had withdrawn in 1730; in 1731 *Carteret* went over to the enemy, and henceforward "the ablest head in England" led the attacks on the Government in the House of Lords. *Chesterfield*, too, had left him. The attacks of *Bolingbroke's Craftsman* were unabated, and were seconded by a host of writers, who had nothing to hope from the minister who used the money which in *Queen Anne's* days had provided pensions for worthy authors, for the more immediately useful purpose of buying votes. Nor had Walpole attracted any of the rising generation to his side. He laughed at the "Boy Patriots," as he called *Pitt* and *Henry Fox*. He told them bluntly that they would soon outgrow their early enthusiasms.

Walpole's influence at Court was fatally weakened in 1737, when the queen died at the very time when all elements of discontent gathered round the Prince of Wales, who had quarrelled with his father. The "Leicester House" Party, as it was called, attacked the weak points in Walpole's administration: his undoubted bribery and love of power. The charges of stealing public money were not true; nor had Walpole degraded his country in the eyes of Europe by his foreign policy. But these charges were diligently spread by the Opposition, and found ready belief among a nation which was tired of peace and furious at the arrogance of Spain.

Walpole ought to have resigned rather than declare war on Spain against his better judgment. But he remained in office. He had steered his country through so many critical times before that he expected to do so once again. As he himself said, "I never heard that it was a crime to hope for the best." A peace minister he was now conducting a war, in a false position. The Opposition redoubled the fury of its attacks, and at the General Election of 1741 the Government majority was seriously reduced. The Cornish "rotten" boroughs were turned against Walpole, and in those days Cornwall returned forty-four members (see p. 504). At last, in February 1742, the great minister was defeated on the *Chippenham Election debate*. Election disputes were settled by the House of Commons, and were then merely tests of party strength. Walpole saw that the House would no longer support him, and promptly resigned.

His fall was "the fall of a political system." For twenty-one years his policy had triumphed at home and abroad, and though it cannot be called inspiring it made Pitt's triumphs possible. He had given England peace as long as she wanted it; he had done more than any one man to develop the Party System and Cabinet Government, whether for good or for evil. Above all, he had firmly fixed the House of Hanover upon the throne. He had accomplished this too often by sordid means, by an exclusive regard to England's material interests; but he had done so because it was a material age. In his good as well as in his bad characteristics Walpole embodied the ideals and standards of his generation.

(D) THE WESLEYAN MOVEMENT.

Towards the end of Walpole's ministry there began a movement which profoundly affected society, morally and intellectually. The need for a religious revival was evident. The early eighteenth century was an age of rationalism. Enthusiasm was despised. Englishmen as a whole had "settled into the most cool indifference with regard to religious matters that is to be found in any nation in the world." This attitude was, after all, the natural reaction from the furious religious strifes of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but the results were evil. Moral standards sank to the level which is marked in some of *Hogarth's* pictures and *Smollett's* writings.

The apathy of the various churches of the time has perhaps been exaggerated. Sermons had degenerated into what *Addison* called "solid and elaborate discourses of piety," but there were many good and able men who were also ministers of religion, such as *Butler* and *Warburton*, while *Goldsmith's* portrait of the parson in "the humble parsonage" of the "Deserted Village" was even then no fancy picture. But on the whole religious enthusiasm was slack. The Church of England, no less than the great Nonconformist bodies, as a spiritual force was weak.

The first sign of change came with the publication of *William Law's* "Serious Call" to a more active form of Christianity (1729). That very year, *John Wesley*, while at Oxford, formed a society of "Methodists," as they were ironically called, including his brother *Charles*, the poet of the movement, and *Whitefield*, one of the greatest preachers of his time. Ten years later, John Wesley founded his society on a larger scale in London (1739). Its object was to convince men of their sins, from whose consequences nothing but conversion could save them. Wesley himself was a Churchman of a high and narrow type. It was not his wish that the Methodists should be separated from the Established Church. But the Anglican clergy refused to allow Methodist preachers to use their pulpits. The hostility of the clergy was not altogether strange. A vicar could not sympathise with a Methodist preacher, whose coming threw his parishioners into a state of religious excitement, and whose preaching in the churchyard left him discoursing to rapidly emptying pews in the church. Wesley, however, long strove to keep in touch with the Anglican Church, but the final breach came after the American War of Independence, when Wesley, having failed to persuade English bishops to consecrate his preachers, himself appointed Coke as superintendent of the American Methodists.

By their preaching the Methodists stirred up religious enthusiasm, though sometimes of an extravagant nature. They did much to quicken the zeal not only of the Anglican Church, but of the Nonconformist bodies. Methodism influenced all ranks—the Universities, the Inns of Courts, the Army, the workmen. For a time it was almost a fashion in "Society." In Wales it was triumphant; it obtained a great hold in America and in Ireland. Its influence in Scotland was, however, comparatively slight, probably because the

Kirk was still a living force. The value of the Methodist revival cannot be denied. It did more than anything else to check the spread in England of those anti-Christian ideas that helped so much to prepare the way for the French Revolution. John Wesley was in every way preferable to Voltaire (see page 471).

(E) WAR OF THE AUSTRIAN SUCCESSION.

At the time of Walpole's fall the Wesleyan movement had hardly begun. It had not as yet affected political methods. Nominally, chief political power fell into the nerveless hands of Sir Spencer Compton, now Lord *Wilmington* (1742-1743). *Pulteney*, as Earl of Bath, unfortunately for himself, retired to the Upper House, where Walpole, now Earl of Orford, greeted him with the remark that they had become the "two most insignificant men in the kingdom." The real leadership of the Whigs rested with *Carteret*, that man of great ideas who despised the detailed work which alone made their achievement possible. He was only in power for a few months, for in July 1743 *Wilmington*, his nominal chief, died. *Henry Pelham* came into power, and *Carteret* fell. But in his short term of office *Carteret* had yielded to George's German instincts and his own desire "to make kings and emperors" by openly taking part in the *War of the Austrian Succession*.

The war began on the death of the Emperor Charles vi. (1740). The promises of most of the European Powers to observe the Pragmatic Sanction, securing the hereditary Austrian dominions to the Emperor's daughter, *Maria Theresa*, were not worth the parchment on which they were written. The Elector Charles of Bavaria, who had not ratified the Pragmatic Sanction, was put up as Emperor by France; while *Frederick the Great* of Prussia, in defiance of all his pledges, attacked the Austrians and successfully occupied *Silesia*. Great Britain had little interest in the European war. Her real interests and quarrel lay in the naval war with Spain. But George's Hanoverian interests were strong; he had ratified the Pragmatic Sanction; above all, France was openly helping England's enemy, Spain. In 1743 Great Britain dashed into the fray. George and his grenadiers covered themselves with glory at *Dettingen*, and the return of *Anson* in the *Centurion* (1744) with an immense

store of plunder, gathered on his voyage round the world, threw a momentary gleam of popularity on the war. But in the next year the horizon was darkened. In spite of the gallantry of the British infantry, *Marshal Saxe* and his "Irish Brigade" defeated them at *Fontenoy*, while in the late summer of 1745 Walpole's prophecy that war was the Jacobites' chance proved true.

(F) REASONS FOR THE FAILURE OF THE "'45."

The rebellion of 1745 was more hopeless than that of 1715. English Jacobitism was really dead. The country had prospered under Walpole's guidance, and was in no mood for a change of dynasty. Scotland had realised the commercial benefits of the Union, and the Lowlanders with their growing wealth were more frightened than ever of the wild Highlanders. Presbyterians would not help a Catholic prince, and French aid was not forthcoming. A storm had wrecked the French squadron, which in 1744 was ready to escort the Young Pretender to Scotland. In 1745 Louis xv. was more interested in the Netherlands than in Scotland. Finally, the prince sailed without the leave of his father or the French king, and without troops, arms, or money. He landed at Moidart in the Western Highlands in July with seven followers. His personal charms, the prospects of plunder, and hatred of Argyle's Campbells rallied many of the clans to his standard. His motley host evaded *Sir John Cope*, the English leader, and in September the Young Pretender reached Edinburgh. He failed to take the Castle, but his Highlanders swept "Johnnie Cope's" troops before them at *Preston Pans*. The victors poured over the Border near Carlisle, and pushed on to Derby. The day when the Jacobites reached Derby was "Black Friday," indeed, for the capital. It is true that hardly an Englishman had joined the Stuart forces, but neither had the country shown any desire to sacrifice itself for George. Wade had an army in Yorkshire, and the Duke of Cumberland had another in Staffordshire, but nothing lay between Charles Edward and the capital except hastily gathered forces at Finchley. The quality of these troops may be judged from Hogarth's picture of them.

The Royal Family was ready to take ship for Hanover when the news came that the Jacobite army was retreating. The prince

was eager to make a dash for London; but his Highland chieftains quarrelled, the clansmen wanted to get their booty back to their glens, supplies were failing, and no assistance seemed likely to come from English Jacobites. The retreat was marked by the defeat of Hawley's troops at *Falkirk* (January 1746), but the arrival of the *Duke of Cumberland* changed the situation. He reorganised the English forces; the Highlanders drifted away from a hopeless and purposeless cause, and at last the Young Pretender was driven into a corner. On the rain-swept moor of *Culloden* his wet and famished clansmen dashed in vain against the disciplined ranks of Cumberland's overwhelming army. The prince himself escaped through the devotion of *Flora Macdonald* and the Highland peasantry, who refused to betray him even for the heavy price set on his head. His followers were less fortunate. Lords Kilmarnock and Balmerino were executed the same year, Lovat and Derwentwater suffered a year later, and the last victim, Dr. Cameron, was executed as late as 1753. Cumberland earned, perhaps unjustly, the title of "Butcher," by the thoroughness with which he suppressed the Highlands. The clansmen were forbidden to wear the kilt, the hereditary jurisdiction of the chieftains was bought, and with the spread of English arms, trade, and language the Scottish clan system was really broken up. Walpole had neglected the Highlands; the "Butcher" duke subdued them; Chatham afterwards won their loyalty by organising the hardy clansmen into the matchless Highland regiments.

Close of the European War.—During the Jacobite Rebellion England had carried on her war by land and sea as best she could. In 1745 *Louisbourg* and *Cape Breton* Island, at the mouth of the St. Lawrence, had been taken, though George seems to have valued them as little as his father had valued Gibraltar. In 1747 the British fleet was victorious off *Cape Finisterre* and *Ushant*; but in the Low Countries the "Butcher" Duke of Cumberland was beaten at *Lauffeld*. France, however, was exhausted, while Prussia, having secured Silesia, had lost interest in the war. England was anxious for peace, and an unsatisfactory treaty was made at *Aix-la-Chapelle* in 1748. Prussia was the sole gainer by the war, from which she emerged as a first-class Power. Austria lost Silesia; Parma went to a Spanish Bourbon. France, Spain, and England mutually restored their conquests. England regained *Madras*, which had been taken by the

French in 1746 (see page 440). But this was a slight return for all that she had given up in North America, a civil war at home, the undying hatred of Maria Theresa, and a greatly increased National Debt. The question of the right of search, the cause of the original war with Spain, was not even mentioned at Aix-la-Chapelle.

(G) RISE OF WILLIAM PITT.

The conduct of the later stages of the war had been hampered by differences between George and his ministers. The main trouble arose from the jealousy of the Earls Granville (Carteret) and Bath (Pulteney) for *Henry Pelham* and his brother the *Duke of Newcastle*, who in 1744 formed the *Broad-bottomed Ministry*. George disliked the Pelhams, who were continually urging the claims of the hated Pitt. Pitt had called Hanover a "beggarly electorate," and George half suspected that the Pelhams held the same opinion. This dislike of the king for his ministers partly explains the rapidly shifting cabinets of the period. The uncertain condition of the English political world from 1742 to 1760 explains the rest. The Whigs of Walpole's day were dying fast; the Tories no longer pretended to be Jacobites. The old party principles were now little more than election cries. The nation as a whole was apathetic. "I apprehend," wrote Horace Walpole, "that the people may look on and cry 'Fight dog! fight bear!' if they do no worse." In short, there was little to choose between either party. Whatever particular section of the Whigs was in office, parliamentary corruption was sure to be practised, and there was little hope that the Tories, in spite of virtuous talk, would be any better.

Henry Pelham was in power from 1743 to 1754. But in 1746 a ministerial crisis occurred. The king was not satisfied with the way in which the Pelhams were carrying on the war. He was above all determined to keep Pitt out of office. He foolishly consulted Granville and Bath without the knowledge of his ministers, who promptly resigned. A system of Cabinet Government demands that the Crown shall consult only responsible ministers on matters of state. With a rebellion in Scotland and a foreign war on hand the resignation of the Pelhams forced George to call them back to office, with power much increased by their victory, and, above all, with *William*

Pitt as Paymaster of the Forces and *Henry Fox* as Secretary of War. The "Boy Patriots" of Walpole's day had at last found their way to office.

The "*Patriot King*."—The Opposition was greatly weakened in 1751 by the death of Bolingbroke. His famous work, the *Patriot King*, lived after him. That pamphlet was an appeal to Englishmen to rally round a beneficent monarch, who should use the best men as ministers, irrespective of party. It was a natural reaction against the abuse of party government by the Whigs, and it gave the scattered Tories a new rallying-cry. The weak points in the scheme were the liability of human nature to error, and the fact that the only available Patriot King was the dissolute Frederick, Prince of Wales, and, failing him, his young son George. Luckily, Frederick died in the same year as Bolingbroke. His death was greeted by lampoons which showed the good-natured contempt which part at least of the nation showed towards the Royal Family in general, and for Frederick in particular.¹ It was reserved for "Farmer George" to make the House of Hanover really popular.

In spite of the weakened Opposition, the rest of Pelham's ministry was uneventful. It was marked only by two semi-religious storms. The first was raised by the alteration of the calendar (1752). By the omission of eleven imaginary days (September 3rd to 13th) the English calendar was brought into line with that adopted by the rest of Europe, except Russia. The "New Style" was disliked as a Catholic measure, and for many years a common election cry was, "Give us back our eleven days." Next year a Bill was hastily passed allowing Jews to become naturalised Englishmen, but was as hastily withdrawn in face of the popular clamour of "No Jews! no Jews! no wooden shoes!"

In 1754 Henry Pelham died, and his good-natured, commonplace brother, the *Duke of Newcastle*, became Prime Minister (1754-1756). That "living, walking, moving caricature," as Macaulay describes

¹ "Here lies poor Fred, who was alive and is dead.

Had it been his father, I had much rather;

Had it been his brother, still better than another;

Had it been his sister, nobody would have missed her;

Had it been the whole generation, so much the better for the nation.

But since it is poor Fred, who was alive and is dead,

There is no more to be said."

him, "always in a hurry," and "never in time," was powerful as the owner of many rotten boroughs and large family interests. In time of peace Newcastle might have managed very well, but unfortunately for him the signs of coming war were evident. George's first care was Hanover. He urged the payment of subsidies to Hesse, a German State whose staple product at that time was mercenaries. Pitt resisted the payment and was dismissed. Fox, in an evil hour for himself, deserted Pitt and became Secretary of State (1755). Pitt never forgave him.

(H) THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR (1756-1763).

The year 1756 was marked by the famous *Diplomatic Revolution*. Since the days of William III., with the exception of Walpole's *entente* with France, England's traditional policy had been alliance with Austria. That alliance was now useless. In the late War of the Austrian Succession, Maria Theresa had found England more lavish of advice than of money. She was determined to crush the upstart Frederick of Prussia, but English interests were no longer the same as her own. Austria, on the other hand, could do little to help England in her fight for commercial and maritime supremacy. The Austrian minister *Kaunitz* found more sympathetic allies in the Elector of Saxony and the *Czarina Elizabeth*, who were jealous of the rising power of Prussia. Kaunitz's great stroke was, however, an alliance with Austria's historic enemy, France.

Why, then, did England not confine herself to a naval war? George's Hanoverian interests and the traditional idea that England must have a continental ally led Newcastle in January 1756 to ally with the King of Prussia.¹ It was undoubtedly British gold that enabled Frederick to withstand the forces brought against him; and Pitt, who had in former years condemned the "subsidy system," on coming into office in 1757 cheerfully poured millions into the treasury at Berlin. There was much truth in his boast that he would "win America on the fields of Germany." Frederick's stubborn fight divided the power of France, who left her colonies to look after themselves. *Montcalm*, who appealed for aid to be sent to the French

¹ The Convention of Westminster guaranteeing the neutrality of each other's possessions.

in Canada, was told that "when the king's house is burning it is no time to trouble about his stables."

(I) WAR IN EUROPE.

The first blow was struck before the declaration of war by the capture of French transports taking troops to America (1755), but the actual war began in 1756 with Frederick's wonderful campaigns in Saxony and Silesia. It is unnecessary to trace these campaigns in detail. The Prussian defeats of *Hochkirk* (1758) and *Künersdorf* (1759) only affected England indirectly, though Frederick's crowning victories of *Leuthen*, and above all *Rosbach* (1757), did much to revive the spirits of his allies. The last-named battle especially, more than any one engagement, crippled the land power of England's great antagonist, France.

England's share in the war was at first disastrous. The news of Braddock's failure on the Ohio, at Fort Duquesne, and the tragedy of the Black Hole of Calcutta (see page 441), followed fast upon *Byng's* failure to save *Minorca* from the French. England was panic-stricken, and though popular fury was somewhat appeased by the execution of Byng, "to encourage the others," the idea steadily gained ground that England's days were numbered. Matters were made worse at home by the resignation of Newcastle (1756), by the break down of the Devonshire-Pitt administration (April 1757), and by the failure of Newcastle to form a Government without Pitt. Rather than turn to Pitt, for eleven weeks George kept the country without a ministry, but at last he yielded to popular clamour and necessity.¹ Pitt and Newcastle formed a ministry which guided Great Britain to victory. It was a union of "brains and patronage." Pitt borrowed the duke's parliamentary majority to "save this country." He gradually overcame the king's distrust, and George, having given Pitt his confidence, let him keep it. "Walpole," wrote Dr. Johnson, "was a minister given by the king to the nation; Pitt was a minister given by the nation to the king."

William Pitt.—The refined and supercilious Pitt was a complete contrast to the blunt, commonplace Walpole. It is true that Pitt was

¹ Newcastle-Pitt administration, 1757. Pitt resigned in 1761, Newcastle in 1762.

affected and theatrical in his manners, that he domineered over the House of Commons, and almost grovelled at the feet of the king. But here his weakness ended. In an age of political corruption he was almost ostentatiously pure; he set his face like flint against the jobbery and "family" politics of the Whigs. In one thing only were Pitt and Walpole alike: it was impossible to work with either of them. Walpole bullied and Pitt terrified many men into opposition. As might be expected, Pitt never had a party of his own in Parliament; but he won the confidence of the king and of the nation. Walpole had left the nation sunk in the sleep of material prosperity. Pitt awakened it to new ideals of self-sacrifice and imperial duty. He not only infused his own eager spirit into the army and navy, but even into the man in the street. Opposition died down before him—

"No more they make a fiddle-faddle
 About a Hessian horse or saddle,
 No more of continental measures,
 No more of wasting British treasures.
 Ten millions and a vote of credit!
 'Tis right. He can't be wrong who did it."

Men trusted Pitt because he trusted himself. "I am sure," he cried, that "I can save this country, and that no one else can." While he was at the helm Great Britain realised its unity and strength as never before.

Great Britain had "first engaged in a war and then began to prepare for it." This uncertainty ended when Pitt took charge. He had a definite and consistent plan to "bleed France white." Above all, he was bold enough to appoint commanders on the ground of merit. It was he who sent Wolfe and Amherst to America, Clive and Eyre Coote to India, Hawke and Boscawen and Rodney to command the fleet, Ferdinand of Brunswick to help Frederick on the continent. It was objected that Wolfe was mad. George remarked, "I wish he would bite some of my other generals."

Pitt's "madmen" carried all before them. The first months of his ministry, it is true, were marked by the capitulation of the Duke of Cumberland at *Klosterseven*; but then, the "Butcher Duke" was not one of Pitt's appointments. From the middle of 1757 till

1763, however, the series of victories was unbroken. At sea, *Hawke* broke the naval power of France at *Carthagena* and the *Basque Roads* (1758), at *Lagos* and *Quiberon Bay* (1759). In that "wonderful year" (1759) *Brunswick* crushed the French at *Minden* and completed the work of *Rosbach*. From America and India the news of successes came in so fast that Horace Walpole had "to ask every morning what fresh victory there was, for fear of missing one."

(J) THE WAR IN NORTH AMERICA AND INDIA.

The Seven Years' War was for Great Britain mainly a final outburst of a long-continued struggle between French and English settlers in North America and India. The English "plantations" in America stretched in a long line from Acadie (Nova Scotia) in the north to Georgia in the south. The Hudson Bay Company, founded in 1670, had trading stations and block-houses to the north of French Canada, but they were isolated and comparatively unimportant. In the actual English colonies, population and wealth were growing rapidly, but the settlers were in danger of being hemmed in by the French behind the Alleghany Mountains. France held the St. Lawrence River. The discoveries of Grossailler and Lasalle in the seventeenth century had given her the Mississippi (Louisiana). Under the able leadership of *Duquesne* she was rapidly securing a hold upon the Ohio and the Great Lakes. Constant fighting took place between the rival colonists. The boundary line of Acadie, ceded to England by the Treaty of Utrecht, was the source of endless trouble. The military governors of New France and the Jesuits, those "clerical police," stirred up the French Canadians and, worse still, the Indians against the New Englanders. In the War of the Austrian Succession the British had taken *Louisbourg*, "the key of the St. Lawrence," but had restored it at Aix-la-Chapelle. That peace to the American colonists was but nominal. Both sides were ready to fly at each other's throats.

Open war in America began disastrously for the British. *General Braddock*, with a mixed force of British and colonials—among them a young Virginian officer named *George Washington*—were beaten off *Fort Duquesne*, on the Ohio River. Two years later, however, a second attempt was successful, *Fort Duquesne* becoming *Pittsburg*

(1758). Next year the French "Lake forts" of *Crown Point* and *Ticonderoga* fell, and the iron ring which bound the British colonies was broken. 1759 also saw the capture of *Quebec* by *Wolfe*. That city, the capital of French Canada, seemed impregnable. For weeks the British lay before it, till at last *Wolfe* saw his way clear. Slipping past the city in boats, the British landed at *Wolfe's Cove*, and crept up a winding path on the face of the cliff. In the grey of the morning, *Montcalm*, the French commander, saw to his dismay the thin red line drawn up on the *Plains of Abraham* above the city. The French fought gallantly; *Montcalm* fell sword in hand, but the British and Colonials were irresistible. The French were broken, and although *Wolfe* "died happy" in the moment of victory,



Quebec was taken. Next year *Montreal* followed suit, and Canada was at last in British hands. The very victory, however, paved the way for the loss of the original British plantations. Hitherto fear of the French had bound them to England. Now that fear was gone it remained to be seen how long they would remain loyal.

The War in India.—France and England were also rivals in India. The English *East India Company*, founded in 1600, was by the middle of the eighteenth century still a purely trading concern. It had "factories" (trading stations), protected by small forts, at Madras, Bombay, and Calcutta, round which a few acres of land were rented from the neighbouring Nawabs. Since the death of *Aurangzebe* (1707) the power of the Great Mogul of Delhi,

though it was nominally supreme in India, had faded to the "shadow of a name." The real power lay in the hands of his vassals, the Nawabs. India was a prey to the worst evils of a decaying feudal system. The jarring ambitions of these princes plunged her into confusion, which was worse confounded by the raids of the fierce *Mahrattas* of the North-West. No one in 1740 would have prophesied that the British East India Company would one day rule the entire peninsula, with its myriad races, tongues, and religions, especially as the influence of that Company seemed doomed to die away before the rising power of France. France had trading stations and forts on the Hoogly at *Chandernagore* and at *Pondicherry* near Madras. Her fleet was strong in eastern waters. Under the leadership of *Labourdonnais*, governor of Mauritius, and *Dupleix*, governor of Pondicherry, she aimed at crushing her English rival. Labourdonnais, in 1746, took Madras, and thus unwittingly decided *Clive* to take service in the motley army of the English Company. But Dupleix was the moving spirit of the French. His ambition was to establish a French Empire from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin. It was he who first saw the possibilities of training native Sepoys under European officers; it was he who began the policy of supporting one or other of the claimants to the much-disputed Indian thrones. Under his guidance the French practically gained control of the *Carnatic* (a great district in the south-east), and impressed the natives with the idea that the French arms were irresistible. That spell was broken by *Robert Clive*, with whose name the establishment of British supremacy will always be associated. Sent out as a clerk in the service of the Company at Madras, the moody, hot-tempered youth thrice attempted to take his own life. But he was "out of measure addicted to fighting," and at last he found his true calling as the leader of armies. With a handful of English and Sepoys he went to the assistance of one of the rival Nawabs of the Carnatic, and gallantly defended *Arcot* against the French nominee and his French auxiliaries (1751). The defence of the capital of the Carnatic saved Southern India from falling into the hands of the French. For three years, more or less constant fighting took place. Led by Clive and *Major Lawrence*, the British defeated the French outside Madras, and in 1754 Dupleix was recalled in disgrace by the king who had so wickedly neglected

him. Then came a lull in the conflict. The question of supremacy was by no means settled; but it was due to Clive that there was any such question at all. The Indians muttered that Clive's soldiers "were of a different race from the British whom they found elsewhere."

The outbreak of the Seven Years' War in Europe led to a renewal of the struggle in India. As in Europe and America, disaster at first overtook the British. *Surajah Dowlah*, Nawab of Bengal, nominally a friend of the French but really jealous of the growing wealth and power of the English traders at *Calcutta*, seized that factory, and imprisoned 146 English men, women, and children in a small room (18 feet by 14 feet) for one long, sweltering Indian night. At the break of day 123 of them were found dead. The story of the "Black Hole" aroused a storm of indignation in England, but it was swiftly followed by news of vengeance. At *Plassey* (June 1757), Clive with a small mixed force of British and Sepoys routed the unwieldy Asiatic host of the Nawab, with its train of great cannon pulled by oxen and pushed by elephants, and worked by a staff of French gunners. All Bengal now fell under the sway of "John Company." Clive by force, not unmixed with guile, set a sham Nawab on the throne, and gave orders in the form of advice.

French influence was, however, still strong in the south. In 1758, *Lally*, a member of an Irish Jacobite family long settled in France, took command and succeeded in capturing Fort St. David at Madras. But though personally brave, he was not so statesman-like as Dupleix. He quarrelled with the native princes, and was finally beaten by *Sir Eyre Coote* at *Wandewash* (1760). The French power in India was shattered; while the defeat of the Nawab of Oudh at the hands of *Munro* at *Buxar* (1764) made the Company supreme in North-Eastern India.

Death of George II.—In 1760, in the full tide of victory, George II. died. The new king was determined to govern on a different system in England. It was therefore inevitable that a different policy should be pursued abroad by the speedy closing of the Seven Years' War.

CHAPTER XLIX.

GEORGE III. (1760-1820).

PART I. (1760-1783).

(A) THE accession of George III. hastened (B) the close of the Seven Years' War and the fall of the Whig oligarchy. George determined to govern by (C) the royal "system," which resulted in England in troubles centring round the name of Wilkes, and led to (D) the rise of modern Radicalism. At home George's rule was fairly successful, especially when Lord North became minister (1770-1782). Unluckily for the king, however, his "system" was faced by (E) new imperial problems in Canada and in the original English colonies in North America. As a result, (F) the war of American Independence broke out, ending with foreign intervention. In the face of many difficulties, Great Britain's hold on (G) India was maintained by Clive and Warren Hastings, but (H) Ireland took advantage of the situation to secure home rule. Disasters at home and abroad forced North to resign, and (I) George's system broke down. For a time the king had to turn to the coalition ministry of Fox and North, but at last he summoned the younger William Pitt to his councils.

(A) CHARACTER OF GEORGE III.

YOUNG, honest, with great powers to please, an Englishman born and bred, the young king was welcomed by a nation worked up to a pitch of enthusiasm by the "glorious year 1759." Jacobitism was dead. Whig and Tory alike rallied round the

monarchy, and George took his duties seriously. He intended to govern well from a British rather than from a Hanoverian point of view. He himself said that "he gloried in the name of Britain." There was, however, a less pleasing side to his character. Not only did he at times show signs of insanity, but, like all his family, he had a stubborn will, which had been made more stubborn by his training. His father, "poor Fred," had died while George was a mere boy. His death was not all loss to George, but it left him to the care of his mother, a pious but narrow-minded woman, and his tutor, John Stuart, *Earl of Bute*. These two were quite unfit to train a future king. They had no knowledge of public business, but they never allowed the young prince to meet men of the world who could teach him how a king of the House of Hanover should act.

The Royal "System."—As a result of his education, George, on his accession, had a great idea of his own wisdom and a too small estimation of that of other people. He felt quite capable of carrying out his mother's behest, "George, be king." He determined to govern as well as reign, to choose his own advisers irrespective of party, and to make them responsible not to each other in the Cabinet, nor to Parliament, but to himself alone. In short, he was to be the "Patriot King" in action. George was the last English king to impose his own views to any great extent on the nation. Such a "system" was death to the growing rule of the Cabinet. To maintain it George needed votes in Parliament, and votes were only to be had in return for money or patronage. Hitherto the charge of corruption had been directed against the Whigs, who had dispensed the royal patronage for party ends. George now determined to dispense the Crown patronage himself, and to descend to Whig methods to secure the "King's Friends"—that "garrison of king's men," as Burke called them—who voted in Parliament for or against the administration according to the direction of the Crown. In order to overthrow the party system, George had really to become the head of a party.

The king's party was to be formed to support ministers of the king's unfettered choice. Much depended on George's first selection. Was he going to "burn Newcastle coal, Pitt coal, or Scotch coal?" George decided on Scotch coal, and Bute became

Secretary of State. He was no fool, but was quite inexperienced, and unpopular as a Scot, while his jerky, "minute-gun" style of speaking was ill-calculated to sway a Cabinet or a Parliament accustomed to the fiery torrent of Pitt's eloquence.

(B) CONCLUSION OF THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR.

On Bute's entry trouble at once arose in the Cabinet. Bute represented George's double aim—the overthrow of government by Whig family connection and its necessary preliminary, peace. Fortunately for both these objects, there was a growing feeling of dismay in the country at Pitt's scale of warfare. In spite of all the glory, men asked when England was going to enjoy the fruits of her victories. Pitt refused to listen to the clamour, on the grounds that Great Britain must fight on till Frederick gained his promised terms. Above all, "*Gallia delenda est.*" Matters came to a head when Pitt in 1761 demanded war with Spain. Whether or no he knew of the *Third Family Compact* signed that year, he felt that the Bourbons of Madrid must soon come to the help of the Bourbons of Versailles. Their interests were the same, and Pitt's policy was to strike at the Bourbons wherever he saw them. Bute's peace policy won the day, and Pitt, unsupported by any party of his own, resigned.

Early in 1762 Newcastle followed him, partly because Bute withdrew the Prussian subsidy, partly because the king was rapidly taking all patronage out of his hands. Hardly had he retired than Pitt's forecast came true. War broke out with Spain, and England had failed to nip it in the bud. Nevertheless, British fleets took *Havannah* (Cuba) and *Manila* (Philippines). These successes failed to check the royal desire for peace. A "vote manufactory" was organised by *Henry Fox*, and by the strenuous use of secret service money the House of Commons was induced to ratify the *Peace of Paris* (1763). In some ways the Peace was satisfactory. Great Britain secured Canada and some rich West Indian Islands, including Granada. She exchanged Havannah for Florida and Belleisle for Minorca, thus strengthening her hold on the Mediterranean and Caribbean Seas. But considering the blood and treasure she had poured out, and the fact that the supremacy of her fleets put the

game into her hands, she had given her enemies easy terms. France regained her Indian factories on the Hoogly and at Pondicherry. In American waters she recovered Martinique and St. Pierre, while a fruitful source of quarrel was left untouched in the question of French and English fishing rights off Newfoundland, which had not been settled by the Treaty of Utrecht. Spain regained the Philippines without compensation to England. Bute was no match for the French diplomatist *Choiseul*; but even so, had he not been so eager for peace at any price, Britain's gains must have been greater. The Bourbon powers had not been broken as Pitt desired. They had their revenge in the American War of Independence. Finally, the desertion of Frederick the Great was worse than a crime; it was a blunder. Frederick's position was rendered critical, but the death of the Czarina and the accession of Peter, a "military lunatic" and admirer of all things Prussian, saved him. He was enabled to beat off the rest of his enemies and to retain Silesia (1763). He also retained an undying hatred for Great Britain. From 1763 till the time of the younger Pitt, Great Britain stood alone; but the Seven Years' War had ensured British instead of French domination in North America and India, and had left the island state mistress of the seas.

The Rise of Prussia till the death of Frederick the Great.—The rise of Prussia is one of the features of eighteenth-century history. The House of Hohenzollern dates its greatness from the time of Frederick William, the *Great Elector* of Brandenburg, who guided his country through the perils of the 'Thirty Years' War, consolidated his power in his scattered dominions from the Rhine to the Vistula, and later by his victory over the Swedes at *Fehrbellin* (1675) established Brandenburg as a military state. His son did little beyond gain the royal title (1701), while his successor, "half Moloch, half Puck," though he gained a foothold on the Baltic at Stettin, spent most of his time in collecting a regiment of giant grenadiers and organising the army, of which his son made such skilful use. Under *Frederick the Great*, the friend of Voltaire, Prussia became the leading power in North Germany. Beyond a taste for writing indifferent French verses, Frederick had few weaknesses. He was a man of iron will and no scruples. In spite of his promises, he plundered Maria Theresa of Silesia, and held it against the attacks of half Europe.

Nothing but his military genius, tenacity of purpose, and the dogged resistance of the Prussian people enabled him to survive the Seven Years' War. Prussia emerged from that war not only as a first-class power, but as a power of a new type based upon the army. The whole country was organised to support the finest fighting machine in Europe. In the narrower sphere of German politics, Frederick had raised Prussia to a position of equality with the ancient leader of Germany, Austria. He was able to compete with her on equal terms for the spoils of Poland—West Prussia and the mouth of the Vistula. William I. and Bismarck, after Sadowa (1866), completed the work begun by Frederic by forcing Austria out of Germany altogether (see p. 533).

(C) DEVELOPMENT OF GEORGE'S "SYSTEM."

The resignation of Pitt and Newcastle and the conclusion of the Treaty of Paris were triumphs for George's theory of government. His mother cried, "Now my son is King of England," but her son's victory was unfortunate. It led to conflicts between the Crown, Parliament, and nation at home. Abroad the older American Colonies were lost, and Ireland almost followed their example.

Results of the Royal "System" in England.—In the spring of 1763 Bute resigned. His work was done. The Whig phalanx was broken, and peace reigned in Europe. Moreover, he was a Scot, and a "Patriot King" could not afford to have an unpopular minister. It is not necessary to follow in detail the bewildering ministerial changes of the years 1762–1770.¹ Complete victory did not come to George till North became Prime Minister (1770), but in all the changes previous to North's ascendancy the determination of the king is plain. He must be master in his own kingdom. Bute made way for *Grenville*, whose dry legal harangues drove the king to distraction. His administration was disastrous. His narrow legal mind led him into collision with the American Colonies (see p. 453); his unwise economy weakened the all-important navy; while his very zeal for his sovereign plunged the Crown and

¹ Bute was Prime Minister, 1762–1763; Grenville, 1763–1765; Rockingham (head of the official Whigs), 1765–1766; Chatham and Grafton, 1766–1770.

Parliament into that inglorious maze of personal, constitutional, and political quarrels which centre round the name of Wilkes.

No. 45 of the "North Briton."—It is a pity that *John Wilkes* ever had the chance of posing as a popular hero. It is true that he was able and witty, but he was an immoral scamp, and, but for his persecution by the Government, would never have emerged from kindly obscurity. As it was, from 1763 till 1771 he became the focus of discontent against the Crown and its ministers. In *No. 45 of the "North Briton"* newspaper, Wilkes violently attacked the King's Speech. Though the ministers were and are responsible for that speech, George chose to look upon Wilkes' language as an insult to himself, and ordered his prosecution. Though a member of Parliament and therefore not liable to arrest while Parliament was sitting, except for felony or a breach of the peace, Wilkes was arrested on a General Warrant, which specified no cause for arrest. He successfully pleaded privilege of Parliament; the Chief Justice pronounced General Warrants illegal, and Wilkes was released amid popular rejoicings. George and Grenville, however, attacked him through the subservient House of Commons, which voted "*No. 45*" a false and seditious libel, and declared that privilege of Parliament did not protect members from arrest for such offences. In spite of the popular cries of "*Wilkes and Liberty!*" Wilkes found it prudent to escape to France. He was solemnly expelled from the House and outlawed, while his Parliamentary supporters, Colonels Barré and Conway, were deprived of their commissions in the army. It was a sign that George would use Fear as well as Hope to secure the working of his system in Parliament.

George shared the unpopularity which the Wilkes prosecution brought upon his ministers. He vainly tried to induce Pitt to lend his great name to the ministry; but Pitt was ill with gout, and publicly jeered at Grenville. That minister's almost excusable folly in passing the *Stamp Act* (see p. 453) had raised disturbances in the American Colonies which reacted unfavourably upon England. Moreover, he bored the king with his lectures, and also insulted him by refusing to include George's mother in the list of possible Regents, in case the king's threatened insanity became serious. George looked round for another minister. After all his manœuvring he

was forced to fall back upon the moderate Whigs. The high-minded and tactful *Rockingham* was the only alternative to Grenville, and as George said "I would sooner see the devil in my closet than Mr. Grenville," Rockingham duly became minister.

Rockingham's "lute-string ministry, fit only for summer wear," held out for a year. Pitt refused to join it; he hated government by "connection." George disliked it because, as a government by great families, it was a departure from his "system." One tower of strength Rockingham found in the fiery, excitable Irishman, *Edmund Burke*. Burke was one of the most notable men of his own or any other day. He combined with an extraordinary reverence for the past, a bitter hatred for the abuses which had gathered round established institutions. In all his speeches, whether on American Taxation, on the evils of the royal "system" or on the French Revolution, the same appeal to experience runs side by side with the condemnation of abstract theories in politics. Burke was in the political, what John Wesley was in the religious world. Wesley fought the revolutionary atheism of the age; Burke fought the equally revolutionary tendency to reduce politics to logical rules. As a speaker, in spite of his splendid eloquence, he usually bored the House of Commons. Burke, it was said, spoke pamphlets, and Fox wrote debates. But if Burke spoke to emptying benches, his published speeches are among the most valuable contributions to practical politics in the language.

The ministry to which Burke lent his support had but a short tenure of office. Rockingham repealed the hated Stamp Act (1766), but George took the first opportunity of getting rid of the ministry. In 1766, Pitt, the "Great Commoner" no longer, took office as the *Earl of Chatham*, under the nominal leadership of that cultured sportsman the *Duke of Grafton*. The Cabinet was "a diversified piece of mosaic." When Chatham was present, his overbearing manners made it impossible for men to work with him; when he was absent, the Cabinet almost went to pieces. Any control that there was fell into the hands of *Charles Townshend*, a brilliant but unscrupulous orator who aimed at leading the House by carrying out its wishes. In conjunction with *Shelburne*, the shifty, unpopular Secretary of State, he laid those import duties on the American Colonies which paved the way for the War of Independence (see p. 453). He

died next year, and was succeeded as Chancellor of the Exchequer by *Lord North*, a Tory prepared to take his orders from the Crown. Chatham resigned; the difficulties of the administration multiplied. The American Colonies were riotous; there were troubles in Ireland (see p. 462); and finally, in 1769, Wilkes returned to plague the authorities.

Wilkes and Liberty.—The General Election of 1768 is memorable for the entry of *Charles James Fox* into Parliament. The elections were accompanied by much violence. The price of bread was high at the time; many workmen were out on strike. George chose this time for attacking Wilkes once more. As an outlaw he was sent to prison on his return to England. Mobs accompanied him to the gates. A riot occurred. One or two persons were killed, and Wilkes from his prison stirred up popular fury by an elaborate account of the Massacre of St. George's Fields. On his release he was returned for Middlesex. The Commons, as they had a right to do, declared him incapable of sitting for the present Parliament. Three times he was re-elected. The third time the Commons declared that his defeated rival, *Colonel Luttrell*, "ought to have been returned." Thus, by the resolution of one House, the electors of Middlesex were deprived of their votes. The tyranny of Parliament bade fair to be as obnoxious as the despotism of the Stuarts, and, according to the royal "system," Parliament was controlled by the Crown. Well might Burke say that "the distempers of Monarchy were the great subjects of apprehension and redress in the last century; in this, the distempers of Parliament."

(D) RISE OF MODERN RADICALISM.

The rise of Modern Radicalism may fairly be said to have begun with the Middlesex election dispute. Petitions poured in protesting against the action of the House, but they were unheeded. Since Parliament was out of touch with the nation, it was natural that a cry for reform should arise. The "*Letters of Junius*" in the *Public Advertiser*, almost certainly from the pen of *Philip Francis*, attacked the ministry and king in most unmeasured language. A movement for radical reform began. Wilkes and that parson demagogue, Horne Tooke, founded the "Bill of Rights Society" advocating

annual Parliaments, the exclusion of place-holders, and the right of electors to give mandates to their representatives.

There was much to be said for their last proposal. It was very difficult for constituents to see that their member was guarding their interests. In the seventeenth century Parliament had insisted upon secrecy of debates from fear of the Crown. In the eighteenth century that once necessary privilege was still jealously guarded. Debates were reported outside the House by all kinds of strange devices (see p. 422). In 1771 the question came to a head. The "unreported House of Commons" attacked a certain Miller for printing reports of debates. A long and confused fight raged between the House and the City, led by "that devil Wilkes," as George called him. The House of Commons gained its point, but at such a cost that from that time onwards it has acquiesced in the publication of reports.

In Parliament the movement for Parliamentary Reform spread. Already in 1745 the dissolute *Sir Francis Dashwood* had urged the cause. Now in 1770 *Chatham* proposed that the number of county members should be increased. From 1776 onwards *Wilkes* and the *Duke of Richmond* brought in annual motions for reform; while on three occasions (1782, '83, '85) the younger *Pitt* proposed to buy out the holders of "pocket-boroughs." There is no doubt that the Reform Act of 1832 would have been anticipated had not the French Revolution wrecked the cause of reform in England for half a century. The Rockingham Whigs, however, did not advocate radical changes in the constitution. Their opinions were voiced by *Burke* in his *Thoughts on the Causes of the Present Discontents*. He laid those discontents at the king's door. George's system, the absence of ministerial responsibility, and the "garrison of King's Friends" in the House ruined all healthy party government. The weakness of Parliament lay, not in its unrepresentative character, but in the temptations of bribery to which its members were exposed. Economic reform and party government was Burke's cure for the "distempers of Parliament."

Lord North's Ministry (1770-1782).—For the present Parliamentary reform was successfully shelved by the king and his ministers. Tactful, able, a good debater, North was a good Parliamentary leader. He was a minister after George's own heart; quite willing

to take his orders from the king, and stolid enough to bear the opposition which the execution of those orders called forth. It was the moment of George's triumph, and the *Departmental System* prevailed whereby ministers looked to the king rather than the Cabinet for instructions. For twelve years George ruled through North. Within three years serious opposition in Parliament was at an end. As the excitement over the Wilkes case died away, the ministry became popular in the country. At home George's "system" was apparently successful. Abroad its influence was disastrous, and reacted with fatal effects on its working in England.

(E) NEW IMPERIAL PROBLEMS.

Canada.—Much of the blame for the disasters which befell the Empire belongs to the king, who was really responsible for his ministry's policy. The Empire was larger and more vulnerable than before. After the Peace of Paris, the British Colonies in America stretched along the coast from Florida to Hudson Bay. In the Hudson Bay Company Territory there was little attempt at regular settlement. "Old" Canada had just been acquired by Great Britain—that is, the Canada between the Great Lakes and the mouth of the St. Lawrence. The great plains rolling westward to the Rockies were then looked upon as only fit for Indians and buffaloes. The vast proportion of the inhabitants of "Old" Canada were French Catholics, hostile to their conquerors on religious and political grounds. After the Peace (1763), a Governor had been temporarily appointed by the king. The arrangement could not last. The French Canadians were uneasy; New England settlers were pouring in, and there was danger of a repetition of the agrarian and religious troubles which have afflicted Ireland. Fortunately *Sir Guy Carleton* (afterwards Lord Dorchester), Governor of Quebec, in spite of furious opposition in England and the American Colonies, persuaded the Parliament at Westminster to pass the *Quebec Act* of 1774. Free exercise of Roman Catholicism was granted, tithes were secured to the Catholic clergy, and French law was applied to all civil cases. The Quebec Act saved Canada for the Empire. The Catholic priests exercised their immense influence to keep their congregations loyal during the War of Independence.

"The Old Thirteen."—British policy towards Canada was as wise as its policy towards its other American Colonies was foolish. Except for the descendants of the Dutch, Swedish, and Huguenot settlers in the "Middle Colonies," the inhabitants were mainly of British blood. They needed very careful handling. Great Britain was six weeks' voyage distant. The Colonists' ignorance of the Mother Country was only equalled by her ignorance of them. They were rapidly growing in numbers. The farming and fisheries of the North, the rice, cotton, and tobacco of the South, brought them wealth, and wealth increased that "fierce spirit of liberty" which their training and traditions engendered. The New England Colonies were largely peopled by the descendants of those men who had crossed the sea in the days of the Stuarts to secure religious and political independence. Their religion was, as Burke said, "the Protestantism of the Protestant religion"; their politics were democratic. In the South the descendants of English gentlemen and adventurers cultivated their estates by slave labour. Freedom was to them part of their pride of race and colour (see p. 531).

The Old Colonial System.—Great Britain, then as now, treated her Colonies with more wise liberality than any other nation. Each Colony managed its own affairs through an elective Assembly, whose powers were limited by Royal Charter and a royally appointed Governor. Great Britain also controlled colonial trade in accordance with the rules of the *Old Colonial System*. The main ideas of that system were that there should be no competition between different parts of the same Empire; and that trade should be carried on in British—including colonial—ships. In accordance with the first idea certain industries were closed to the Colonists, *e.g.* iron-founding; on the other hand, the cultivation of tobacco was forbidden in England and Ireland. Secondly, Imperial trade was regulated by *Navigation Acts*. Certain "enumerated articles" only produced in the Colonies had to be brought to England; heavy duties were laid on all goods entering the Colonies from anywhere except England; while colonial trade with foreign colonies was forbidden. This system of trade regulation was not the cause of the War of Independence. The Colonists were used to it; the British navy protected their commerce: they certainly flourished under it. They had little cause for complaint so long as the authorities winked at their smuggling

trade. Though there had been discontent with Great Britain before George's day, the great value of their trade with Britain, lack of cohesion amongst themselves, and, above all, fear of the French in Canada, had bound the Colonists to the motherland. The French danger was now gone, and at that very time George abandoned the well-tryed policy of "salutary neglect" and began to apply his "system" to the American Colonies.

American Taxation.—The struggle centred round the old question of taxation without representation. There is much to be said for George's determination to tax the Colonies. Great Britain had just waged a costly war, largely in their interests. During the actual struggle the Colonies had assisted her, but it remained to be seen whether they would help to maintain the necessarily increased number of men and ships in time of peace. Great Britain had an undoubted legal right to tax her Colonies, and that was enough for *Grenville's* legal mind. The question of expediency never troubled him. He passed the *Stamp Act* (1765). Government stamps of varying prices had to be affixed to all legal documents, such as contracts and wills, in the Colonies. The Colonists were thus called upon to pay a direct tax for revenue purposes without having been consulted in the matter at all. Their indignation was deep and noisy. It was fanned by agitators like *James Otis* and *Samuel Adams* in the North, and *Patrick Henry* in the South. Mobs wrecked the Stamp Offices; business was carried on without the stamps that made contracts legally binding; British trade was largely boycotted. *Rockingham* withdrew the hated statute (1766), but ruined the concession by declaring Parliament's undoubted right to tax the Colonies (*Declaratory Act*).

"The reproducer of this fatal scheme" was Grafton's Chancellor of the Exchequer, *Charles Townshend*. In 1767 he laid customs duties on various goods, British as well as foreign, entering American ports. These duties were frankly intended to raise revenue, not merely to regulate trade. All the agitation began again on the old lines. Matters were made worse when the authorities began to interfere with the cherished smuggling trade with the French and Spanish West Indies. Most of the duties were withdrawn in 1770, but George refused to give way altogether, and the tea-duty was retained as a matter of principle. American discontent was kept alive.

Mobs and Provincial Assemblies alike protested ; British troops were insulted, and at last (1773) a gang of men, disguised as Indians, boarded the tea-ships and emptied their cargoes into Boston harbour.

England loudly clamoured for the punishment of those who had taken part in the "Boston Tea-party." Lord North cancelled the Charter of Massachusetts and closed the port of Boston. The General Election of 1774 endorsed the royal policy. The mass of Englishmen believed with the king that "if we take the resolute part, they will undoubtedly be very meek." But Chatham supported the Colonists' view that they "had lost no rights by their emigration." Neither he nor they denied that the British Parliament could legislate for them ; both denied that Parliament could tax unrepresented Englishmen on either side of the Atlantic. Burke was more logical and more far-sighted. He admitted that Parliament could tax the Colonists ; he denied its wisdom in enforcing its right. "The question with me is not," said he, "what a lawyer tells me I may do, but what reason and justice tell me I ought to do."

(F) WAR OF INDEPENDENCE.

The king, however, held that "the die is cast ; we must not turn back." The die was soon cast with a vengeance. A *Continental Congress* met at Philadelphia (September 1774). Georgia alone of all the Colonies was unrepresented. That Congress, with no legal basis and with questionable powers, under the leadership of *Samuel Adams*, gave the Colonists the bond of union which they had hitherto lacked. The majority of Colonists had at that time no idea of independence. But the storm gathered fast. Both sides began to arm. The inevitable collision took place at *Lexington* (1775), where the British found that the Colonists, like the Boers of a later date, understood the twin arts of shooting and taking cover.

The motley British and Hanoverian army at Boston was commanded at first by *Gage*, and then by *Howe*. Congress gave the hazardous task of commanding the American troops to a Virginian gentleman who had already seen service in the Seven Years' War. No better man could have been chosen than *George Washington*. Honest, unselfish, and public spirited, he had an eye for men, and unlimited powers of making the best of a bad business. And the



Explanation of numbers on the map—

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|-------------------|------------------|------------------|
| 1. New Hampshire. | 5. New York. | 9. Delaware. |
| 2. Massachusetts. | 6. Pennsylvania. | 10. Virginia. |
| 3. Rhode Island. | 7. New Jersey. | 11. N. Carolina. |
| 4. Connecticut. | 8. Maryland. | 12. S. Carolina. |
| | 13. Georgia. | |

army of which he was General was a bad business indeed. The great mistake the British commanders made was in giving him time to drill his undisciplined, cantankerous, and ill-provided levies into an army.

Gage's unnecessarily costly victory of *Bunker's Hill* dispelled all doubt that the Americans would fight. Their attack on Canada, however, failed. At one time Quebec was in danger, but Carleton rallied to his side the French Canadians and the crowds of American "loyalists" who were flocking into New Brunswick to escape the persecution of the "Sons of Liberty" in the "Old Thirteen."

Canada was saved to the Empire, but the idea of separation from Great Britain daily gained ground elsewhere. The employment of German troops and Howe's evacuation of Boston (1776) stimulated the tendency, which received its final impetus from the publication of *Tom Paine's* "Common Sense." On July 4th, 1776, Congress signed the *Declaration of Independence*, transforming the thirteen Colonies into the United States of America. For many months the new-born Union had to fight against apathy, jealousy of state for state, lack of supplies and of disciplined forces. Its very existence was imperilled by defeats on the *Brandywine* and at *Philadelphia*. But Washington held on grimly, and at last the tide turned, when *Burgoyne* was forced to surrender at *Saratoga* (1777). That victory made final success possible for the Americans. It was assured to them by foreign intervention.

Foreign Intervention.—Great Britain's extremity was Europe's opportunity. "Every nation in Europe," it was said, "wishes to see Britain humbled, having all in turn been offended by her insolence." The Bourbons had never ceased to long for revenge for the humiliations of the Seven Years' War. At last the chance had come. France declared war on England (1778). The same year her arch enemy Chatham died, with his last breath urging his countrymen to fight on to prevent "the dismemberment of this most ancient and glorious monarchy." Spain joined France in 1779, and Holland a year later. At the same time Catherine of Russia formed the *Armed Neutrality of the North* (cp. p. 481) to limit Great Britain's supremacy in the Baltic (1780). Washington recognised that "the navy had the casting vote in this war." The vote was given against Great Britain. She lost command of the sea. The Channel itself was hardly safe. Her troops were cut off in America, and it was

only a question of time before the Americans wore them down. The surrender of *Cornwallis* to the "rebels" and the French fleet at *Yorktown* (1781) assured the Independence of the United States. It is true that the last stages of the war were brightened by *Rodney's* victory over *de Grasse* in the West Indies, where "God had given him the enemy on the lee bow." Rodney's victory was almost outshone by *Eliot's* three years' long defence of Gibraltar against the floating batteries and combined navies of France and Spain. Eliot's red-hot shot saved the Key of the Mediterranean. Otherwise the war was disastrous for Great Britain. She paid the price of defeat at the *Treaty of Versailles* (1783). The Independence of the United States was recognised; Spain recovered Minorca and Florida; France regained her East Indian establishments, and there was a general interchange of West Indian islands.

The question arises as to whether Great Britain could have retained the "Old Thirteen" much longer in any case. Canada did remain loyal in the time of stress, and the number of loyalists in the United States was very great, though their sufferings at the hands of the "rebel" Colonists were heavy. The Declaration of Independence was the work of a strong minority. Had the complete direction of affairs at home been in the hands of a man like Chatham or Burke, who understood the Colonists, or had the British arms been successful at first, a compromise would almost certainly have been effected. As it was, Great Britain's arrogance and the youthful insolence of the Colonists precipitated a war which ended in the humiliation of the Mother Country.

(G) INDIA.

Great Britain had lost half the Empire which she had so laboriously built up. The policy of her sons in India seemed to show that she was incapable of ruling what remained. It is true that *Clive's* work from 1765-1767 had strengthened the position of the East India Company as a political power. He had put up a puppet Nawab of Bengal, secured the leave which the Mogul of Delhi was powerless to withhold, enabling the Company to collect taxes and exercise jurisdiction in Bengal, Orissa, Behar, and later in the Circars. How was "John Company" likely to exercise sovereign power? What were to be its relations to Great Britain?

The Company was quite unfitted to rule an Empire. Supreme power and all patronage lay with the Court of Directors, who were compelled to satisfy a Court of Proprietors (shareholders), which only thought of India in terms of rupees and indigo. The Directors in London tried in vain to control their servants, distant five months' sail, in Madras. The salaries of those servants were insufficient; the climate was trying; opportunities for private trade and bribery were unbounded. At a time when it was by no means commonly accepted that white men need keep faith with coloured pagan races, it is no wonder that the Company's officials, most of whom had gone out as mere lads, should suit themselves to local standards of governmental morality. Their main aim was to make a fortune as quickly as possible and return home, where no questions were likely to be asked, since the popular belief was that the wealth of India was boundless.

As a matter of fact the timid Bengalees were, on the whole, poor. Under the Company's misrule they grew still poorer. The Mahratta raids were not so bad as the extortions of the native tax collectors employed by the Company and its puppet Nawab. But the Company's servants were worse than both together. They used the Company's trading privileges to cover the passage of goods of their own; they made "corners" in necessities; they forced the natives to buy at their own prices; they were backed by the Sepoys and the financial influence of the all-powerful Company.

While in India, Clive, in spite of civil and military opposition, did what he could to check this rapacity. He increased the salaries of the officials and forbade private trade; but ill-health forced him to return to England in 1767, and things resumed their old course. The double system of British and Indian rule in Bengal rapidly became impossible. Chatham alone urged that the sovereign powers of the Company should be taken over by the Crown. Townshend opposed him, and Chatham had to be content with an engagement on the part of the Company to pay the Government £400,000 a year (1767). The subjection of the Company to the Crown was thus indirectly recognised. Meanwhile bad news came from India. The crops had failed in Bengal, and plague was raging. In the south, *Hyder Ali*, a Mohammedan "condottiere," now ruler of Hindu *Mysore*, was wasting the Carnatic with his swarms of disciplined cavalry. In spite of these disasters, the Proprietors forced the

Directors to declare a dividend of $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. By 1770 the Company, with all its responsibilities in India, was practically bankrupt.

North's Regulating Act (1773). — The Company begged the Government to lend it money. Lord North took advantage of its helplessness to assert the rights of the Crown. In spite of the opposition of Burke, who roundly condemned all tampering with the Company's Charter, he passed his *Regulating Act*. Commerce and patronage were left in the hands of the Directors; actual government was put in the hands of the Governor-General with a Council of Four; and a Supreme Court of Justice was appointed by the Crown.

The revelations of East Indian finance directed popular attention to the ill-gotten wealth of the English "nabobs." Clive was wrongly regarded as their leader. He was attacked on the score of the very corruption which he had done so much to check. The attack failed, and Parliament considering the presents which he might have taken, stood, like Clive, astonished at his moderation. He was acquitted of all blame; it was acknowledged that he did "render great and meritorious services to this country." But anxiety had done its work. Clive died by his own hand (November 1774). Had he lived, perhaps the battle of Bunker's Hill would never have been fought, and Washington might never have had time to form an army.

Warren Hastings. — The first Governor-General under the new Act was Warren Hastings. His genius secured what the valour of Clive had won. He had no desire to spread the dominion of the Company, but circumstances forced him on. The league of the fierce *Mahratta* chieftains, whose power stretched from the Ganges to the Carnatic, with the Mohammedan *Robillas*, endangered the "buffer state" of Oudh, and even Bengal itself. Choosing, as he claimed, the less of two evils, Hastings lent British troops to the Nizam of Oudh to crush the Rohillas. It was a fatal mistake to lend British soldiers to a native tyrant; but the money paid for their hire was welcome. Hastings had to send home dividends to England somehow. In judging Hastings' conduct his desperate situation must be remembered. French agents stirred up the Mahrattas and Hyder Ali; the armies of Mysore scattered one British force and threatened Madras; a French fleet appeared off Pondicherry, and all seemed over. But *Popham* and *Goddard* checked the Mahrattas; *Eyre Coote* beat Hyder at *Porto Novo* (1781). Hyder Ali's son, *Tippoo Sahib*,

aided by a French fleet under *Suffren*, carried on the war till the conclusion of the Treaty of Versailles. He then made a peace which was little more than a truce. The British in India had not seen the last of the "tiger of Mysore" or his French allies.

Meanwhile the Regulating Act had practically broken down. The Councillors, led by *Sir Philip Francis* (see p. 449), thwarted Hastings; the Supreme Court was not sure of its powers; Madras and Bombay were semi-independent of Calcutta. *Fox* attempted to deal with the problem in his India Bill (1783). The opposition was too much for him. The measure was assailed as a breach of the Company's Charter. Worse still, the seven commissioners appointed by it to wield all political power and patronage were *Fox's* friends. "The Bill," it was said, "takes the diadem from the king's head to set it on that of Mr. Fox." The king allowed Lord Temple to let it be known that any one who voted for the Bill "would be considered by him as an enemy." The Lords threw out the Bill, and George threw out the ministry (see p. 465). *Pitt's India Act* (1784) set up the form of government which lasted till after the Indian Mutiny (see p. 468). Patronage and commerce were left in the hands of the Directors; but a special Court was set up to try cases of extortion. All political power in India was placed in the hands of a royally appointed Governor-General and a Council, who in turn were checked from Westminster by a Board of Control presided over by a Secretary of State. From that time onwards the power of the Company declined before the rising power of the Crown.

Impeachment of Warren Hastings.—The new order had hardly been established in India before Hastings returned home, to be made much of by the Court and Society, but to be impeached by *Fox's* Whigs. Sheer necessity and a mistaken public spirit had driven Hastings into several doubtful transactions with neighbouring powers in India. *Burke*, whose heart was moved by the thought of oppression, and, possibly, by the violation of the ancient order of things in India, led *Sheridan*, *Windham*, and *Fox* to the attack. Hastings defended himself ably; but his best defenders were time, the lack of restraint on the part of his accusers, and a truer knowledge of his real work in India. It was not until 1796, however, that the Lords pronounced him guiltless.

Great Britain and India owe much to Warren Hastings. He not only saved British rule in India, but he made that rule for the first time a blessing to the ruled. In spite of opposition at Calcutta and the clamour of dividend-hunting Proprietors in London, he cleaned the Augean stables of the Company's maladministration. He swept away Clive's system of dual control in Bengal; repudiated the shadowy suzerainty of the Great Mogul; replaced the rascally native tax collectors and judges with British officials. He himself set the example which the Indian Civil Service has since maintained. His "moderation" surpassed that of Clive. His character has been, and still is, needlessly blackened. He was no saint; few statesmen are; but if he had been, as Sheridan said, "dark, insidious, and little," he could never have maintained British rule in India.

(H) IRELAND.

The problem of Ireland was no less difficult than that of India. Since William III. had practically reconquered the island, a Protestant Saxon minority had ruled the vast mass of the Catholic Celts. Since 1727 Catholics had been deprived of their votes. The Dublin Parliament, largely appointed by borough-mongers, represented only the Protestant minority. The executive was appointed by the Crown, and was beyond the control of the Irish Parliament, whose powers of legislation were fettered by Poyning's Act (see p. 195) and by the Act of 1719, which enabled the British Parliament to legislate for Ireland. The religious situation was even worse. The Established Anglican Church was a sign of political superiority. Whether the vicar tried to do his duty or not, the peasantry ignored him and attended Mass in secret. A priest's life was risky, for "priest-hunting" was both a business and a sport. Catholic laymen, as well as priests, were nominally and sometimes practically subject to a penal code by which all professions, except that of physician, were closed to Catholics, while a Protestant could deprive a Catholic father or elder brother of his property. Catholics, as well as Protestants, paid tithe to the Established Church.

The collection of rents from the land which paid the tithe was often sub-let two or three times over. Many of the great landlords spent their time and money in England; while the

unhappy, oppressed peasant often saw the commons and waste enclosed. Nor could the peasants leave agriculture, for Irish industries were practically destroyed, lest Irish wool and dairy produce should compete with that of England. The result of all these grievances was that the peasantry, Protestant and Catholic alike, either sank into idleness or supplied France with the victors of Fontenoy.

Since the days of "Wood's Halfpence" (see p. 416) the policy of "salutary neglect" had at least kept Ireland quiet. In 1761, however, the first sign of change came with the *Whiteboy* movement in the south-west, whose aim was to protest against enclosures and tithes by houghing cattle. The movement was suppressed, but it turned attention to Ireland. Apart from the eternal religious and agrarian questions, Ireland wanted two things—leave to trade, and legislative independence. Whatever measure of these privileges she gained she owed to the Protestant minority, the Rockingham Whigs, and the American War. Just as in England, George drove the great Irish borough-owning families into opposition by personally dispensing patronage. The heads of those families joined the patriotic party led by *Grattan* and *Flood*, who demanded Home Rule. Already Burke had lost his seat for Bristol by securing the removal of some of the more iniquitous shackles on Ireland's trade and religion (1778). The American War entailed more sweeping changes. Ireland was drained of troops. The fear of French invasion impelled Protestants and Catholics alike to take up arms in self-defence. In 1779 the *Volunteers* were formed. Though they were loyal to the Crown, their attitude was intensely national. They were masters of the situation. Colonial trade was therefore thrown open to Ireland (1780), and two years later Grattan's ambition was satisfied. He summoned an unofficial "Parliament" at Dungannon; the Dublin Parliament passed its recommendations, which were accepted by Rockingham at Westminster (1782). The Act of 1719 was repealed, and the Dublin Parliament became legislatively independent. But it still represented merely the Protestant minority; the executive was still appointed from London; the religious, agrarian, and, for the most part, the commercial questions were still unsettled.

(I) BREAKDOWN OF GEORGE III.'S SYSTEM. RISE OF WILLIAM PITT.

The repeated disasters of the American War, the threatening attitude of Ireland, and the failure of the Regulating Act in India made it clear that North could not hold his position as "King's own Minister" much longer. The popularity of the Ministry was gone; Burke, Fox, and Sheridan gathered supporters daily. The Opposition criticised the civil and military administration; they asked questions about the secret service money. Indeed, *Burke* in 1780 brought in a bill for *Economical Reform*—that is, for the abolition of many sinecure offices—and though it was lost, the outcry against corruption by those who did not share the loaves and fishes was unabated. The House of Commons itself voiced the general opinion that North was the royal mouthpiece by passing Dunning's motion "that the power of the Crown has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished" (1780).

Yet the resolute spirit of the too-powerful king stood London in good stead during the *Gordon Riots* (1780). In 1778 Burke and Savile had secured the repeal of many of those statutes against Catholics which were becoming almost dead-letters. *Lord George Gordon*, half demagogue, half religious enthusiast, and all fool, as head of the "Protestant Association," prepared to petition Parliament against the repeal. He led the London mob to Westminster with cries of "No Popery." The Commons refused to receive the petition. The mob began to sack Catholic chapels and houses. For four days London was in the hands of its lowest classes, till at last the king, with the remark that there was "one magistrate who would do his duty," sent the troops against the rioters.

The suppression of the Gordon Riots failed to save the Ministry. Cornwallis' surrender at Yorktown (see p. 456) and the loss of Minorca in 1782 added to its troubles. The Opposition clamoured for peace; the younger Pitt added his voice to that of Fox; North was convinced that all was over, and, in spite of George's stubborn determination to beat the Americans and retain his services, he resigned (1782).

The king's "system" had broken down. Two confused years were to pass before George discovered a more excellent way of governing with the aid of a minister who had the confidence of the

nation as well as his own. For the present, George, after his long struggle, was driven into the arms of the dying Marquis of Rockingham, that representative of party and family as opposed to royal "influence." In his few remaining months of life Rockingham¹ gave Home Rule to Ireland (see p. 462), and swept away many of the sinecure offices which afforded means of corruption. But the Cabinet could not stand. The Secretaries of State, Fox and Shelburne, quarrelled. Worse still, the oily Shelburne let the king understand that he was no ordinary Whig. He believed, he said, in royal interference. He did not approve of "the king of England being king of the Mahrattas with a Peishwa as governor." On Rockingham's death "Malagrida" Shelburne became Prime Minister (1782).² Fox and Burke at once resigned; the Treaty of Versailles (see p. 457), the one achievement of the Ministry, did not add to Shelburne's already negligible popularity. He fell before the attack of North and Fox, who formed their notorious Coalition Ministry.

The Coalition Ministry (1783).—The character of *Charles James Fox* is a curious mixture of good and bad. "He is a man," said Burke, "made to be loved." Open-hearted, open-handed, a lover of horses and of books, a true friend, a brilliant debater, Fox had failings which wrecked his political career. A gambler born, a libertine by training, a friend of the Prince of Wales by choice, he spent long days at Newmarket, where his horses always lost, and long nights at Brooks's club in preparation for debates in the House of Commons, where, except for eleven months, he was always in opposition. His endless indiscretions ruined him and his party; for Fox the man was always too strong for Fox the leader of the Opposition. In all things he was extravagant, even in his championship of civil and religious liberty. His language towards North had been no exception to that rule. Well might men gasp to see the man who had threatened North with the fate of Strafford sitting side by side with his late prospective victim under the nominal leadership of the Duke of Portland. Fox pleaded that his friendships "were perpetual, but his enmities were not so." The king was furious. Apparently he had only escaped the Whigs to see his Tory minister

¹ Rockingham's Second Ministry, 1782.

² Shelburne's Ministry, 1782-1783.

ally with the Radical of Radicals. "Mr. Fox," he cried, "never had any principles," and public opinion endorsed the king's assertion. If Fox's attitude towards North had been genuine, men felt that the Coalition Ministry must be dishonest.

Fox's ill-starred India Bill gave the king his chance of getting rid of the Ministry (see p. 460). George turned to the youthful *William Pitt*. The Opposition laughed at Pitt's Ministry as "a mince-pie administration which would come to an end with the Christmas holidays." But Pitt, strong in the support of the king and the mass of the nation, which, as Disraeli afterwards said, "does not love coalitions," weathered his first storm by holding on in the teeth of adverse majorities in the House. The general election was a brilliant victory for the young minister. Fox barely retained his seat for the city of Westminster. One hundred and sixty of his followers earned the title of "Fox's Martyrs" by losing their seats. Fox had wrecked the Whig party for the time being.¹ Long years afterwards Byron could write—

Nought's permanent about the human race
Except the Whigs not getting into place.

¹ The Whigs were out of office, save for a short time in 1806, till 1830.

CHAPTER L.

GEORGE III. (1783-1820).

PART II.

WILLIAM PITT pursued (*A*) an economical domestic policy and a conciliatory policy towards the Colonies. In (*B*) his foreign relations he was pacific, and by his alliance with Prussia and Holland drew England out of her isolation. But economy at home and non-intervention abroad were rendered impossible by (*C*) the French Revolution, which plunged England into (*D*) war with France. (*E*) Ireland presented a weak spot in Great Britain's armour, and Pitt, to remedy the defect, carried through the Union of Great Britain and Ireland. It was well that he did so, for France under the control of Napoleon soon renewed the war. The course of (*F*) the Napoleonic wars saw the rapid rise of the Emperor to supremacy in Europe, a position which was ruined by (*G*) his efforts to enforce the Continental System against British trade, (*H*) the Peninsular War, and (*I*) the Russian Campaign. As a result of the war of Liberation Napoleon was forced to retire to Elba, but he reappeared and made a second bid for empire in the Hundred Days. With the final collapse of the French Empire, all Europe began to put its house in order, a task which was rendered more difficult, especially in England, by (*J*) the development of the Industrial Revolution.

WILLIAM PITT (PRIME MINISTER, 1783-1801).

THE new Prime Minister was the second son of the "Great Commoner." He inherited his father's strong will, his courage, his biting sarcasm, his patriotism. He had been carefully trained to

read at a time when reading was still thought necessary for politicians. His speeches have perished, but the effect they produced on their hearers has remained. "He is not a chip of the old block," cried Fox, on hearing his maiden effort,—"he is the old block itself." Like Chatham, he dominated the House; like Chatham, he took the helm of State at a critical time. At the early age of twenty-five, the gaunt, angular youth was entrusted with the task of restoring a shattered Empire.

(A) DOMESTIC AND COLONIAL POLICY.

Pitt was no "king's own minister" like North. George never liked him. But rather than turn to the hated Fox, he clung to Pitt for seventeen years, even at the price of giving up his ambition to govern personally. He still retained much influence, personal and political, but the minister no longer took his orders from the royal closet. Pitt's ministry divides itself naturally into two halves at 1793. During the first period he nursed Great Britain back to strength. Finance, for which he had a particular talent, claimed his first attention. The National Debt was for those days enormous (£250,000,000), and there was a large deficit. Trade was bad, and England had just lost a great "close" market in America. Pitt abolished many sinecure offices, instituted a strict audit of government accounts, and in 1786 attempted to pay off the National Debt by organising his Sinking Fund. This fund really took money out of one national pocket and put it in another; but men in those days trusted the scheme, and the knowledge that it existed reconciled them to the heavy demands Pitt made on their purses.

Pitt's commercial policy was even more important. He was a disciple of *Adam Smith*, who in "The Wealth of Nations" (1776) had preached Free Trade. He removed many customs duties, simplified all, and made smuggling much less profitable. He next proposed equality of trade with Ireland, but commercial jealousy in England and political suspicion in Ireland wrecked the scheme. He did, however, conclude a commercial treaty which set up a kind of Free Trade with France by abolishing many of the protective duties in either country (1786). The opposition of the English Whigs and the merchants on both sides of the Channel died away with the increase of trade.

Pitt's colonial policy was on the whole successful. His *India Act* (see p. 460) virtually settled the vexed question of government in British India, but the long impeachment of Warren Hastings (see p. 460) kept his attention directed towards the East. Meanwhile a new Empire was found for Great Britain beyond India. In 1767 *James Cook* sailed in the *Endeavour* to watch the transit of Venus. "Saul set out to find his father's asses, and found a kingdom." Cook found *Australia*, where Dutch sailors had told of mere islands and scraps of coast. In 1787 *Philips* established a convict station at Botany Bay in *New South Wales*. From this unpromising beginning has arisen the Commonwealth of Australia.

Pitt, like most Englishmen of his day, did not trouble much about Botany Bay. *Canada* claimed his attention. British settlers were pouring into Western Canada, demanding the repeal of the Quebec Act of 1774. The repeal of this Act would have put the French of Eastern Canada at the mercy of the new-comers. Pitt therefore divided Canada into the *Upper (Western)* and *Lower (Eastern) Provinces*, each with its own governor and legislative assembly (1791). The two Canadas remained separate till 1840 (see p. 519), though both provinces comprised merely the eastern portion of the Dominion of to-day.

The Regency Question.—Meanwhile another problem had arisen at home. In 1788 George fell a victim to his long-threatened insanity. Who was to act as Regent? The Whig Fox enunciated the High Tory doctrine that the Prince of Wales had "a clear right to assume the reins of government." But the character of "the first gentleman of Europe" was notorious, and his *Regency* would mean the fall of Pitt. The Tory minister therefore preached the Whig doctrine that Parliament can appoint the Regent. Fox was counting the days till his rival's fall; an Irish deputation was actually on the way to recognise the Prince as Regent when George recovered. Pitt was saved, and the relief of the nation found vent in public rejoicings.

Movements towards Reform.—In the course of his efforts to nurse Great Britain back to strength, Pitt took, or at least encouraged, various steps towards reform. The spirit of reform was abroad before Revolution drove it into hiding. A sign of the times was the passing of Fox's *Libel Act* (1792), empowering the jury and not the

judge to decide on the existence of a libel. More security was thus given to the rapidly growing power of the Press. Pitt himself in 1785 repeated his unsuccessful attempt of 1782 to secure Parliamentary Reform. He proposed to buy up thirty-six "rotten boroughs," and to distribute their members among London and the Counties. He failed to pass this measure; he failed to relieve Nonconformists of the obsolete, repressive statutes which still existed; but he did secure freedom of worship and education for Catholics (1792). His attitude towards the *Slave Trade* was more remarkable. The current ideas of liberty and the Equality of Man and the tales of the horrors of the "Middle Passage" from Guinea to the West Indies raised an agitation against the Slave Trade. *Wilberforce* secured the sympathetic help of Pitt, Fox, and Burke. In 1792 an "Abolition" bill was brought in, and Pitt supported it with the finest speech of his life. Unfortunately, the new French ideas of the "Rights of Man" fermenting in the minds of the blacks of *St. Domingo*, roused them to massacre the whites. In the eyes of the king and most Englishmen, emancipation savoured of Jacobinism, and the bill was therefore dropped. The outbreak of the French Revolution (see p. 470) ended Pitt's career as a reformer.

(B) PITT'S FOREIGN POLICY TILL 1793.

Previous to the outbreak of that Revolution, Pitt was obstinately averse to interference in Europe. Isolation gave Great Britain leisure to recover strength; but isolation, in view of the condition of the Continent, was dangerous. France and Spain were still bound by the Family Compact (see p. 444). The marriage of Louis XVI. with Marie Antoinette had sealed an uneasy union between France and Austria. Austria and Russia, two of the confederates in the late *Partition of Poland* (1772), were still allied; Prussia was the only other Power which stood alone.

Events in the Netherlands led to Great Britain's alliance with Prussia. That "enlightened despot," the free-trading, free-thinking Emperor *Joseph II.*, in the name of Reason and the Laws of Nature, prepared to tear up a long series of treaties by declaring the Scheldt an "open" river. Neither London nor Amsterdam could afford to have Antwerp as a rival. With the assistance of his French

ally, Joseph compelled the Dutch to yield to many of his demands, though the Scheldt remained "closed"; worse still, royal France was rapidly transforming *Holland* into a republican dependency. The House of Orange was driven out, but Frederick William II., the new King of Prussia, with the nominal assistance of Great Britain, reinstated the exiles and thus maintained that cardinal point of British policy, that the Low Countries shall never be absorbed by any of their greater neighbours. Pitt led England out of her long isolation by allying with Prussia and Holland (Triple Alliance, 1788).

This new alliance and the outbreak of the Revolution in France stood Pitt in good stead in the Anglo-Spanish dispute about *Nootka Sound*, Vancouver Island, where the Spaniards had destroyed an English colony. Both Powers claimed the Sound; but "national" France (see p. 472) refused to carry out the Family Compact made by "royal" France. Spain, disappointed in her hope of French aid, was forced to give way.

Pitt himself was forced to yield rather ignominiously in a dispute with Russia. *Catherine the Great*, the spoiler of Poland and admirer of Demosthenes, Cicero, and Fox, had steadily advanced the Russian frontier at the expense of Turkey. In 1791 Russian troops occupied the Black Sea fortress of *Ochâkov*. Could Great Britain allow Russia to grow stronger? Could she, as the ruler of Indian Mohammedans, allow the Commander of the Faithful to be harassed? In spite of Burke's protest against an "anti-crusade" in aid of "destructive savages," Pitt determined to despatch a fleet to the Black Sea to assist the Turks. But he found that the *Ochâkov* was not so important after all; public opinion was against the expedition; he hurriedly cancelled his orders. The blow to his prestige was very great. Had there been any alternative but a ministry formed by Fox, Pitt might have fallen. As it was, he remained in office, but resolutely turned his face towards domestic affairs till the alarming progress of the *French Revolution* called him back to the arena of European politics.

(C) THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

Since the days of Louis XIV. France had led Europe in law, science, literature, and war. Her philosophers, politicians, and "pro-

fessors of the barricades" were now to instruct Europe in the art of revolution. The French Revolution was unexpected. On the whole, Bourbon France was in by no means a worse condition than most other States in Europe. Its main weakness lay in a Government which was so highly centralised that a bread-riot was sufficient to wreck it. Louis XIV. had said, "L'état, c'est moi." Unluckily, Louis XVI. was still the State, and was quite unable to work the unwieldy governmental machine.

The nation, which looked for government to the king at Versailles, was divided against itself. Nobility was a caste. Peers still enjoyed the privileges and feudal dues which had survived the duties of feudalism. Unlike the English landed gentry, they had by the policy of successive kings been depressed into mere courtiers, but they still reserved for themselves considerable exemptions from taxation as well as all commissions in the army, navy, and diplomatic services. Next to the Crown the Church was the most powerful institution in the State. Its higher ranks were noble and privileged, its lower ranks were filled by peasants. It was far too political, and in spite of many honourable exceptions it was on the whole what Carlyle called it, "a dumb ox lowing for provender of tithe, content if it get that." The citizens of the towns were factious, jealous of the nobles and contemptuous of the peasants. The peasants, who formed the main body of the inhabitants of France, laboured under many burdens. They were heavily taxed and often compelled to labour at public works without pay (*corvée*). They might not touch the lord's game which harried their crops, nor could they get what grain was left to market without payment of vexatious dues. But the peasants were better off in France than in any other country except England. They owned half the land in France, and under Louis XVI. their condition was improving. Herein lay the danger. To give men like the French peasants and the lower classes of the towns—ignorant, excitable, and suspicious—a glimpse of better things, was to incite them to make a rush for the millennium.

That glimpse of the golden age was given to them and all Europe by the philosophers and encyclopædists of eighteenth-century France. Led by the "arch-mocker" *Voltaire*, by *Diderot*, and *Rousseau*, they discussed politics, religion, the origin of law, authority, and society in the light of reason. *Voltaire*, it has been claimed,

said what men were thinking ; Rousseau said what they were feeling, he brought philosophy "from the Forum to the Street." It is true that the theories of these men were a protest against the obvious evils of the day, and that their voices were always raised on the side of humanity. But they also did much that had been better left undone. They were anti-Christian. They shattered men's faith in all things human and divine, and had nothing to offer them in exchange except an indefinable "Law of Nature," which all were agreed ought to hold sway in a State subject to the "sovereignty of the people" as described in Rousseau's *Social Contract*. The new "Philosophisme" became fashionable. Even privileged nobles and clergy blandly admitted the inherent equality of men. Ways and means were ignored. The philosophers had never mixed in practical politics. France as a whole was as ignorant as they ; and their writings became the text-books of Revolution.

The success of the American Revolution came to France as an answer to her search for the millennium. *Benjamin Franklin* was hailed in Paris as the representative of a Transatlantic Utopia. French volunteers, chief among them "Scipio Americanus" *Lafayette*, returned with tales of tyranny overthrown. The second legacy left by the American War to France was debt. The expenses of the campaign had ruined France. Corrupt administration and an extravagant Court made financial recovery impossible. The machine of government threatened to stop from lack of fuel. To complete the disaster, the bad harvests of 1788, '89, and 1790 brought bankrupt France to the verge of starvation.

Popular discontent and philosophic politics found vent in the *States-General*, which Louis was forced to summon in 1789. At their last meeting (1614) (see p. 347) Nobles, Clergy, and Third Estate (Commons) had sat and voted separately by Houses. Now the Third Estate, which outnumbered the other two classes, insisted that all should sit together and vote not by houses but by head. The privileged orders were forced to give way : the *States-General* voted themselves a *National Assembly*, and set to work to remedy abuses and build a new constitution. The assembly was quite unfit for both tasks. Most of its members were honest, but they were inexperienced, governed by theories, and far too talkative. One man alone stood out head and shoulders above the swarms of

village *curés* and petty lawyers who formed most of the original Third Estate. "Swart, burly-headed" *Mirabeau*, "the one man in France who could have done any good as Minister," urged the Assembly to accept the great concessions which the king offered; to set up a Constitutional in place of an Absolute Monarchy. But his dissolute early life was against him; his noble birth weakened his popularity with an assembly whose "desire for equality was stronger than the desire for reform." His efforts to secure a working system were useless, and on his all too early death (April 1791) airy political theories stalked unchecked. Opposition to the wildest democratic proposals was shouted down by the mob which filled the gallery of the House. That mob was organised by the *Jacobin Club* not only in Paris but throughout France. Political power fell more and more into the hands of ignorant, brazen-throated demagogues. Popular excitement burst out at last when the Paris mob stormed the *Bastille*, the State prison in which political offenders were confined (July 14, 1789). Events moved rapidly. Feudal privileges were abolished, church lands confiscated, the royal family dragged from Versailles to Paris by a mob of women and the scum of the capital. The monarchy was really ruined; mob-rule gained the upper hand, and the famine continued.

Already French nobles had fled across the frontier, chiefly to Coblenz. In the summer of 1791 Louis tried to join them, but was captured at Varennes and was henceforward a prisoner in the hands of the *Legislative Assembly*. That Assembly was more Jacobinical than its "National" predecessor. It soon fell under the rule of the extremists led by Robespierre, Danton, and Marat. There was nothing to check the mob, which wrecked the Tuileries (August 1792) and massacred the faithful Swiss Guard. Monarchy was suspended; the prisons of Paris were rendered "more salubrious" by the slaughter of aristocrats in the *September Massacres*. At the same time France was declared a "Republic one and indivisible."

Attitude of Great Britain towards the Revolution.—In the early days of the Revolution the general feeling on this side of the Channel was either one of sympathy or of indifference, not unmingled with satisfaction that France divided against herself would be less of a danger to Europe. The fall of the Bastille ranged men in parties. To Pitt the upheaval of July 1789 was a passing riot; to Fox it

was "the greatest event that has happened in the world, and . . . the best." Burke, in his *Reflections on the French Revolution* announced what the fall of the great State prison meant. Till his death in 1797 he never ceased to preach a crusade against the people who, led by atheists, fanatics, and theorists, had destroyed all that connected them with the past in their own country and who threatened to do the same for their neighbours.

All three statesmen made a mistake in imagining that the people of Great Britain might imitate their neighbours. Circumstances were not the same in the two countries. Great Britain was not bankrupt; taxation was not too heavy; internal trade was free, and under the impetus of mechanical invention (see p. 495) was rapidly increasing. There was a Parliament; the Press was free; everywhere there was a considerable amount of local government. Nor were the people so inoculated with revolutionary ideas as in France. The majority were loyal to Church and king, while Methodism had done much to check the spread of anti-Christian doctrines. There were some who hailed the Revolution with joy. Burke's "Reflections" called forth many replies, among them the *Vindiciæ Gallicæ* of Sir James Mackintosh and the *Rights of Man* of Tom Paine, "his face well carbuncled, fiery as the setting sun." Eminent scientists like Dr. Priestley, preachers like Dr. Price, and the champion of her sex, Mary Wollstonecraft, echoed their approval. *Revolution*, *Constitutional*, and *Correspondence Societies* opened communication with France, sent deputations to congratulate the National Assembly, planted "trees of liberty," and gave dinners in honour of the fall of the Bastille. But news of the September massacres and the "Terror" drove thousands over to the side of Burke, who himself gave up his friendship for Fox rather than remain the friend of one who approved of the Revolution. In Parliament the vast majority of the Whigs went over to Pitt's standard. Public opinion showed itself when the Birmingham mob wrecked the house of the Gallophile, Dr. Priestley.

Yet Pitt thought repressive measures were necessary to guard against revolution in England. The Press was gagged (1793), the right of public meeting curtailed, many of the "revolutionary" societies suppressed (1799); various prosecutions were undertaken in a spirit of panic. Pitt the liberal reformer was lost in Pitt the war minister.

"Because Frenchmen have abused their liberties," it was said, "Englishmen have been deprived of theirs."

(D) CAUSES OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR WITH FRANCE
(1793-1802).

Pitt did not expect war. In announcing his Budget for 1792 he declared that "there never was a time when from the situation of Europe we might more reasonably expect fifteen years of peace." But war was imminent. The French *émigré* nobles at Coblenz and Marie Antoinette at Paris appealed to all Europe for assistance (1791-1792). Pitt maintained strict neutrality. The internal affairs of France were no concern of his. The attitude of Austria and Prussia was more threatening. But it was the *Girondists* (moderate Republicans) who precipitated war. They wished to pose as the "liberators of Europe," and, in order to spread the light of the gospel of Rousseau in the darkest corner of the earth, declared war on Austria (April 1792). Prussia and Austria, who had already allied at *Pilnitz* (1791), invaded France. In desperation the manhood of France rushed to the frontiers. In September 1792 Kellermann checked the Prussians at *Valmy*; the defeat of the Austrians at *Jemappes* not only saved France, but gave her the long-coveted Austrian Netherlands and control of the Scheldt, which, in accordance with the "Law of Nature," was declared an "open" river.

The opening of the Scheldt, the violation of treaty obligations with Great Britain's Dutch ally, and the occupation of the Austrian Netherlands were the nominal causes of war with England. The actual, underlying cause was the fact that Revolutionary France was a public danger. The National Convention had in November 1792 offered assistance to all nations anxious to achieve liberty. In December that optional liberty was made compulsory. France prepared to force the "bread of liberty" down the throats of her neighbours at the point of the bayonet.

In February 1793 France declared war on Great Britain. The war was popular in England. Fox's resolution condemning it was thrown out by the House of Commons, for the Reign of Terror instituted by the Mountain or extreme republican party had

horrified all Englishmen. The Mountain had overthrown the more moderate Gironde, set up a Committee of Public Safety, and executed Louis as an enemy of the people (January 1793). Hundreds of aristocrats and the queen herself followed him to the guillotine. In England the execution of Louis xvi. was mourned publicly; crowds followed the king's coach clamouring for vengeance. The declaration of war was received enthusiastically, and Burke was looked upon as a prophet; men agreed with him that this was a war "against fanatical propaganda, backed by unlimited enthusiasm; against a movement that had its centre in France and its circumference everywhere." Pitt put the same idea in the one word—Security.

Course of the War.—In 1793 Pitt joined the *First Coalition*. Great Britain, Austria, Prussia, Spain, and Holland united to stamp out the spreading flames of revolution. Macaulay has unfairly called Pitt a "drivelling war minister." It is true that he had not his father's eye for picking out inspired "madmen." It is true that he even entrusted troops to the Duke of York and the Admiralty to his own elder brother. Still, on the whole his policy was the same as his father's had been in the Seven Years' War. Three times he joined European coalitions cemented by British gold. Throughout the war he fully realised the importance of British supremacy at sea. Before his death that supremacy was a fact.

Pitt's First Coalition was doomed to rapid decay. France surprised her enemies by her powers of resistance. As far as military matters were concerned, the Committee of Public Safety earned its name. Carnot, "the organiser of victory," formed his "columns of liberty on the march" which carried all before them. Royalist *Lyons* fell to the Republicans. Royalist *Toulon* soon followed, mainly owing to the skill of a young lieutenant of artillery named *Napoleon Bonaparte*. The anti-Republican rising in *La Vendée* (Brittany) was stamped out. In the Low Countries the selfishness of the allies wrecked the common cause. Prussia marched away to share the spoils of the *Second Partition of Poland* with Russia (1793). Austria, after her defeat at *Fleurus* (1794), followed in time to take part in the final dismemberment of that unhappy country (1795). French armies poured into Spain and also into Holland, which became the *Batavian Republic*; others occupied the left bank of the Rhine. Prussia, anxious to secure her

Polish spoils, concluded peace at *Basle* (1795), and remained selfishly neutral till her day of reckoning in 1806 (see p. 487). The Spanish minister *Godoy*, "the Prince of the Peace," joined Prussia in deserting the allies.

At sea, however, Great Britain was more successful. As far as ships went, the French at the beginning of the war had the advantage. The difference lay in the men. Under *Howe*, *Jervis*, *Collingwood*, and *Nelson* the rough material swept by the press-gangs into the forecables of the three-deckers was transformed by iron discipline and victory into magnificent fighting men. In the French navy the noble officers had either gone to the guillotine or to Coblenz. Ideas of Liberty and Equality did not square with naval discipline, which naturally disappeared. Something more than courage and patriotism is necessary to the training of the complete seaman. As a consequence the British ships could usually out-sail, out-manceuvre, and out-fight their opponents. Their superiority was proved on the *Glorious First of June* (1794), when Lord *Howe* pierced the enemy's line and crushed *Villaret Joyeuse* off Ushant. Victory, however, failed to hold Britain's allies to their duty. Austria alone kept the field.

In France the fires of revolution were burning themselves out. The Terrorists had turned against each other, and *Robespierre* for a time was supreme. But his unsparing use of the guillotine disgusted all except the extreme Jacobins. Led by *Barras*, the "Thermidorians" rose and executed the "incorruptible sea-green" lawyer of Arras. The victors turned their attention to constitution building, and set up a *Directory* of five and a legislature of two houses on the English model. The "Sections" prepared to assert mob-rule once more, but the young artillery officer of Toulon swept the streets of Paris with his "whiff of grapeshot" (13th Vendémiaire).¹ The Directory was established (1795) and *Bonaparte* was appointed General of the Army of Italy.

Character of Napoleon.—The young Corsican was soon to dominate all Europe. Proud, hot-tempered, ambitious, callous, he yet had that strange power of winning the devotion of others which

¹ The mob which threatened the Directory was by no means entirely Jacobin. Forty thousand National Guards and many Royalists were among its members.

belongs to all great men. He was a born leader of armies in battle ; a magnificent organiser on the line of march. His eye for essential facts had raised him above the airy theorists with which his adopted country abounded ; his complete grasp of the situation and his power of swift decision enabled him to crush his duller-witted, heavy-footed opponents. His magnificent victories of *Arcola* and *Rivoli* laid Lombardy at his feet (1796-7). He won Savoy for France and set up the dependent Ligurian and Cisalpine republics at Genoa and Milan (1796). Next year he crossed the Alps to dictate terms to the Emperor. At *Campo Formio* (1797) Great Britain's last ally, Austria, was forced to make peace by exchanging the Austrian Netherlands for the once proudly independent Republic of Venice. Great Britain stood alone face to face with the Revolution. The year 1797 was for her the blackest in the war. Already in 1795 she had been forced to declare war against the Dutch, and had seen her late ally Spain declare war against her. A royalist French expedition, escorted by a British fleet, had been cut to pieces by *Hoche* at Quiberon Bay (1794), and the winds in Bantry Bay alone saved Ireland from a French expedition led by the same general (1796). Nor were Britain's shores inviolate. A small French expedition, the *Black Legion*, landed near Fishguard in Pembroke, and though it fell a victim to biliousness and the local yeomanry, the fact of invasion caused great alarm. In 1797 the French Directory determined to make its *Great Attempt* to invade England, under cover of the combined French, Spanish, and Dutch fleets. The scheme was fatally checked when *Sir John Jervis* and *Nelson* soundly beat the Spaniards off *Cape St. Vincent*. Great Britain's peril was, however, still acute. Her only ally, Austria, had made her submission ; Ireland was distracted ; a financial crisis occurred and the Bank of England suspended cash payments. Great Britain felt more and more that her safety depended on the fleet. Her ships were blockading the Spaniards in Cadiz, the French in Brest, the Dutch behind the Texel. At this very time the fleet at Spithead, and, a few days later, that at the Nore, mutinied. The sailors had many grievances. Pay was low ; food often bad ; discipline harsh. The mutiny at *Spithead* was soon quelled by "Black Dick" Howe, who persuaded the Government to yield to the men's demands. The mutiny at *the Nore* was more political and more dangerous. Ultra-democratic

societies had chosen the time of England's life-and-death struggle to scatter seditious pamphlets among the already discontented sailors. Led by *Richard Parker*, they refused to sail to Duncan's assistance off the Texel, and blockaded the Thames. Dissension among the mutineers, however, soon spread; ship after ship lowered the red flag; Parker was hanged at the yard-arm, and the fleet duly sailed in time to help Duncan crush the Dutch fleet in the hard-fought battle of *Camperdown* (1797). The "Great Attempt" had failed, and Britain's immediate peril was over.

On land the French were irresistible. Bonaparte was rapidly rising into power. He persuaded the Directory to send him to *Egypt*, the "bridge" which led either to Constantinople or Delhi. He revived and expanded the dream of Dupleix. The Empire of the East was to belong to France. He sailed in 1798, took *Malta* from the Knights of St. John, had the good fortune to elude Nelson's pursuing fleet, and landed at Alexandria. He crushed the Mameluke rulers of Egypt at the *Battle of the Pyramids*, and was at Cairo when the news reached him that he was cut off from Europe. *Nelson* had found his fleet at anchor in *Aboukir Bay*. In spite of shoals the British ships stood in and almost totally destroyed the French fleet (*battle of the Nile*). Napoleon marched on Syria, determined to cut his way to the Bosphorus. Again a British sailor made him "miss his destiny." In spite of his victory over the Turks at *Mount Tabor*, he failed to take the collection of hovels and crumbling walls that had once been *Acre*. *Sir Sydney Smith's* gunboats, and disease, were too much for Bonaparte. He fell back sullenly to Egypt. There a bundle of newspapers, sent by the defender of *Acre*, contained news which decided him to leave his army and make for France with all speed (1799).

India (1785-1805).—Had Bonaparte reached India he might well have overthrown British supremacy there. Hastings had left the Company's possessions secure and fairly well organised. His successor, *Lord Cornwallis*,¹ whom Pitt had sent out as first Governor-General under the new India Act (1784), (see p. 460), continued his

¹ Governor-Generals of India (1786-1805).

Lord Cornwallis, 1786-1793.

Sir John Shore, 1793-1798.

Lord Mornington (Marquess Wellesley), 1798-1805.

policy. Unlike Hastings, he was not liable to be thwarted by a majority of his Council, and was able to do more to check corruption among the officials, British and Indian. His attitude towards neighbouring states had at first been one of non-intervention. He was forced out of that attitude by *Tippoo Sahib* of Mysore, who, in his ambition to win Southern India for himself, attacked the Rajah of Travancore. Cornwallis went to the assistance of the Company's ally, and with the aid of the *Mahratta Peishwa* beat Tippoo and forced him to give up half his dominions to the allies (1792). Cornwallis hoped that he had secured a "balance of power" in India.

His successor, *Sir John Shore* (1793), clung to the policy of minding his own business. He even refused to aid the Nizam of Oudh, the Company's ally, against the Mahrattas. The Nizam naturally turned to France. French officers organised his forces and those of the *Mahratta Scindia*. French agents also appeared at the court of Mysore. Great Britain stood alone in India against a probable confederacy of Oudh, Mysore, France, and the Mahrattas.

A safer policy was begun in 1798 by Lord Mornington (*Marquess Wellesley*). He gave up the impossible policy of non-intervention and began to conclude "subsidiary treaties" with native rulers, who placed the control of their foreign policy in the hands of the Governor-General. Great Britain was to be the paramount power in India. The Nizam of Oudh proved compliant. That "good Jacobin, citizen" *Tippoo Sahib*, stirred up by the French, resisted, but lost his life on the fall of his capital, *Seringapatam* (1799). The Carnatic was annexed, while, in the north, Hyderabad became dependent on the Company. The Mahrattas alone of the great Indian powers remained defiant. The *Peishwa*, who had superseded the nominal ruler of the Mahrattas, was himself reduced to the "shadow of a name" by the great chieftains *Holkar*, *Scindia*, and the *Rajah of Berar*. But these chieftains quarrelled, while the Peishwa placed himself and his subjects under British protection by the *Treaty of Bassein* (1802). *Scindia* and the Rajah of Berar at once rebelled, and were crushed by the Governor's brother, *Sir Arthur Wellesley*, afterwards Duke of Wellington, at the hard-fought battles of *Assaye* and *Argaum* (1803). *Lake* marched up the Jumna and overthrew

the last of the Mahrattas at *Laswari*. Their chieftains recognised the Treaty of Bassein; and the Company became the guardian of the Mogul, whose tenant it had once been. When Wellesley resigned in 1805 there was no doubt that the future of India lay in British hands.

The Second Coalition.—The defeats at the Nile and Acre had prevented Bonaparte marching to the assistance of Tippoo Sahib. The news of the Second Coalition between Great Britain, Austria, and Russia brought him hurrying back to Europe without his army. The French power had collapsed in Italy and Switzerland before the energy of the Russian *Suvoroff* and the Austrian *Archduke Charles*. In Paris the Directory earned the contempt of all. The general cry was for *Bonaparte*, and he returned to be hailed as *First Consul*. Paul I., the erratic Czar and an admirer of Bonaparte, withdrew his troops. Bonaparte dashed over the Alps and crushed the Austrians at *Marengo* (1800). The same year *Moreau* beat the Emperor's forces at *Hohenlinden*. By the *Peace of Lunéville* (1801), between France and Austria, France secured the left bank of the Rhine (her "natural frontier"); the satellite Batavian, Ligurian, and Cisalpine Republics were recognised as nominally independent of France, while a reorganisation of the smaller states of Germany was begun which ended in the Confederation of the Rhine in 1806. Pitt's Second Coalition was at an end. Bonaparte was really ruler of France. Burke's ten-year-old prophecy had come true, "the person who really commands your army . . . is the master of your whole Republic."

Great Britain's command of the sea enabled her to withstand the crash of the Coalition. Malta, Trinidad, Ceylon, the Cape of Good Hope, and the Dutch West Indies passed into her hands. French and Spanish commerce were swept off the seas. An army under *Abercrombie* landed in Egypt to secure the "bridge" to India. A confused campaign ended in the victory of *Alexandria* and the evacuation of Egypt by the French (1801). Britain's fleets, too, were able to quell a hostile movement in the Baltic. The Czar Paul, an open admirer of Napoleon and titular Grand Master of the Knights of St. John, angry at Britain's occupation of Malta, persuaded Sweden and Denmark to revive the *Armed Neutrality of the North* (cp. 1780, p. 456), to check Great Britain's policy of searching neutral ships

for contraband of war. Prussia, bribed by the promise of Hanover, also joined. Great Britain was suffering the pinch of hunger; her population was growing under the influence of the Industrial Revolution; the Armed Neutrality cut off supplies of Russian corn; it was feared that Napoleon meant to secure the Danish fleet. *Hyde Parker* and *Nelson* therefore sailed for the Baltic, and in spite of Parker's signal for "cease firing" Nelson insisted on clinging to the Danish ships under the batteries of *Copenhagen* till they either sank or surrendered. The loss of the Danish fleet and the murder of mad Paul ended the Armed Neutrality (1801).

Peace of Amiens (1802).—Soon after the *Battle of the Baltic*, but before the news of the defeat of the French in Egypt arrived, preliminaries of peace had been signed by Great Britain and France. Both sides were eager for peace to repair the ravages of the war. All classes wanted security, and in England Pitt was no longer at the head of affairs to give it (see p. 484). In the negotiations for the peace, finally concluded at *Amiens* (1802), the bluff *Cornwallis* and incompetent *Addington* proved no match for Napoleon's brother *Joseph* and the wily *Talleyrand*. Great Britain gave up all her conquests except Spanish *Trinidad* and Dutch *Ceylon*, which cost France nothing. That fruitful source of future trouble, *Malta*, was to be restored to the Knights of St. John, and the French troops were to be withdrawn from Naples and Rome. On the other hand, the independence of France's satellite Republics was not mentioned. That was supposed to be guaranteed by the treaty of Lunéville (see p. 481). This was not the only weakness of a peace which was, as Sheridan said, one "which all men are glad of, but which no man can be proud of."

(E) IRELAND (1782-1800).

The Addington Ministry which carried through this dubious peace had succeeded Pitt in 1801. Pitt had fallen in trying to settle the Irish question. That problem had been by no means solved when "Grattan's Parliament" secured Home Rule in 1782. The Protestant minority alone was represented. The executive to a Whig Parliament was appointed by a Tory ministry at Westminster. The Irish Parliament was hopelessly corrupt, and all *Flood's* efforts to secure its reform failed (1785). Pitt's measure to secure for Irish trade equal privileges with that of the rest of the Empire broke down.

The religious problem still remained. How long could a self-governing legislature maintain the Church of a minority with tithes paid by all? Finally the land was a continual source of trouble, then as ever. In one instance Pitt was successful. He put pressure on the Dublin Parliament to admit Catholics to the franchise. The good that this measure might have done was ruined by the insane exclusion of Catholics from seats in either House. The Catholics, deprived of the services of their natural leaders, the Catholic gentry, fell more and more under the control of demagogues. The useless Enfranchisement Act of 1793 is closely connected with the rebellion of 1798.

The development of the Revolution in France ruined all immediate hope of further reform in Ireland as well as in England. Revolutionary doctrines, however, found congenial soil and took root in Ireland. *Wolfe Tone*, a lawyer, formed the society of *United Irishmen*. At first both Catholics and Protestants alike joined the society, whose aims were national and republican. The hopes of nationalists and Catholics alike were raised high in 1794, when *Lord Fitzwilliam* was appointed Viceroy. He was known to favour the Catholics, but on arriving at Dublin he expressed himself too prematurely on the Catholic question. He was recalled, and the influence of the United Irishmen increased.

The attitude of the United Irishmen also changed. They began to pose as the champions of Catholic Ireland against the English. Religious feuds had already been raging. The Protestant "Peep of Day Boys" had beaten the Catholic "Defenders" in a bloody skirmish at *Diamond* (1795), and under the title of *Orangemen* began to drive their Catholic neighbours "to Hell or Connaught." Many Catholics, who certainly did not know what Republicanism was, joined the ranks of the United Irishmen. All they knew was that rents and tithes were heavy and that their religion was despised. Sedition rapidly spread. Wolfe Tone arranged a French invasion. In 1796 *Hoche* arrived in Bantry Bay with a fleet and an army. Had he landed, the newly formed Protestant Yeomanry could not have stood against the victor of Quiberon Bay (see p. 478). Luckily the winds, "those ancient and unsubsidised allies of Britain," scattered his expedition and for a time a French invasion was averted.

The Government took prompt steps to stamp out sedition. The

Yeomanry earned a bad name by their brutal methods of disarming the peasantry; but all possibility of rebellion was ended in the North and centre of Ireland. Leinster, however, rose in arms. Led by Father *John Murphy* and the Protestant *Bagenal Harvey*, the rebels made desperate but unavailing attempts to reach Waterford and Dublin. The fighting was carried on savagely by both sides, and at last *General Lake* crushed the insurgents at *Vinegar Hill* (1798). Just as the last embers of rebellion were stamped out, the long-deferred French aid arrived. *Humbert* landed at Killalla, routed the yeomanry at "*Castlebar Races*," but was forced to surrender to Lake and Cornwallis. Wolfe Tone was captured soon after, and committed suicide in prison.

The Irish Union.—Rebellion was over, but what was to be done? Religious and racial hatred were at fever heat. To reform the Irish Parliament was to hand over the Protestants to the Catholics. To leave things as they were was to invite French invasion. Pitt proposed to remove the Irish Parliament from the fierce passions which ran riot in Dublin. Ireland was to send four bishops, twenty-eight peers elected for life, and one hundred commoners to Westminster. The Protestant Church was to be united to that of England. Equal trading privileges were extended to Ireland. In spite of the opposition of *Grattan*, *Ponsonby*, and *Plunket*, the "hateful task" of persuading the Irish Parliament to vote its own extinction was carried through by Cornwallis and *Castlereagh*. Gold had been the only means of getting business through that Parliament in the past; one last flood of gold swept it out of existence. In July 1800 the *Act of Union* was accomplished.

But, unlike the Scottish Union (see p. 403), that with Ireland was incomplete. Pitt had half promised Catholic Emancipation and State endowments for Catholic priests, as in the Quebec Act of 1774. *Loughborough*, Pitt's own colleague, betrayed his chief. He persuaded the rigidly honest old king that he would break his coronation oath by granting emancipation. George refused to hear of Pitt's proposal, and, rather than break his implicit promise to the Irish, Pitt resigned. Apart from the fact that the question of the land was shelved, the failure to grant Catholic Emancipation turned the great majority of the Irish against the Union. Justice was done in 1829 (p. 503), but it was done a generation too late.

(F) THE NAPOLEONIC WARS (1803-1815).

Great Britain's attention was soon withdrawn from Irish politics by the outbreak of war on the continent. Napoleon, who, like many great generals, was also a great administrator, had occupied the interval of peace in rebuilding France. He gave France laws in the *Code Napoleon*; by his *Concordat* with the Pope he restored the Catholic religion, which was still the religion of the majority of Frenchmen, and by using the priests as "clerical police" hoped to increase his hold upon the people. At the same time he secured to the peasants the Church lands bought at the Revolution. Henceforward he was always the "peasants' Consul," the "peasants' Emperor." He reorganised the educational system, the army, navy, and civil service. He even turned his mind to scientific pursuits.

But his conduct outside France made war inevitable. Even before definite peace was signed at Amiens he had broken the Treaty of Lunéville (p. 481), by securing his election as President of the *Italian* (late Cisalpine) *Republic* and as "Mediator" of the new *Helvetic Republic* (late Switzerland). His activities extended far beyond "this old Europe." It is true that under threat of war he was induced to sell *Louisiana*, which he had taken from Spain, to the United States. Elsewhere his policy excited suspicion. A "scientific" expedition narrowly failed to annex Van Diemen's Land (Tasmania, 1800). French agents appeared in India, the Levant, and in Ireland. His interference in Germany was unceasing. On the other hand, Great Britain insisted upon retaining Malta and Alexandria, and refused to stop the violent attacks on the First Consul made in the Press by Royalist refugees. National jealousy was inflamed by the newspapers on both sides of the Channel. In 1803 the Volunteers were called out, and war was declared.

Pitt's Second Ministry (1804-1806).—At once there was a cry for Pitt. Canning expressed the popular opinion in his epigram—

Pitt is to Addington
What London is to Paddington.

Accordingly in 1804 Pitt returned to office. But he was no longer the man he had been. His health was failing; *Melville* (Dundas), his trusty friend, accused of appropriating naval money, was lost to

him. George had refused to have anything to do with his new-found ally Fox, while, by an excusable error, he had bound himself by a promise to the king never to mention Catholic Emancipation in the Royal hearing. Whatever may be said in excuse of his action, a minister ought never to limit the scope of his advice.

Pitt took office at the very time when the First Consul crowned himself *Emperor* at Paris in the presence of the Pope. A few months later the idea of a revived Empire of the West was kept up, when Napoleon was crowned *King of Italy* with the Iron Crown of Milan. Paris was to be a new Rome, the seat of both Empire and Papacy. "I am not the successor of Louis XIV.," cried Napoleon, "I am the successor of Charlemagne." To withstand the new Charlemagne Pitt helped to form the *Third Coalition* of Great Britain, Russia, Austria, and Sweden. Prussia, dazzled by the promised bribe of Hanover, to her cost remained neutral.

Napoleon determined to strike at the nation which had made him miss his destiny in Syria, and whose fleets stood between France and colonial supremacy. He mustered his great "Army of England" at *Boulogne*. He planned to sweep the Channel which "is but a ditch" with his men-of-war. Could he but get control of the narrow seas for twenty-four hours he believed that England was his. But he never gained the necessary hours during which his army could cross in its flat-bottomed boats. *Villeneuve* managed to elude the British fleet blockading Toulon and freed the Spaniards at Cadiz. He led Nelson to the West Indies, then, turning, was on his way to Brest, when he was headed off to Cadiz by *Calder*. Stung by the reproaches of the Emperor, who never understood the difficulties of naval strategy, Villeneuve sailed out into the arms of Nelson off *Cape Trafalgar* (October 21, 1805). The price of victory was Nelson's life; but Nelson's work was done. For the rest of the war Great Britain was mistress of the seas.

Even before the failure of his "Boulogne" scheme, Napoleon had wheeled his Army of England towards the Rhine. He forced an Austrian army to surrender at *Ulm* before its general realised his presence. He then crushed the Austrians and Russians at *Austerlitz*, the "Battle of the Emperors" (December 1805). Austria made peace at *Pressburg*. She gave up Venice and her Adriatic possessions to the new kingdom of Italy, and acquiesced in Napoleon's rearrange-

ment of Germany. That policy found its full expression when in 1806 the Emperor formed the smaller western states of Germany into the dependent *Confederation of the Rhine*. At the same time Francis of Austria resigned the shadowy title of Holy Roman Emperor, in exchange for the hitherto unknown title of Emperor of Austria. Pitt's last Coalition had broken down. "Roll up that map of Europe," he said on receiving the news of Austerlitz, "it will not be needed again these ten years." It is sometimes said that the blow killed him, for he died a few days later. Whatever may be thought of the management of the war by this peace minister saddled with an uncongenial task; whatever may be said of wasted expeditions, squandered subsidies, and the appointment of "old women in red ribbons" to the command of armies; it cannot be denied that British subsidies did much to save Europe, and that it was Pitt alone who could secure willing supplies of that saving gold. He was the life and soul of three European coalitions; he was the man who gave confidence to his countrymen in their struggles, "the pilot who weathered the storm." A few months later Fox followed him to the grave, after serving for a few months as Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in Grenville's Ministry (1806-1807).

Napoleon's Supremacy.—While Napoleon was crushing Austria, Prussia, bribed by the promise of Hanover, kept quiet. The Emperor, however, picked a quarrel with her, and at the twin battles of *Auerstädt* and *Jena* (1806) Prussia fell unaided and unpitied. Russia's turn came next. A fearful drawn battle was fought at *Eylau* (1807), and had Grenville's ministry sent troops to the mouth of the Vistula, Napoleon might have been crushed. When, on the accession of *Portland* to power, aid was sent to Russia, it was too late. Napoleon had won a great victory at *Friedland*. Compelled by necessity and by a secret admiration for the great Corsican, the Czar Alexander had concluded the *Treaty of Tilsit* (1807). Between them the Emperors of the East and West rearranged Central Europe, chiefly at the expense of Prussia. Above all, Russia agreed to accept Napoleon's "Continental System."

(G) THE CONTINENTAL SYSTEM.

What he had failed to do with his fleets Napoleon hoped to do with his revenue cutters. He would crush Great Britain by ruining her

trade. His *Berlin* and *Milan Decrees* (1806-1807) forbade France and her allies to trade with England. Great Britain replied with the *Orders in Council* (1807), declaring France and her allies in a state of blockade. In the struggle between the land-power and the sea-power, the latter held the advantage. British ships swept the French and allied merchant-men off the seas. In spite of stringent measures Napoleon failed to keep out British goods. They were absolutely necessary to the continental nations. Many of the Emperor's own troops marched in British overcoats. The consequent rise of prices incensed the people of Europe against the French, and in his effort to enforce his system on all Europe, Napoleon fell.

(H) THE PENINSULAR WAR.

In the North Napoleon's scheme partially succeeded. French influence dominated the Baltic, and the Danish fleet was only saved from Napoleon's clutches by its forcible removal from *Copenhagen* to British ports (1807). In the South, however, *Portugal*, Great Britain's ancient ally, committed the crime of admitting British goods. Napoleon made one of the greatest mistakes of his life by sending *Junot* to occupy Lisbon. He next closed in on *Spain*. French troops nominally sent to support the army in Portugal occupied Spanish fortresses. The Emperor succeeded in forcing his late allies, the Spanish ex-king Charles iv. and King Ferdinand, to resign the throne in favour of his own brother, *Joseph Bonaparte*. Spanish national pride was outraged, and Spain "rebelled." It has been said that Spanish armies are very like mobs, but that Spanish mobs are also very like armies. Dupont surrendered to one of these "mobs" at *Baylen* (1808). Napoleon had stirred up a hornets' nest. For the first time since he had swept the mob from the streets of Paris he had to deal with *a people in arms*. The lesson of Spain was not lost on the other nations of Europe, while Napoleon always had to keep armies in Spain. In that country, so eminently suited for guerilla warfare, "small armies are cut up; large armies starve." The drain of men and money was enormous. "The Spanish ulcer," Napoleon rightly said, destroyed him. Hitherto he had fought governments, now he had to learn that Pitt was right when he declared that "nothing but a war of patriotism, a national

war, could now save Europe, and that war should begin in Spain." The Spanish ulcer was inflamed by the arrival of British aid. Money and arms were wasted on the Spaniards. Soldiers must be sent. Hitherto Great Britain had squandered her troops on useless and purposeless expeditions. Portugal supplied the necessary basis of operations. The command of the sea enabled Great Britain to use that base to the utmost. Her ships could reach it more quickly than French armies, and, as the Duke of Wellington afterwards said, "Portugal might be defended, whatever might be the result of the contest in Spain." The Spanish rising had cut off Junot in Lisbon. *Canning*¹ induced the British government to send *Sir Arthur Wellesley*, the victor of Assaye (p. 480), to assist the Portuguese. He beat Junot at *Vimiero* (1808), and the so-called *Convention of Cintra* secured that general's evacuation of Portugal.² Meanwhile *Sir John Moore*, who had marched to the assistance of the Spaniards, fell back from Valladolid before the advance of the Emperor in person. At *Corunna* (1809), while retreating towards the sea and the British fleet, Moore, at the cost of his own life, beat off his pursuer *Soult*, but Spain fell almost completely into the hands of the French.

Wellesley, however, again landed in Portugal. At *Talavera* (1809) he beat Marshal Victor and earned the title of *Wellington*. The French were not his only enemies. He had to fight against "the mulish obstinacy" and perfidy of Spanish committees. Nor was he always well supported from home. Men who might have turned the scale in Portugal were thrown away on the fever-stricken swamps of *Walcheren* (1809). The victors of Napoleon's Austrian campaign (p. 490) were pouring into Portugal, to "sweep the British leopards into the sea." Wellington found it necessary to withdraw to the impregnable lines of *Torres Vedras*, drawn across the isthmus on which Lisbon stands. On his way he fought at *Busaco* to encourage the Portuguese, and, while in his entrenchments, he formed them into serviceable troops. At last *Masséna* was forced to fall back by sheer hunger (1810). Next year Wellington, though nearly at the end of his resources, checked the enemy at *Fuentes d'Onoro* and *Albuera* (1811). All that winter he lay quiet, and in the spring his chance

¹ Secretary for Foreign Affairs in the Portland Administration (1807-1809).

² After his victory at Vimiero, Wellesley was superseded by Sir Harry Burrard and by Sir Hew Dalrymple.

came. Napoleon's marshals quarrelled among themselves; the French veterans were withdrawn for the disastrous Russian campaign (p. 491). Wellington "sprang with both feet" on the frontier fortress of *Ciudad Rodrigo* and *Badajos*. The breaches were carried with the bayonet, but the fearful loss of life was not wasted. *Salamanca* cleared the road to the capital, and the English entered Madrid in triumph (1812). Wellington prepared to drive Joseph across the Pyrenees. The French were caught on the mountainous roads near *Vittoria* (1813), encumbered with the spoil, "not of a province but of a kingdom." The rout was complete. Soult, the "lieutenant of the Emperor," failed to save the strongholds of *San Sebastian* and *Pampeluna*. Their fall laid the sacred soil of France open to the invaders. Three times Soult fell back, fighting desperately at *Nive*, at *Orthez*, and at *Toulouse* (1814). The last bloodshed was unnecessary, for Napoleon had fallen and Louis xviii. had already been proclaimed king at Paris. The Peninsular War largely contributed to the fall of the Empire. While British armies, supported by the fleet, kept resistance alive in Spain, France wore herself out in the vain effort to achieve the impossible.

Fall of Napoleon.—Napoleon's determination to enforce the Continental System led to his downfall. The Spanish rising showed the way to all nations anxious to resist him. Long-suffering Austria was the first to make the attempt, but the self-styled champion of liberty in Europe fell at *Wagram* (1809). By the *Treaty of Vienna*, Austria was forced to come into the System and to see her Adriatic possessions absorbed by France. The treaty was sealed by the marriage of Napoleon to Marie Louise, daughter of the last of the Holy Roman Emperors.

(I) "1812" (THE RUSSIAN CAMPAIGN).

Napoleon was at the zenith of his power in 1810. He was supreme in the West; he had a son to perpetuate his Imperial line. Great Britain and the Peninsula alone held out, and so Great Britain had to be destroyed. But it was only in Napoleon's personal dominions that the smuggling of British goods was difficult. He therefore determined to extend his personal dominions. In 1810 he annexed the coast line of Europe from Amsterdam to Lübeck. The

annexation of Oldenburg infuriated the Czar, the relative of its Duke. The Czar was already galled by the Continental System; he was afraid that Napoleon meant to revive the Kingdom of Poland, a belief also shared by the Poles. During 1811 both sides drifted into war, and in 1812 Napoleon set out on the disastrous Russian campaign. The Russians burnt him out of Moscow, and, on the retreat, bitter frosts, lack of supplies, and the wonderful Russian cavalry, the cossacks, carried off his men in thousands. "God has made Napoleon forget," said the cossacks, "that we have a winter in Russia."

As the ghastly wrecks of the Grand Army staggered across the Niemen, Central Europe rose against Napoleon. Prussian national sentiment had been quietly developing under French oppression and the influence of the statesman *Stein*, of *Scharnhorst*, the organiser of her army, and of national poets like *Arndt*. The Prussians rose as one man to assist the Russians against Napoleon, who by incredible exertions had raised a new army. At *Lützen*, *Bautzen*, and *Dresden* (1813), he was victorious, but Austria, strengthened by British gold and the news of British victories in the Peninsula, joined in the *War of Liberation*. Outnumbered and surrounded, Napoleon was defeated at the "Battle of the Nations," round *Leipzig*. He fought the finest campaign of his life in defence of Paris, but, at last, deserted by his Marshals, he was forced to abdicate (1814). He was sent to Elba, and Louis XVIII. was proclaimed king.

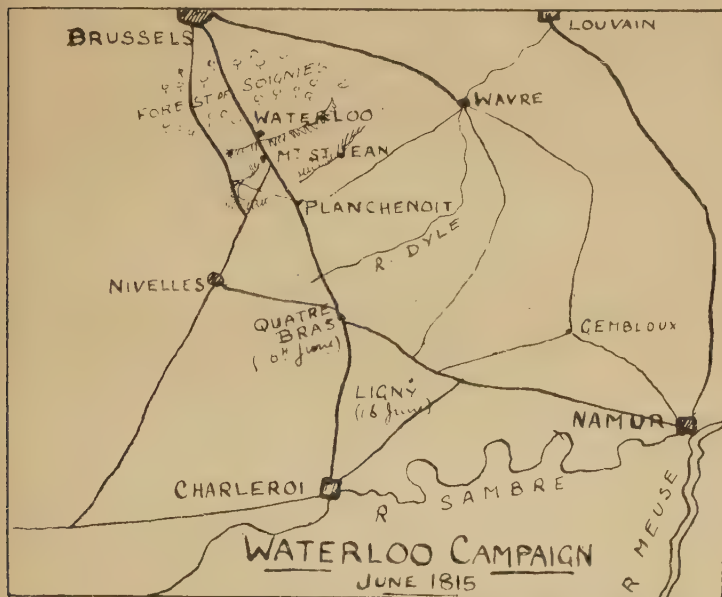
The American War.—Peace was especially acceptable to Great Britain, who was entangled in a war with the United States. The States contested Britain's right of searching their ships for contraband of war and for deserting seamen. *President Jefferson* had kept peace, but in 1812 the new President *Madison* was forced into war by the younger and more hot-headed members of his party, who wished to take advantage of Great Britain's troubles to annex Canada. They had reckoned without the "loyalists" of Upper, and the French Catholics of Lower, Canada. Though the heavy American gunboats swept their opponents from Lake Erie (1816), they were not so successful at Lake Ontario, were beaten at Niagara, and repulsed at Montreal. At sea, the balance of victory in a series of duels between frigates lay with the Americans, whose ships were on the whole larger, and whose gunnery was better, owing to wise practice

in time of peace. The two most famous duels were those in which the American *Constitution* beat the *Guerrière* and the British *Shannon* took the *Chesapeake*. The lamentable war, of which Canada alone had much reason to be proud, dragged on till its conclusion at *Ghent* (1814).

The Hundred Days (March to July 1815).—The rejoicings of Europe at the conclusion of peace was premature. Napoleon soon returned to upset the Congress which had met at Vienna to rearrange the world. The Bourbons had made themselves ridiculous. They had learnt nothing and forgotten nothing. France was not prepared to go back to the old régime, and when Napoleon landed in the South he was enthusiastically welcomed by the army and the peasantry. He gave France a Constitution and announced his intention of reigning peaceably. But Europe would have none of it, and prepared to destroy him. The Emperor determined to strike first, and marched against Wellington and Blücher in the Low Countries. His aim was to crush each separately, and on June 16th he almost succeeded in destroying the Prussians at *Ligny*. Had *Ney*, “the bravest of the brave,” beaten the British at *Quatre Bras*, nothing could have saved Blücher. Napoleon himself pushed on to meet Wellington at *Waterloo*. On that fatal Sunday (June 18, 1815), the solid British squares clung desperately to the ridge that guarded the road to Brussels, in spite of the furious cannonade and repeated charges of the French cuirassiers. At last the advance of *Blücher*, “Old Forwards,” as his men called him, turned Napoleon’s right flank; a last charge of the hitherto invincible Old Guard was repulsed by the British, and the Empire fell. Once more the Allies entered Paris, and Napoleon surrendered to the British fleet that had so long defied him. He ended his days a prisoner at St. Helena (1821).

Thus ended “eighteen hundred and war time,” and thus fell perhaps the greatest “all-round” man of any age. The son of a Corsican lawyer had become an Emperor; married the daughter of another Emperor; put his relations upon half the thrones of Europe, and guided the hands of those who sat upon the rest; remodelled the political geography of the continent; bridled a Revolution; rebuilt France; dictated terms to the head of the Catholic Church; revolutionised the art of war; framed a Code of Laws and system of education which has stood the test of a century. His

opportunity was certainly great, for he made use of the enthusiasm of the Revolution. But to make use of his opportunities is one of the gifts of a great man. The tragedy of his life was that his ambition waxed stronger as his early powers of restraint diminished and his clearness of vision faded. Even in his fall he was great. Nothing less than a confederacy of Europe could pull him down; while it is not too much to say that his administration in the one case and his overthrow in the other awakened that conscious national



sentiment which resulted in the united Italy and in the German Empire of 1870 (p. 534). The very legends which grew up in France around his name did more than anything else to prepare the way for the succession of his nephew, Louis Napoleon, to the throne of the Second Empire (p. 522).

Yet Napoleon had cost France dear. Not only had he drained her of men and money, but by the *Treaty of Paris* (1815) France lost all her conquests since 1789. Malta and the Ionian Isles strengthened Great Britain's hold on the Mediterranean; the Cape,

Mauritius, Tobago, St. Lucia, British Guiana, and the exclusive claim to Australia were the fruits of Britain's naval supremacy. The Allies held the Congress of Vienna and rearranged Europe. All Napoleon's dependent Princes fell except Bernadotte, King of Sweden, to whose dominions Norway¹ was added. Holland and Belgium were united under the House of Orange (p. 511). The States of Germany formed a Confederation, the first loose beginning of a later complete union. Finally Russia, Austria, and Prussia formed the *Holy Alliance*, nominally to rule on the most approved Christian lines, really to maintain each other's despotism in the face of any possible democratic agitation.

(J) THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION.

While the French Revolution was convulsing the political world, the Industrial Revolution was transforming the social life of England and to a less extent of Western Europe. There were two sides to that movement—the agricultural and the industrial. Till the middle of the eighteenth century England had been mainly an agricultural country. It is true that silk and linen weaving and iron smelting were carried on to a considerable extent, but England's main industry was still cloth weaving. Cloth was woven by men and women in their own village homes, scattered up and down the country, usually by the side of the rivers. When the demand for cloth was small the weavers could always gain a living from the patch of ground behind the cottage. Though the towns were large, it was not until the latter half of the eighteenth century that the drain of population from the fields to the cities became rapid.

The Agricultural Side of the Revolution.—The enclosures which had been one of the grievances in Tudor times slackened under the Stuarts. They began with renewed vigour in the middle of the eighteenth century. The ancient "open fields" disappeared with the development of scientific agriculture carried on by "spirited proprietors" like "Turnip" Townshend (see p. 422), Elkington, and "Farmer George" himself. Agricultural societies were formed; the Board of Agriculture was set up (1793); better breeds of cattle were raised; better ploughs used. War prices, protection, and

¹ Norway and Sweden separated again in 1907.

bounties made wheat-growing profitable, and therefore the poorer soils were put under cultivation, for as yet the great wheat-fields of Western America had not been opened up. Unfortunately, the labourers and small farmers suffered; the yeomanry began to disappear as land fell more and more into the hands of capitalists. Big farms paid; small farms as a rule did not, for their owners were poor and backward. Their position was made worse by the Acts of Enclosure, which deprived their geese and pigs of the use of the commons. Every inducement was offered to make them sell their land. Merchants who wanted to set up as country gentlemen needed freehold land which gave a vote and social standing to its owners. On the other hand, the rapidly growing industries tempted many farmers to try their fortune in the towns.

The Industrial side of the Revolution.—The growth of towns and manufactures was due to steam-driven machinery. A great burst of invention took place in the middle of the eighteenth century. Experiments imply the existence of capital, and capital was rapidly accumulating. The rapidity with which machinery could produce articles would have been useless without the wide market which the wars of the century had given Great Britain in her colonial Empire, and, above all, in her command of the seas. Every inducement was thus given to inventors. The year 1769, which saw the birth of Napoleon, Wellington, and modern Radicalism (see p. 449), saw also *James Watt's* first steam-engine. Iron was the necessary partner of steam, and in 1755 *Anthony Bacon* at Merthyr, and *Roebuck* at the Carron Iron Works (1760), had introduced new methods of smelting that metal. In the ten years that followed 1769, *Arkwright*, *Hargreaves*, and *Crompton* invented improved weaving machinery, and in 1785 the steam-engine was for the first time applied to cotton-spinning. That event marks the death of the old "domestic system" of manufacture and the birth of the modern factory system, a change hastened by the "power-loom," the invention of "a portly and dignified Yorkshire clergyman" named *Cartwright*.

The development of machinery was aided by improved means of communication. The *Grand Trunk Canal*, joining the Trent and Mersey (1777), was the first of many inland waterways, of which some 3000 miles were opened up by 1803. The scientific roads of *Macadam* and *Telford* began to replace the rutty cart-tracks (1818—

1829); 1830 saw the opening of the first steam railway between Stockton and Darlington; while in 1803 the *Charlotte Dundas*—the first steam-tug—began to work on the Forth and Clyde Canal. The first steamship crossed the Atlantic in 1819.

Results of the Industrial Revolution.—These changes completed the breach between town and country. Men had to be near the steam-engine; factory towns grew up with all their awful slums. Wherever there was coal and iron, there men gathered together. The population in Lancashire, the West Riding of Yorkshire, and in Staffordshire, round the potteries of *Josiah Wedgwood*, increased rapidly. The old relations of master and man were destroyed. Men were now absolutely dependent on their wages. Work was done by “persons who had no property in the goods they manufactured.” Factory owners knew nothing of their artisans, who became merely “hands.” Labour was plentiful and cheap. Unlimited competition became the order of the day. In the face of changing conditions and the general acceptance of *Adam Smith’s* “Wealth of Nations” (1776), the old system of trade regulations was bit by bit abolished. The Act of Apprentices (see p. 279) was repealed in 1813; combinations of workmen were forbidden by law; the new factories and their inmates were left entirely at the mercy of the capitalists. The Government, guided by two fallacies, adopted an attitude of non-intervention. The French Revolution and the philosophy of the day taught that all men are equal. It was further believed, in that case, that all men ought to have complete liberty in economic matters. The Government said in effect, *laissez-faire*—leave men at liberty as though all men were equally capable of self-protection. At a time when the evils of the Industrial Revolution had fairly shown themselves, Carlyle wrote: “Liberty, I am told, is a divine thing. Liberty, when it becomes Liberty to die of starvation, is not so divine.”

The Industrial Revolution had, however, its light side as well as the dark. Great Britain gained “an increased command over material resources of all sorts,” resources which enabled her to survive the strain of the Napoleonic Wars. On the other hand, there was “a loss of stability of every kind.” The basis of society was entirely altered, and democratic ideas appealed to the minds of the town-dwellers much more strongly than to the men who remained on the land.

Great Britain after the War.—The first years of the “thirty years’ peace” proved to England that peace hath her tragedies no less than war. The problem that faced her rulers was terrible. Great Britain had emerged from the war victorious; her colonial possessions and wealth had increased; but so had her national debt. Pitt’s financial policy had been expensive, and matters were made worse by *Perceval* and *Vansittart*, who raised fresh loans to pay the interest on the old. Taxation was so heavy that *Sidney Smith* could rightly say that there were “taxes on everything on earth, and the waters under the earth,” taxes from which no man could escape till he “be gathered to his fathers to be taxed no more.” The developments of machinery benefited the rising industrial class; the high price of corn—kept up to a war level by the *Corn Laws* of 1815, which forbade the importation of foreign corn till the price per quarter was over eighty shillings—at least brought money into the pockets of the landed class. But high prices called forth an insane spirit of gambling which led to many financial crashes. Thousands of dependent workmen were involved in them; crowds of discharged soldiers swelled the ranks of the unemployed; while, in response to the current theory that the raising of a large family was patriotic and to the more alluring inducements of allowances (see p. 507), population increased rapidly. The condition of the mass of the people was wretched. Not one in four had any sort of education whatever; while all were subject to a fierce criminal law, with its two hundred capital offences, including shop-lifting to the extent of five shillings. It was from such ignorant, poverty-stricken material that the mobs which wrecked the Bastille had been formed. Who could say whether an English Revolution might not burst out?

Eldonian Toryism.—The six years which followed the Peace were years of Tory reaction. *Castlereagh* had refused to join the Holy Alliance, but he and his associates were no less determined than the Austrian *Metternich* to repress all tendencies towards revolution. With the exception of the *Prince Regent*, who, as *Thackeray* afterwards wrote, “left an example for age and for youth to avoid,” the men in power were not bad men. George III., for the last ten years of his life (1810-1820), was “a crazy old blind man in Windsor Tower.” Power was in the hands of *Lord Liverpool* (Jenkinson), the chief of that body of men of very mediocre

talent who had worn down the genius of Napoleon, of whom *Castlereagh*, and *Eldon* the Chancellor, were the leading lights. They looked upon political changes with the utmost suspicion. They had seen all Europe run red with blood in the name of Liberty and Equality. They would have none of it in England. The Constitution and form of Society were to be kept in *statu quo* as far as legislation and bayonets could effect that object.

Tendencies towards Reform.—Nevertheless, the movement towards reform, suppressed in England by the French Revolution, had now reawakened. Even during the great war some reforms had been effected. *Wilberforce* and *Clarkson* had secured the abolition of the Slave Trade (1807). In the face of much opposition on the part of those who looked askance at even elementary education, some attempt was made by *Robert Raikes* in his Sunday schools and by others (see p. 541) to enlighten the dense ignorance of the masses. A still more important step was taken by the Churchman *Dr. Bell*, and the Dissenter *Mr. Lancaster*, in the foundation of two societies for the education of pupil teachers (see p. 541). Other movements had as yet borne little fruit. *Sir Francis Burdett*, with unfailing regularity, brought forward unsuccessful motions at Westminster for Parliamentary reform; *Whitbread* headed an agitation against the pauper-breeding Poor Law; *Samuel Romilly*, till his death in 1818, waged an unceasing war against the savage criminal code of the day. The new spirit of philanthropy was embodied in the work of the "Philosophic Radicals." Though they broke all Burke's maxims by despising the teaching of history, though they were often pedantic and narrow, though they earned the name of "Utilitarians" by testing everything in the light of its presumable usefulness, these men were no revolutionary Utopians. Their watchword was "the greatest happiness of the greatest number," and, without being too curious as to what was their definition of happiness, it must be admitted that they were foremost in all attempts at practical reform which were set on foot. Among them were *Malthus*, a clergyman whose essay on population went to the root of the bad old Poor Law System; the dry and indefatigable *Jeremy Bentham*; *Ricardo*, *James Mill*, and *Hume*, whose logical and "bloodless" economic theories held sway for two generations; the lawyer *Austin*; and *Grote* the banker-historian of Greece.

There were, however, less intellectual and less moderate reformers at work. *William Cobbett*, a peasant who had risen to be an editor, taught that with annual parliaments and universal suffrage all would be well. He aired his views in the weekly *Political Register* (1816), and the influence which the circulation of his "twopenny trash" exercised was increased by *Hampden Clubs*, which sprang up all over the country. Swarms of pamphlets, many of them of the most coarse and virulent nature, were scattered over the country, especially after the failure of the prosecution of the bookseller *Hone* for seditious libel (1817). A general feeling of unrest was abroad. The more violent and wretched members of the labouring classes protested against high rents, high prices, and the use of machinery, by rick-burning and machine-smashing. More orderly meetings of protest were held, till the Government forbade them (1817). Then there came wild rumours of drilling by night, and though the "march of the Blanketeers" from Manchester to London to lay their grievances before the Prince Regent and the so-called "Derbyshire Insurrection" proved to be fiascos, the Government and all classes who had anything to lose were much alarmed. The climax came in 1819, when the authorities warned the people of Manchester that a proposed meeting to be held by "Orator" Hunt would be illegal. Nevertheless the crowd came; the yeomanry were foolishly sent in to arrest the Orator; hussars were sent to rescue the yeomanry; they charged the mob; a few persons were killed, more wounded, and popular indignation dignified the episode with the name of the Peterloo Massacre. The Government hurriedly passed the Six Acts (1819), not unwisely forbidding the possession of arms, and limiting the facilities for the spread of seditious papers and the right of holding public meetings. By checking undue violence these much-maligned Acts paved the way for more orderly reform.

CHAPTER LI.

GEORGE IV. (1820-1830) AND WILLIAM IV.
(1830-1837).

THE accession of George IV. and the death of Castlereagh cleared the way for (*A*) Tory Reforms, manifest in (*B*) a change in Foreign Policy and (*C*) Religious Reform. But the Tories soon made way for (*D*) the Whigs with their Reforms in Parliamentary representation, (*E*) the Poor Law, (*F*) Slavery, and (*G*) Factory organisation. Many of the more moderate Whigs then joined Peel, while others followed Palmerston in his energetic (*H*) Foreign Policy.

(*A*) TORY REFORM.

AS Prince of Wales George IV. had been a rake, and though Parliament had paid his debts more than once, he was still deeply in debt and sunk in debauchery. As king, he spent the first years of his reign in an ignoble squabble with his wife; for the remainder, he fortunately left matters very much in the hands of his ministers.

Lord Liverpool remained in office, but the character of his party was altered. *Sidmouth* resigned; *Castlereagh* died by his own hand, pursued to the grave by the undeserved curses of the mob. A group of younger Tories came to the front, led by that brilliant orator and large-minded opportunist, *George Canning*. The financier *Robert Peel*, and *Huskisson*, the pioneer of Free Trade, accompanied him. These men abandoned the cast-iron rules of Eldonian Toryism. It is true that they were against popular government. They believed in "everything for, but nothing by the people." But they did not defend abuses simply because they were ancient. They were the Tory fore-runners of the more sweeping Whig reformers of the next decade.

Economic Reform.—*Huskisson* was a more ardent disciple of Adam Smith than the younger Pitt himself. In 1823 he took a long stride towards Free Trade by relaxing the stringency of the Navigation Acts (see p. 337), and by arranging that the duties levied at English ports on foreign goods should be no higher than the duties levied on English goods by the country from which the goods came. He reduced the duties on raw silk and wool, and even permitted the unheard-of novelty of admitting foreign manufactured silk. The step was feared by the manufacturers, but the prosperity of masters and men increased. At the same time all restrictions on the combinations of workmen were repealed (1824), though, owing to the unscrupulous use of their freedom by many of the men, this liberty was curtailed in the following year. Under *Huskisson's* care and that of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, "*Prosperity Robinson*," the national finances gradually improved; and it was well that they did so, for the year 1825 saw many commercial failures as the result of "wild-cat" schemes in Spanish South America.

(B) FOREIGN POLICY (1820-1830).

Spain and Spanish America loomed very large, not only in the world of finance but in the world of politics. In 1820 a series of "Liberal" revolutions broke out in the Peninsula, in Sicily and northern Italy, and in Greece. Castlereagh refused either to intervene actively himself or to allow the Holy Alliance to meddle with the affairs of Western Europe. But he did not move a finger to save Italy from the Austrians or Greece from her Turkish masters. On Castlereagh's death (1822) a more spirited policy was pursued by Canning. In everything but Parliamentary reform *Canning* was a reformer. At home he was the ardent advocate of Catholic Emancipation; abroad he was the champion of "Liberalism." Spain claimed his first attention. That unhappy country was torn by civil war, and though the decrepit absolutism of the Bourbons at Madrid was upheld by French bayonets, the Spanish Empire was rapidly going to pieces. Already Florida had been sold to the United States (1819), San Domingo had joined Hayti, and now Mexico, Peru, and the other Spanish-American colonies revolted. Nor did Portugal fare better. Don Pedro, with the assistance of

the naval free-lance *Cochrane*, proclaimed himself Emperor of Brazil. Canning, in 1824, following the example of the United States' President, Monroe, recognised the independence of the revolted colonies, justifying his policy by the plea that he had "called a new world into existence to redress the balance of the old." The balance of the old world was threatened by the desperate struggle of the Greeks to secure independence from Turkey. Canning recognised them as belligerents, and winked at the crowds of English volunteers who followed *Byron* to death in the cause of Greek independence (1824). At last, on the death of Lord Liverpool (1827), Canning became Prime Minister, much against the king's will. His hands were now freer, and he joined with France and Russia to persuade Turkey to come to terms. Admiral *Codrington's* persuasion took the form of sinking the combined Turkish and Egyptian fleets in *Navarino Bay* (1827). Canning, however, was dead before the news of the victory reached England, where, since Great Britain's intended policy had been one of neutrality, it caused great perplexity to the new ministry. *Wellington*, in his anxiety, went so far as to call the battle "an untoward event"; but in any case the victory did much to ensure Greek independence, which the Sultan recognised in 1829.

(C) RELIGIOUS REFORM.

It was in an evil hour for his reputation as a statesman that the "Iron Duke" took up the reins of supreme office (1828-1830). He understood how to manage the king; he never understood how to manage the people or political parties. But he had the saving military grace of knowing when to retreat. High Tory though he was, his ministry is marked by two great reforms. The passing of an annual Bill of Indemnity had reduced the maintenance of the *Test and Corporation Acts* against Dissenters to little more than a farce (see p. 442). In spite of the stubborn efforts of Lord Eldon to preserve what he called "the bulwarks of the Constitution," Lord John Russell compelled Wellington to acquiesce in the repeal of these obsolete statutes (1828). The long-drawn-out struggle for *Catholic Emancipation* was ended the next year (1829). The claims of the Catholics, which had led to the infamous Gordon Riots (1780), the resignation of the younger Pitt in 1801, and of Grenville

in 1807, had been persistently urged by private members like Plunket, Grattan, and Burdett, and even by such Tory ministers as Castlereagh and Canning. But the cause had been baffled by the opposition of the king, of most of the Lords under *Eldon*, of the Universities, and of the bulk of public opinion, and under a purely Tory ministry there seemed little chance of its achievement.

Ireland was naturally most interested in the question. Already (1823) *Daniel O'Connell*, an excitable, eloquent, and somewhat unscrupulous Irish lawyer, had formed the *Catholic Association*. He agitated for a repeal of the Union, and, as a necessary preliminary, Catholic emancipation. It has been said that the priests ruled the Irish and O'Connell ruled the priests. He soon became a national hero, and was triumphantly returned by the 40s. freeholders of County Clare against Vesey Fitzgerald, the government candidate. As a Catholic, O'Connell could not take his seat at Westminster. But the Clare election brought matters to a head. *Lord Brougham* took up the cause of the Catholics; at the cost of his seat for Oxford, *Peel* came round to his side; the general sense of both Houses, though by no means of the nation, was in favour of emancipation; Ireland clamoured for it, and Wellington chose, as he said, submission rather than a civil war. Catholics were to be admitted to all civil and military offices except those of King, Regent, Lord Chancellor, and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. On the other hand, the Irish franchise was raised to £10 freehold instead of 40s.; while the fatal weakness of the measure lay in the omission to provide any government maintenance for the Catholic clergy. Parliament had done an act of justice to Catholics, but they had not secured the peace of Ireland. O'Connell was re-elected for Clare, and continued his violent agitation for the repeal of the Union and his opposition to his benefactors, Wellington and Peel, "those men who, false to their own party, can never be true to us."

(D) WHIG REFORM.

Parliamentary Reform.—The repeal of the Test Act and the admission of Catholics to Parliament had made a great breach with the past. When one change has been made in the constitution, others follow. Sixty years before, Chatham had warned the House of

Commons to reform itself, otherwise it "would be reformed from without with a vengeance." Now the agitation for Parliamentary reform, which had never entirely ceased, redoubled in vigour. Seventeen hundred Yorkshire freeholders petitioned for it (1823). Philosophic Radicals (see p. 498), and Democrats like *Burdett* and *Cobbett*, seconded their efforts. The Whig Opposition, led by Grey, Melbourne, Brougham, and Palmerston, took up the cause.

The need for some change was plain. The House of Commons was hardly representative of the nation at all. The County franchise had been restricted to 40s. freeholders in 1430, but, under the influence of the Industrial Revolution, the 40s. freeholders were rapidly disappearing. Some counties, however, like Middlesex and Yorkshire, had such large constituencies that many county families got into serious financial straits through contested elections. The boroughs were much less representative than the counties. The franchise in boroughs varied infinitely, but in most it was narrow. Some seats were in the gift of noblemen like the Duke of Newcastle, who claimed "to do what he liked with his own." Others, especially in Cornwall, were in the gift of the Crown. These boroughs had been "born rotten." Others had fallen into the hands of cliques, often of the Corporation, which, in the case of Oxford at least, openly advertised the seats for sale. Seven freeholders on a gentleman's estate at Gatton returned two members; the elder Pitt once had the honour of representing three rings of earthworks at Old Sarum; while Dunwich, half submerged by the sea, still had its two representatives at Westminster.

There was something to be said for the system. It was one of historic growth; above all, it worked. When deeply moved, the nation could and did make its influence felt in Parliament; while in ordinary times the members usually showed good sense. Rotten though they were, the boroughs returned such brilliant men as Chatham, Fox, and Burke. It may be questioned whether the modern system has, on the whole, done very much better. On the other hand, George III. had shown that the rotten boroughs gave the Crown immense power over the House of Commons, a hold which was shared by the borough-mongering Lords. Worse still, the Commons, hedged round by privilege, yet not really representative, could not be easily checked by those for whom they professed to act.

The number of unrepresented tax-payers was rapidly increasing. The Industrial Revolution was raising up a large, intelligent, and wealthy class of employers, who, having no freehold, had no vote. The number of Parliamentary boroughs on the coal and iron fields north of the Trent was small. Liverpool, Manchester, and Birmingham returned no members. The Industrial Revolution stretched the Constitution to breaking-point. The fermentation of Radical and French revolutionary ideas threatened to break it. There was a growing feeling that the Sovereignty of the People ought to be a fact, especially as George iv.'s conduct had immeasurably lowered the prestige of the Crown. The revolution in Paris which set the "bourgeois" Louis Philippe of Orleans upon the throne of the Bourbon Charles x., seemed to enforce the lesson (1830).

Though Wellington maintained that Parliament needed no reform, the agitation proved too much for him. Rather than sacrifice his Tory principles a third time, he made way for Grey and the Whig reformers (1830-1834). The Reform Bill passed the Commons by a majority of one. Grey resolved to appeal to the country. A reforming majority was returned; the Bill again passed the Commons, only to be thrown out by the Lords. Popular excitement ran high. Mass meetings clamoured for "the Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill." The Birmingham Union threatened to march, 200,000 strong, upon the capital. The roughs of Bristol made reform the excuse for violent riots, just as the London mob had used religion for a pretext in the days of the Gordon Riots. A third Bill was sent up to the Lords. Wellington in vain tried to form an administration, but when Grey threatened to request the king to create a batch of Whig Peers, the Iron Duke, acting upon a broad hint from William, stood aside. The Reform Bill became law (1832).

One hundred and forty-three seats were taken away from rotten or rotting boroughs and given to the counties or to large towns like Manchester, Leeds, and Birmingham, which had hitherto been unrepresented. In the counties the historic 40s. freehold franchise was retained and extended to lease and copy-holds of the same annual value. Tenants-at-will who paid £50 a year received votes, while in the boroughs the antiquated franchises were swept away in favour of a £10 annual household qualification. Similar Bills were passed for Scotland and Ireland,

The "great Reform Act" failed to satisfy the extremists on either side. To the high Tories it portended revolution; the Radicals thought it was not democratic enough. It was a middle-class measure; the mob whose agitation had caused such anxiety was not given the vote. Nor were demagogues returned to Westminster. The Parliaments immediately following the Act were unexpectedly conservative in tone. On the other hand, the balance of power in the Constitution had definitely shifted to the Lower House, and through it to the middle classes. Neither Crown nor Peers could influence representatives of free constituencies as they could influence nominees of rotten boroughs. The Duke of Wellington had shown great wisdom in yielding, but it remained to be seen how long the new House of Commons would submit to the Corn Laws, and, above all, how long the hereditary House could work side by side with one that was now really representative of a large section of the nation.

Whig Reforms subsequent to the Reform Act of 1832.—The passing of "the Bill" gave a spur to legislation. An epidemic of cholera (1831-1832) combined with the existing zeal for popular control to impress upon men the necessity of efficient government in the towns. By the *Municipal Reform Act* (1835) the venerable abuses of one hundred and seventy-eight boroughs were swept away, and a closer approximation to administrative purity secured by Town Councils elected by all householders of three years' standing who had paid their poor and borough rates. Five years later the same was done for Ireland.

(E) POOR LAW.

Few evils demanded more drastic remedy than the existing Poor Law. Official care for the poor is a comparatively recent institution in England. Though there may have been less personal freedom in the Middle Ages, there was certainly less pauperism. The poor were looked after by their neighbours, or by Gilds and Monasteries. "Sturdy beggars" were repressed by the stocks, the whip, and the branding iron. The Tudors saw the real growth of pauperism, owing to enclosures, the influx of American gold, and the rapid growth of population. Elizabeth's Poor Law (1601), the result of many years' experiment, marked the time when the Government

recognised its responsibility towards the poor. Each Parish was bound to care for the sick and impotent; while the tramp must either find work or be set to work by the Justices of the Peace in the house of correction. "Finding work" was soon abandoned, and the workhouse became the haven of impotent as well as able-bodied paupers. The latter had to work, and it was on this principle of the Elizabethan statute that the Poor Law reformers based the measure of 1834.

A return to Elizabeth's methods had been made essential by the well-meant and misdirected efforts of her successors. The Act of 1601 had not stopped vagrancy. People naturally flocked to the parishes which had the best woods and commons, and there many fell upon the rates. The Long Parliament of the Restoration passed the first of a series of Acts of Settlement, forbidding any one from settling in a parish unless he gave ample surety that he would not become chargeable to it. Even when farmers were clamouring for men, strangers were kept out and forced to return to their own place. Worse still, all through the eighteenth century a "war on cottages" raged to prevent new-comers from settling in a district. Had these Acts been carried out to the letter, England would never have attained industrial supremacy, for labourers would have been unable to go where they were needed.

The lot of the poor moved the pity and fear of eighteenth century statesmen. By *Gilbert's Act* (1782) parishes were allowed to give assistance to paupers without compelling them to enter the workhouse. In 1795 the Berkshire magistrates went a step farther. They had fearful facts to face. The quartern loaf was priced at 1s. 4d.; the average earnings of a family were 11s. 9d. per week, the cost of living 13s. 4d. The magistrates began to supplement these earnings out of the rates, and the *Speenhamland Act* made their action legal. That Act was the ruin of work. The less a man earned and the larger his family, the more he got from the rates. Farmers were tempted to reduce wages, knowing that the deficit would be made up by the ratepayers. The nadir was reached in 1817, when one-fourth of the people was receiving assistance and the poor rate was increasing three times as fast as the population. Arnold Toynbee, writing in 1882, might well say that this time was "as terrible as any period through which a nation ever passed."

The agitation set on foot mainly by *Whitbread* and earlier by *Bentham* resulted in the long-delayed reform of the Poor Law (1834). The deadly system of allowances was stopped. Relief was only to be given in workhouses maintained by parishes grouped in Unions and regulated by elected Guardians, who collected the poor-rate and who were in turn checked by a Central Board. On the other hand, the Acts of Settlement were swept away, and the Guardians were given a certain discretion in the granting of relief, especially medical relief, to those outside the workhouse. The nineteenth century has seen a gradual revival of outdoor relief. The Act of 1834 was condemned by philanthropists, and by the poor, who nicknamed the House "the Bastille." But the Act on the whole worked well. It did much to separate the worker from the tramp; it at least made some provision for the impotent poor, and it vastly reduced the rates.

(F) ABOLITION OF SLAVERY.

The zeal of the reformers was not confined to their native land. The conditions of negro slavery moved men like *Zachary Macaulay*, father of the great essayist, *Clarkson*, and *Buxton*, to take up the work of *Wilberforce*. Many of the tales of slavery were exaggerated, notably about that exercised by the Dutch in Cape Colony, but enough was true to warrant the abolition of the system. In spite of the opposition of the West Indian planters, *Lord Stanley*, the Colonial Secretary, carried a Bill emancipating all slaves throughout the Empire at the end of six years' "apprenticeship." Great Britain paid £20,000,000 as compensation to the slave-owners—a heavy price to pay for a conscientious and commercially unprofitable step (1833).

(G) THE FACTORY ACTS.

There was another and worse kind of slavery in Great Britain itself. "Brethren," wrote Carlyle, "we know but imperfectly yet after ages of constitutional government what liberty and slavery are." He was thinking of the "white slaves" of Lancashire. The new society, bred of the Industrial revolution, was totally unregulated by law. Government, taught by economists like Ricardo and

Malthus, believed that the individual interests of men were in the long run those of the community. The mill-owners wanted "hands"; the workers wanted wages. Since all men were presumably equal, each man must be competent to look after himself. Here was a glaring instance of the folly of ruling society on abstract principles. Men never have been equal. Single workmen were powerless to bargain fairly with a mill-owner, and combinations of workmen were illegal. Population was growing and competition was keen. Bread was dear and wages were low, and tended lower still. Factories were uninspected, and were often mere barns, ill-lighted and unventilated. There men, women, and children worked for twelve, fourteen, even eighteen hours a day for wretched wages. Conditions in the old-established woollen industry were not so bad; but in the newly-developed linen, silk, and cotton factories they were abominable. Work in the coal-mines was even worse.¹ Women and girls hauled trucks of coal like cattle. Mere children of six years of age worked for twelve hours underground. In many cases the parents of the children were to blame, for coal-miners' wages even in those days were very fair; but much of the blame must rest with the masters.

The pioneer of factory reform was *Robert Owen*, who in 1797 founded his "model" factory at New Lanark. He refused to employ children under ten; he opened a school for them, and did all he could to raise the character of all his employees. He gained Peel to his side; but little was done till the agitation was revived in 1830. The leaders of the movement were *Richard Oastler*, the Tory *Michael Sadler*, and the evangelical churchman *Lord Ashley*, afterwards the Earl of Shaftesbury. They gained the support of many of the younger generation, notably of *Benjamin Disraeli*; and secured the appointment of a Royal Commission, whose report—"that awful document"—literally shocked Parliament into passing the first *Factory Act* (1833). No child under nine years of age might work at all; night-work was abolished; while "young persons" (under eighteen years of age) might not work for more than twelve hours—a limitation afterwards made to include women. Machinery was to be fenced round; but, more important than all, government inspectors were appointed to see that the Act was obeyed.

¹ A vivid picture of the horrors of the coal-mines of those days is to be seen in Disraeli's novel "*Sybil*."

Government had really abandoned its position of *laissez-faire*. The Act of 1833 was the first of a series. Later on, women, girls, and boys under ten were shut out of the coal-mines altogether; while in their turn the mines were inspected. Twenty years later (1853) a ten and a half hours' day became customary for all; while the same principle of State regulation was applied to shipping (1875). Nor has the process of still further regulating the terms and hours of industry ceased.

The Peelites.—The reforming zeal of Grey's Whigs was cooling. The party naturally split. Many of the less "progressive" Whigs joined Peel, who had rallied round him the majority of the Tories, including the young *William Ewart Gladstone*. Lord Grey resigned (1834), and Lord Melbourne, after an uneasy moment in office, made way for *Peel*, "that most liberal of Conservatives and most conservative of Liberals, and the most capable man of all in both parties." His *Tamworth Manifesto* (1835) laid down the new Conservative policy. Existing reforms were accepted; future progress was to be orderly and steady. Ireland, however, wrecked the Government (see p. 516), and *Melbourne* returned to power (1835). That amiable, indolent, and cultured political tutor to the Princess Victoria held office more or less securely till 1841.

(H) FOREIGN POLICY (1830–1842).

Lord Palmerston was Foreign Secretary from 1830 till 1857 with two intervals, one when *Peel* was in office in 1835, and again from 1841 to 1846. During his tenure of office, Great Britain's foreign policy was vigorous, to say the least of it. Blunt, straightforward, apt to speak his mind, careless whether he insulted both Houses of Parliament and all Europe into the bargain, "*Pam*," as he was fondly called, had as firm a belief in "God's Englishman" as had *Oliver Cromwell*. In a sense he followed *Canning's* lead, but his methods were much more direct. He constituted himself the champion of the smaller nations of Europe, and did not hesitate to beard the greater powers. *Wellington* had, in 1830, recognised *Louis Philippe* as King of the French. *Palmerston* now actively interfered in Continental politics. He persuaded *Talleyrand*, once minister of the great *Napoleon*, to aid the Belgians in throwing off the hated

Dutch yoke (1830). The combined efforts of France and Great Britain placed *Leopold* of Saxe-Coburg on the throne of an independent Belgium. Palmerston had to leave the Poles to the tender mercies of Russia (1832), but he helped to place Otho of Bavaria on the throne of Greece, sent a fleet to the Tagus to overawe the usurper Dom Miguel, and successfully threatened Don Carlos, the pretender to the crown of Spain. The Queens of Portugal and Spain gratefully joined France and Great Britain in the *Quadruple Alliance* of 1834. Palmerston had united Western Europe against the Holy Alliance.

He then turned towards the East. Turkey was in peril from her nominal vassal, Egypt. Russia, with an eye to the Bosphorus, was preparing to save Turkey. Palmerston determined to save the Sultan, Mohammed v., from his friends. British ships bombarded Beirut and Acre; British troops beat the Egyptians on Mount Lebanon, and *Aden*, the Gibraltar of the Red Sea, was annexed (1839). The result of this "anti-Crusade," as Burke would have called it, was that the Quadruple Alliance agreed to protect Turkey (1841). Foiled on the Bosphorus, Russia turned towards Afghanistan. Palmerston realised the importance of preserving the "buffer-state" of India intact. The British expedition to Cabul ended in the disastrous retreat from Cabul to Jellalabad (1842), vengeance followed next year, and Afghanistan was left to itself (see p. 525). Meanwhile, in the Far East, Great Britain went to war with China. Her fleet bombarded Canton, and by the Peace of Nankin secured *Hong-Kong* and an open door to the unknown riches of the Celestial Empire (1842). But before the news of the disaster of Cabul and the bombardment of Canton reached London, Lord Melbourne had resigned (1841), and *Peel* had taken office, with *Lord Aberdeen* as Foreign Secretary in place of the explosive "Pam."

LEADING MINISTERS DURING THE REIGNS OF QUEEN VICTORIA AND EDWARD VII. (1837-1909).

Whig	(1835-1841)—Lord Melbourne (P.M.); Lord Palmerston (Foreign Secretary).
Tory	(1841-1846)—Sir Robert Peel (P.M.); Duke of Wellington (Leader of the Lords).
Wh.	(1846-1852)—Lord John Russell (P.M.); Palmerston (Foreign Secretary).

- T. (1852, Feb. to Dec.)—Lord Derby (P.M.); Disraeli (Chancellor of Exchequer).
- Wh. (1852-1855)—Lord Aberdeen (P.M.); Palmerston (Home Secretary); Gladstone (Chancellor of Exchequer).
- Wh. (1855-1858)—Palmerston (P.M.); Gladstone (Exchequer) for a time; Russell (Foreign Secretary) later.
- T. (1858-1859)—Derby (P.M.); Disraeli (Chancellor of Exchequer).
- Wh. (1859-1865)—Palmerston (P.M.); Gladstone (Chancellor of Exchequer); Russell (Foreign Secretary).
- Wh. (1865-1866)—Russell (P.M.); Gladstone (Chancellor of Exchequer).
- T. (1866-1868)—Derby (P.M.); Disraeli (Chancellor of Exchequer); Lord Salisbury (Indian Secretary).
- Conservative (1868, Feb. to Nov.)—Disraeli (P.M.)
- Liberal (1868-1874)—Gladstone (P.M.); Lowe (Chancellor of Exchequer).
- C. (1874-1880)—Disraeli (P.M.), afterwards Earl of Beaconsfield (1876); Derby (Foreign Secretary); Carnarvon (Colonial Secretary).
- L. (1880-1885)—Gladstone (P.M. and Chancellor of Exchequer); Harcourt (Home Secretary); Chamberlain (Board of Trade).
- C. 1885-1886)—Salisbury (P.M. and Foreign Secretary).
- L. (1886, Feb. to Aug.)—Gladstone (P.M.); Harcourt (Chancellor of Exchequer); Chamberlain (Local Government Board).
- C. (1886-1892)—Salisbury (P.M.); Lord Randolph Churchill (Chancellor of Exchequer).
- L. (1892-1894)—Gladstone (P.M.); H. H. Asquith (Home Secretary); Lord Rosebery (Foreign Secretary); John Morley (Secretary for Ireland).
- L. (1894-1895)—Rosebery (P.M.); Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman (War Secretary).
- C. (1895-1902)—Salisbury (P.M. and Foreign Secretary); A. J. Balfour (Treasury); Chamberlain (Colonial Secretary).
- C. (1902-1905)—Balfour (P.M.).
- L. (1906-1908)—Campbell-Bannerman (P.M.); Sir E. Grey (Foreign Secretary); Asquith (Chancellor of Exchequer).
- L. (1908-)—Asquith (P.M.); D. Lloyd George (Chancellor of Exchequer); Lord Morley (Secretary for India).

CHAPTER LII.

QUEEN VICTORIA.

PART I. (1837-1865.)

THE young Queen ascended the throne of an Empire torn by dissension abroad and by (*A*) Social troubles at home, which culminated in the Chartist movement in England, and (*B*) an attempted Revolution in Ireland. Under the influence, however, of (*C*) Free Trade, matters improved at home, and (*D*) the Empire grew rapidly overseas. At the same time, largely owing to the growth of her Empire and her wealth, Great Britain once more began to interfere actively in (*E*) Foreign Affairs, and entered upon the Crimean campaign. Hardly was that war over than she was called upon to face the terrible (*F*) Indian Mutiny. With the close of the Mutiny Great Britain entered upon a period of peace under (*G*) Palmerston, a period marked by Gladstone's Free Trade Finance, and a policy of non-intervention abroad, which continued till 1874.

DURING the ministry of Melbourne and Palmerston, King *William iv.* died. A bluff, honest old sailor, he did much to repair the dignity of the Crown which had been so sorely damaged by George iv. It was reserved for his successor to restore all and more than all its lustre to the Crown. *Victoria*, at the time of her accession, was little more than a girl, but she had been carefully trained, chiefly by Melbourne, for her work in life. Her youth, her purity and unselfishness won the hearts of the nation, and though, like all members of the House of Hanover, *Victoria* could on occasions be obstinate, it is not too much to say that she was the

first willingly "constitutional" sovereign who ever reigned in England. Her long reign, rightly called the Victorian Age, saw not only an immense growth in Great Britain's material resources, but also great social, political, and, on the whole, religious reforms. Not least, it saw a change for the better in public and private morals, a reform in which the queen always led the way. The relations of Great Britain to the world at large altered. The tendency was for her to withdraw from European politics—a tendency hastened by the fortunate severance of Hanover from Great Britain, since a woman could not ascend the throne of the German Kingdom. Instead, Great Britain's policy became much more Imperial. How much of these changes, at home and abroad, were due to the queen and *Albert of Saxe-Coburg*, the Prince Consort, will perhaps never be known.

(A) SOCIAL TROUBLES.

The problems which awaited solution might well have daunted the young queen and her advisers. Canada was in revolt (see p. 519); the Dutch in Cape Colony were restive (see p. 520); an Afghan war broke out in 1838; war with China followed a year later (see p. 511). The Irish question was more pressing than usual, and as far from solution as ever (see p. 516). In spite of the Factory Acts and the new Poor Law, economic distress was still acute, while, perhaps because of these acts, discontent was more outspoken. Many people feared that England was "trembling on the brink of revolution." The condition of the labouring classes was pitiable. Badly paid, they were often half starved by the Corn Laws and the rigid system of Protection which kept up the price of all necessities. They were ignorant, and were disappointed by the Reform Act of 1832, which had not given them the vote; but this was perhaps just as well, considering their condition. Commercial interests and current economic doctrines rendered the middle-class Parliaments averse to meddling with "the iron law of Competition."

Writers.—Their condition called forth the exertions of many reformers in the world of letters and in the Church. *Thomas Carlyle*, the champion of reality, and, a little later, that "muscular Christian," *Charles Kingsley*, raised their voices against the sordid economic theory and practice of the day. They preached that if a man will not work

neither shall he eat; but they further insisted upon the responsibility of man to man. "One thing I know," wrote Carlyle, "never on this earth was the relation of man to man long carried on by cash payment alone." He called upon the great landowners and manufacturers to become the real leaders of men, a genuine aristocracy, for "we cannot have prosperous cotton-mills at the expense of keeping the devil a partner in them." The poor he urged to give up striving after short-cuts to Utopia and "a twenty-thousandth part in a talker in our National Palaver."

The Tractarian Movement.—The efforts of the writers were seconded by the work of a group of young Oxford reformers led by *Newman*, *Keble*, and *Pusey*. The Evangelical movement of the eighteenth century had died down; the Church of England was tending more and more to become a mere department of the State. In their "Tracts to the Times" (1833), the "Oriel Fathers" insisted upon the Catholic and spiritual nature of that Church. Newman's Tract, No. 90, was condemned by Oxford, and he himself afterwards felt compelled to join the Roman communion (1845). The High Church movement was therefore regarded with much suspicion, but Pusey skilfully guided its fortunes. The energy of its adherents quickened the religious bodies of the nineteenth century just as the Wesleyans had quickened those of the eighteenth. Above all, they set a noble example of social service among the poor of the country.

The Chartists.—Nor were the labouring classes unwilling to help themselves. They hated the Tories and distrusted the Whigs. Desperation drove many labourers to rick-burning and machine-smashing; but on the whole they suffered patiently. Agitators were, however, at work among them. *Feergus O'Connor*, editor of the "Northern Star," *Stephen*, and *Vincent* drew up the *People's Charter*. The millennium was to be ushered in by manhood suffrage, vote by ballot, annual Parliaments, the abolition of the property qualification for members, by equal electoral districts, and the payment of representatives. There were few suggestions for the cure of economic distresses; most of the Chartists believed that the franchise would be a panacea for all ills.

'48.—The Chartist movement was all the more alarming because of popular risings on the Continent. 1848 was "the year of Revolu-

tions." France drove out Louis Philippe and set up a chimerical Republic, with *Louis Napoleon*, nephew of the great Bonaparte, as President. The "Liberals" tried in vain to form a United Germany; their fellows in Spain hoisted the red flag; Hungary and northern Italy alike attempted to throw off the hated Austrian yoke; while Poland made one last effort to break free from Russia.

(B) IRELAND (1829-1848).

Nor was Ireland behindhand. The grant of Catholic Emancipation had failed to satisfy her leaders. With the accession of Grey's Whigs to power (1831) *Daniel O'Connell* had stayed his hand for a time. Grey made a grant of money to Irish undenominational schools and suppressed ten superfluous Irish bishoprics. But tithe riots continued, and the Whigs were forced to meet them with a Coercion Act. The question of the establishment of the Irish Church finally wrecked the ministry and hampered that of Melbourne. Melbourne's policy was vacillating, and at last O'Connell, tired of waiting, organised the *Repeal Association* to secure the repeal of the Union (1840). Racial and religious passions were inflamed by the exaggerated rhetoric of Gavan Duffy, John Dillon, and the "Young Ireland" Party. "The Nation" newspaper seconded the efforts of monster meetings on the Sacred Hill of Tara. Crime increased, and partisan juries refused to convict. At length the Government intervened, forbade a meeting at Clontarf, and arrested O'Connell. The House of Lords annulled his conviction, but the prestige of "the Liberator" was gone. Power passed into the hands of the more violent members of the Young Ireland Party.

While Peel was in office it was certain that Home Rule would be withheld. Peel, however, saw that Ireland's real grievances were economic and social. He attempted to improve Irish education. In spite of the upbraidings of what Carlyle called "loud-sounding, long-eared Exeter Hall," in spite of the resignation of his High Church colleague Gladstone, Peel increased the grant to the Catholic College of *Maynooth*. At the same time he set up the so-called "godless" undenominational colleges at Cork, Belfast, and Galway.

Unfortunately, for three years in succession (1845-1847) the Irish potato crop failed. In 1846 cholera was added to the horrors

of starvation. The government relief works were swamped; bread riots broke out; people greedily ate grass and seaweed. Anxiety drove the Lord-Lieutenant, Bessborough, to his grave, and at last the authorities had to dole out food to the starving populace. The suffering was still intense. Thousands emigrated; in eight years (1845-1853) over two million Irishmen left their homes, chiefly for America. As usual in times of distress, agrarian crimes multiplied. The Young Ireland Party, led by *John Mitchell*, *John O'Connell*, and the visionary *Smith O'Brien*, sowed the seed of rebellion in their paper, the *United Irishman*. The sorely tried Government took prompt measures; the "revolution" flickered out in a skirmish in "Widow M'Cormick's potato-patch," and the leaders were transported to Bermuda.

(C) FREE TRADE.

Reviving commercial prosperity seconded the efforts of the authorities in quieting Ireland. The Irish famine almost certainly hastened Peel along the road already pointed out by Huskisson towards Free Trade. Business was slowly rallying in England, as the impetus given to railway building, culminating in the "railway mania" of 1847, sufficiently proved. But the "hungry forties" still deserved their name. In spite of peace, the national deficit was growing, while a rigid system of Protection and Corn Laws kept up the price of the necessities of life.

The *Corn Laws* were the keystone of the system. Until corn had reached the price of 80s. per quarter, the importation of foreign grain was forbidden. An agitation for the repeal of these laws was, however, gaining ground. In 1838 *Richard Cobden* and *John Bright*, the leaders of the "Manchester School" of economists, founded the *Anti-Corn Law League*. These brilliant orators held the extreme doctrines of *laissez-faire*. They believed that all England's energies should be devoted to the relief of the troubles of the inhabitants of these islands, and the troubles were undoubted. First and foremost, cheap food was a national necessity. A vigorous oratorical campaign was opened in support of the Anti-Corn Law League; huge bazaars were held to raise funds; a Free Trade hall was built on the site of the Peterloo "massacre" (see p. 499).

Gradually the country was won over by argument, and *Sir Robert*

Peel with it. Already, in 1842, he had relaxed the rigid Corn Laws by establishing his sliding scale, by which the duty on foreign corn was reduced as the price rose in England. The results were reassuring, and in 1845 he went further. Import duties on more than seven hundred articles were reduced, and at the end of the year *Peel* announced his conversion to Free Trade in corn. He resigned, but *Lord John Russell* failed to form an administration. *Peel* returned to power with *Gladstone* as a colleague.

In spite of the efforts of the "Protectionists" organised by *Lord George Bentinck* and *Disraeli*, *Peel*, in 1846, carried the *total repeal of the Corn Laws* and the reduction of duties on many other articles. It was his last achievement. Protectionists and Radical Free Traders alike combined with the Irish members to throw out a Coercion Bill for Ireland. *Peel* fell, for "the Emperor was without his army." Till his death (1850) he acted as a private member. His work was carried on by *Russell*, who repealed the *Navigation Acts* (1849), and by his greatest disciple *Gladstone*, whose Budgets swept away all import duties except a few, such as those on spirits and tobacco, which have been since retained for revenue purposes. The full expectations of *Peel* and *Cobden* have not, however, been fulfilled. In spite of a temporary wavering on the part of France in 1860, none of the nations of the world have followed Great Britain's example by throwing open their harbours to free imports. To-day statesmen and others are debating the erection of tariffs against foreign importations in the interests of home and colonial producers. Whichever policy is right, it cannot be denied that the adoption of Free Trade in 1846 and afterwards enabled Great Britain, at the time, to take full advantage of the start she had gained on her neighbours in the race for commercial and industrial supremacy.

(D) COLONIAL EXPANSION.

The leaders of the Manchester School applied the extreme views of "*laissez-faire, laissez-passer*" to the Empire. They held that Colonies should be allowed "to drop off" like fruit when ripe. It must be confessed that Great Britain during the first half of the nineteenth century did little to encourage the loyalty or development of the Britains beyond the seas. Colonial government was clumsy.

The executives were appointed at Westminster, and were too often regarded as supplying useful posts to younger sons and political undesirables. In far too few cases had the colonists much voice in the management of local matters, while the Colonial Secretary had great powers, which successive Ministers used inconsistently, apparently to suit the dictates of Party. As in the case of Ireland, undue interference alternated with neglect.

Canada.—Yet the Empire was growing. Long before the days of the Canadian-Pacific Railway, settlers were steadily pushing westwards from old Canada. Pitt's Act of 1791 (see p. 468) had divided Canada into two Provinces; but it could not prevent the increasing friction between the progressive English of Lower Canada on the one hand and the conservative French in Upper Canada on the other, and of the Home Government with both. Smouldering discontent broke out in rebellion under the French-Canadian *Papineau* (1838). *Lord Durham* was sent out with the powers of a dictator and checked the rising. He was, however, recalled in response to the violent attacks of the Opposition at home; but his admirable memoir inspired the *Canada Act* of 1840, which united the two Provinces and set up a self-governing elective legislature. The Executive was still appointed by the Crown; in practice it was responsible to the Assembly at Ottawa. *Durham* died, worn out by anxiety and disappointment, but, like *Lord Dorchester* (see p. 451), he had saved Canada.

South Africa.—Great Britain's policy towards South Africa was too often guided by well-meaning ignorance. The Cape of Good Hope had been originally settled by the Dutch. During the Napoleonic wars Great Britain had twice seized this half-way house to India. The second time she retained it. The occupation was for a long time purely military. The bulk of the population were Dutch—hardy, industrious, slow-moving farmers, but terrible fighters. "The Boers," wrote *Froude*, who had seen much of them, "correspond nearest to Horace's description of the Roman peasant soldiers who defeated Hannibal." Resistance to the British forces was, however, put down, and the Boers made the best of their position. The home government, however, in a burst of emancipating zeal, foolishly irritated them. The Boers were undoubtedly slave-owners, but their slavery was of a more humane type than that practised in

the West Indies. The Hottentots were made to work, and regulated by a code similar to the vagrancy laws of Tudor England. The results were good; but in 1833 the blacks of the Cape were set at liberty to take to drink and loafing; while the Boers earned a name for slave-driving. The arrival of new settlers and further interference from Westminster drove many of the Boers from their homes. Many remained where they were—a fact not fully realised at the time in England—the rest set out under *Pretorius* and *Pietermaritz* on the “Great Trek” (1835–1836). Already in 1812 a few Boers had travelled eastwards and settled in *Natal*, only to be driven out by the Zulu, *Tchaka*. His successor, *Dingaan*, allowed a few English settlers to land at *Durban*. Then came the first wars of the Great Trek (1835). The “trekkers” in Natal were attacked by *Dingaan*, but beat him off at last. Next the British stepped in, and on the plea of former settlement forced the Dutch of Natal to recognise their supremacy (1844). Meanwhile, other Boers had gone northwards and founded the *Orange Free State* and the *Transvaal*. They naturally came to blows with the warlike tribes—Zulus, Basutos, and Swazis—among whom they settled. It was represented in England that they were massacring harmless natives. Great Britain therefore intervened, and successfully claimed the allegiance of the Orange Free State (1848). The British were, however, soon forced to defend themselves against the natives whom they went to protect. At last, after a wearisome series of “Kaffir” wars, a treaty was concluded (1852). The boundary of Cape Colony was fixed at the Orange River. North of that line, provided that slavery was not re-established, Great Britain agreed to leave the natives and the Dutch of the Transvaal and the Free State to their own devices.

Australia and New Zealand.—More peaceful expansion was taking place elsewhere. On the strength of Captain Cook’s report, England sent out convicts to *Botany Bay* (1788). On their release, many of the convicts settled in the new country; voluntary emigrants poured out from the home-country to escape the economic troubles following the close of the long French wars. Population grew in *New South Wales*; colonists began to settle to the south-west and the north. At first all were governed from the original capital, *Sydney*; but finally difficulties of communication made some change necessary. *Tasmania* became a separate colony (1825); *Victoria*, with its capital

Melbourne, acquired the same privilege (1851); while *Brisbane* became the seat of government for *Queensland* (1859). Though the unknown interior was still abandoned to blacks and drought, in accordance with the "All Australia" policy the beginnings of *Western Australia* had been made with the Swan River Settlement round *Perth* (1829). *South Australia* soon grew up. *Adelaide* was founded by an English emigration company (1836), and by 1863 the territory of the colony stretched across the continent from north to south in the track of Stuart's march of exploration. A thousand miles to the east of Australia, missionary zeal opened up the way for the colonisation of *New Zealand*. These great islands, richly endowed by nature, had already been discovered in the sixteenth century by the Dutch sailor Tasman. They were now brought into touch with Australia. *Wellington* was founded in 1839; settlers came in fast; and a year later the Maori chieftains acknowledged the sovereignty of Great Britain. New South Wales had already received constitutional liberties in 1843. John Russell's *Colonial Act* of 1850 granted elective legislatures on the Canadian model to Tasmania and Victoria. As each new colony was recognised the same privileges were extended to it. The British Parliament retained the right to veto measures passed by these legislatures; but for obvious reasons that power has been rarely exercised. The home government in its wiser moments has allowed the men on the spot to manage their own affairs. It is well that they have done so, for in 1851 came the "gold-rush" to the newly discovered "diggings" at Ballarat. But Australia's real wealth lay in her sheep. The big sheep-owners, after a long struggle with the rapidly increasing swarms of small farmers and people of the towns, drew off more into the interior and settled as "squatters" on great tracts of unoccupied lands. There the greatest obstacle to Australia's advance is water; but, in spite of that drawback, her development has been steady.

(E) FOREIGN POLICY.

But as yet the rapid growth of Australia was hardly heeded in the bustle of European politics. On the fall of Peel's ministry, the conduct of foreign affairs had fallen into the masterful hands of *Palmerston*. Though he did not venture openly to approve of the

“liberal” revolutions of 1848, Palmerston took no pains to conceal his sympathies. He appointed himself lecturer in constitutional government to the Courts of Europe. He firmly believed that despotism must be beaten, for, as he said, “opinions are stronger than armies.” He therefore eagerly welcomed the election of *Louis Napoleon* as President of a new French Republic (1848). Wherever British interests were concerned, he was high-handed. In his opinion each British subject might claim to be like St. Paul, “civis Romanus.” He almost came to blows with Austria and Russia on the question of some leaders of the Hungarian revolt who had fled to Turkey. He gained his point, but Russia did not forget the matter. In India, also, the vigorous policy of his nominees, *Hardinge* and *Dalhousie*, did much to bring the Mutiny to a head (see p. 525). Though he was the popular idol, his autocratic conduct alienated many of his colleagues, and drew upon himself the rebuke of the queen for “most arbitrarily” altering proposals to which she had given her sanction. Matters came to a head when, in spite of strict orders to maintain neutrality, he congratulated Louis Napoleon on the unprincipled *coup d'état* of 1851 which placed the Imperial crown upon his head. Palmerston was dismissed, but he had his “tit-for-tat with John Russell” by defeating him on a Militia Bill brought in from fear of the ambitious schemes of Napoleon III. Russell was forced to resign, and Lord Derby became Prime Minister (1852).

The Great Exhibition.—Ministerial squabbles and fear of the French were forgotten for a while, when, owing mainly to the efforts of the Prince Consort and of *Joseph Paxton*, the huge “Crystal Palace” arose in Hyde Park (1851). There the Great Exhibition of the arts of peace were held. All Europe came to see the epitome of England’s commercial greatness under the new régime of Free Trade. All Europe looked upon it as a pledge that wars should be no more—a pledge as false as Pitt’s prophecy before the Revolutionary war with France.

The Crimean War.—Lord Derby’s coalition ministry soon fell, for, as Disraeli said, “England does not love coalitions.” Derby was succeeded by *Lord Aberdeen*, with *Palmerston* out of his element at the Home Office and *Gladstone* as Chancellor of the Exchequer. The new Chancellor was soon disappointed of his hopes of a succession of “peace” Budgets. The Emperor of

the French was a political danger. The Napoleonic tradition and the need of distracting public opinion in France demanded an active foreign policy. The road to "Glory" opened in the East, beloved of the great Bonaparte. Greek and Latin Christians quarrelled over the guardianship of the Holy Sepulchre. As Czar of the great Orthodox Church power, *Nicholas* championed the Greeks. *Napoleon*, who to please the Catholic party in France had already supported the Pope in his efforts to crush Garibaldi's Roman Republic (see p. 530), took up the cause of the Latins. Both powers put pressure upon the Sultan, the ruler of the Holy Land. The Czar's emissary, the pushful *Menschikoff*, actually demanded the Russian guardianship of all Greek Christians in the Ottoman Empire. Advised by Great Britain, the Sultan took up a position of masterly inactivity, till Russia, losing patience, invaded Moldavia and Wallachia (the modern Roumania).

"Step by step the Turks had drawn us in." Russian warships sank a Turkish flotilla at *Sinope*. Popular opinion in England demanded war. An Anglo-French fleet was sent to the Black Sea to "invite" the victorious Russians to retire to Sebastopol. The result may be imagined. From 1854 to 1856 the *Crimean War* raged.

Meanwhile the Turks resisted doggedly, and finally forced the Russians to retire across the Pruth. The allies then determined to strike at *Sebastopol*, Russia's naval base on the Black Sea. *Totleben* had strongly entrenched the place, but *Lord Raglan* and *St. Arnaud* led a force of British, French, and Sardinians to the assistance of the Turks. The allies invested the city, and foiled the attempts of the enemy to break through at *Alma* and at *Balaclava*, famous for the useless heroism of the Light and Heavy Brigades. A hardly won victory at *Inkermann* decided the allies to take the fatal course of blockading the city (1854). The horrors of that awful winter baffle description. "A chaos of military administration" at home left the army to perish of cold and disease in the Crimea. Like Napoleon in 1812, England had forgotten that there was a winter in Russia. The self-sacrifice of *Florence Nightingale* and her band of nurses did much to alleviate the sufferings of the sick, but the shocking reports of the state of the army wrecked Aberdeen's ministry.

He was succeeded by "the inevitable" *Palmerston*. Sebastopol

fell (1855), and peace was signed at *Paris* in 1856. The Black Sea became neutral; Turkey promised to close the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus to ships of war. Russia's hold upon the Danube was removed, while Moldavia, Wallachia, and Servia became self-governing principalities, owing a nominal allegiance to the Sultan. Advantage was taken of the presence of the ambassadors of the Powers at Paris to arrange with Great Britain, in return for the abolition of privateering, that neutral flags were to cover the enemy's goods, except contraband of war. Thus ended the terrible Crimean campaign with a treaty which was "accepted without enthusiasm but without opposition."

(F) INDIA (1805-1858).

Great Britain's antipathy to Russia was inflamed by fear of the Czar's designs upon India. The British dominions in India were still ruled, under Pitt's Act of 1784 (see p. 460), by the Crown and the Company. In spite of such clumsy machinery, the men were good and did a good work, ensuring peace to those under their rule. Internal administration and communications were improved; the not unmixed benefit of Western education was being spread, largely through the efforts of the famous essayist, *Lord Macaulay* (1835). The general tendency was for the Crown to absorb the powers of the Company. In 1813 the Indian trade was thrown open to all; twenty years later (1833) the Company's monopoly of the China trade was abolished and its commercial property sold. Its purely political powers were assured to it for another twenty years, that is, Indian princes were still bound by their treaties with "John Company"; the sepoy army and the rapidly developing Civil Service were still in its pay. But much depended upon the character of the Governor-General appointed by the Crown. Most of them pursued a policy of aggression which was by no means all of their own seeking. British supremacy had to spread to secure the peace of the dominions already under its sway. The suppression of the *Pindáris* (1817), a horde of mounted freebooters, drove their secret allies, the *Mahrattas*, to a last bid for independence. The third Mahratta war ended in the annexation of the Peishwa's dominions. The British "Raj" also spread to Further India. *Burmah* was invaded, *Rangoon* taken, and *Assam* annexed (1826).

Internal reforms, including the suppression of the Thugs, a secret religious society of stranglers, absorbed the energies of *Lord William Bentinck* (1828-1835); but his successor, *Lord Auckland*, revived the policy of Wellesley. The spread of Russian influence in Afghanistan alarmed British India. Then, as now, Afghanistan was looked upon as a necessary "buffer-state." *Dost Mohammed*, the Amir, had welcomed a Russian resident at Cabul (1838). Great Britain had just saved the Sultan from his Muscovite friends (see p. 511). A force was sent to "rescue" the Amir; Cabul was occupied, a British resident established, and *Shah Shujah* set upon the throne. The Afghans, however, rose under *Akbar Khan*, son of Dost Mohammed; the residents were murdered; and a British army destroyed in the terrible Khyber Pass (1841). One man staggered into Jellalabad to tell the tale. Luckily Candahar was held, and vengeance came the next year. Cabul was again occupied (1843), Jellalabad destroyed, and Afghanistan left to look after itself.

The conclusion of the Afghan War was effected during *Lord Ellenborough's* governorship (1842-1844). His policy was no less adventurous than that of his predecessor. *Napier* was sent to annex *Scinde*, "a very advantageous, useful, and humane piece of rascality." The First Sikh War followed. Under *Ranjit Singh*, this vigorous, democratic, Hindu sect, fine fighters trained on European lines, had made themselves masters of the Punjab. They feared British aggression, and determined to strike first. The hard-fought victories of Sir Hugh Gough at *Mudki* and *Ferozeshah*, *Aliwal*, and *Sobraon* ended the first war (1848). The second soon followed. Gough fought a terrible drawn battle at *Chillianwalla* (1849), but regained his reputation and ended the war at *Gujerat*. The Punjab was annexed, and the Sikhs became the finest soldiers in Britain's Indian army.

The conquest of the Punjab was the first achievement of *Lord Dalhousie's* adventurous rule (1848-1856). He was a second Wellesley, a man after Palmerston's own heart, firmly convinced of the undoubted evils of native government and of the advantages of British influence. He aimed at bringing all India under direct British rule. In spite of the protests and resignation of Napier, he pressed on. *Pegu* was annexed, and Rangoon became the capital of British *Burmah* (1852), while the abominable tyranny of the

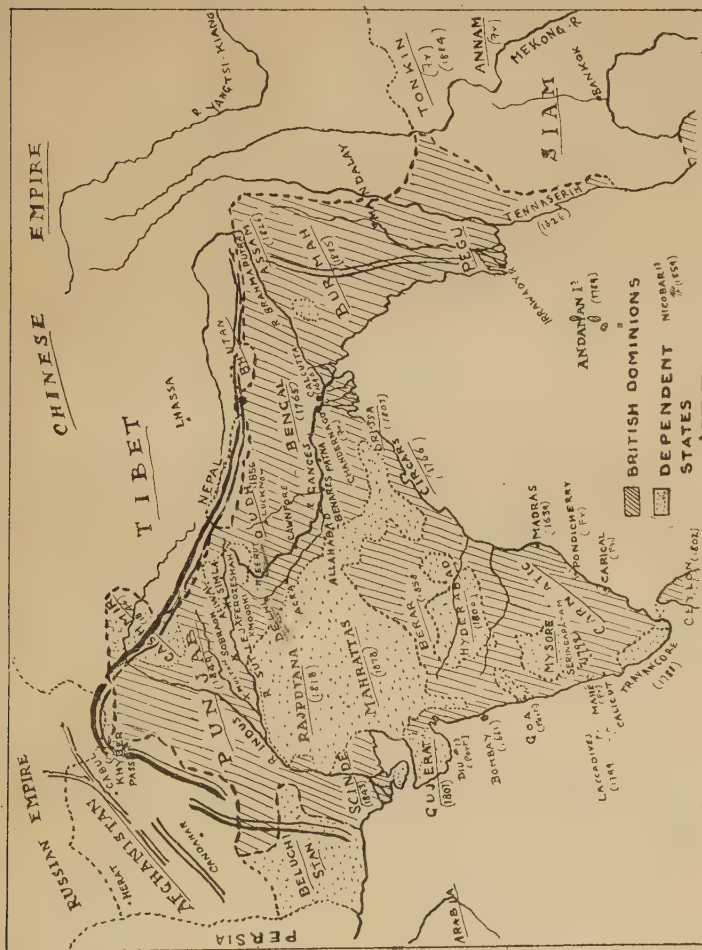
Mohammedan Nizam of *Oudh* was ended by the seizure of his dominions (1856).

The Mutiny. — Dalhousie's "forward" policy alarmed the native princes, especially those of the North-West. He persisted in applying the Western law of succession to Oriental thrones, and treated as "lapsed" all crowns to which there was not a male successor. Above all, he angered the Mahratta, *Nana Sahib*, by withholding the pension paid to his late father. Nor were the Indian princes alone alarmed. The very reforms of the Government—railways, telegraphs, irrigation works, the suppression of widow-burnings (suttee) and the murder of girl infants, were regarded as attacks upon the religious and social systems of India. Many Government officials, with misplaced missionary zeal, went about "with an order-book in one hand and a Bible in the other." It was rumoured that Christianity was to be forced upon the people. All through 1857 "chupatties"—flat cakes of flour, the Fiery Cross of India—were passed round from village to village.

Dalhousie had helped to raise the storm. His successor, *Canning*, had to face it. The ferment spread to the native army. The Enfield rifle was rapidly supplanting the old "Brown Bess" musket. The new cartridges, whose ends had to be bitten off, were said to be greased with the fat of the ox, the sacred beast of the Hindus, and of the pig, the abomination of the Mohammedans. The Sepoys, trained and armed like Europeans, outnumbering the British troops by six to one, refused to receive the cartridges, and in May 1857 the native soldiery at Meerut murdered their officers and rode off to Delhi. This spark fired the train. The Mutiny spread along the valley of the sacred Ganges; the native soldiery rallied to *Delhi*; Bahadur Shah, the last of the Moguls, was proclaimed Emperor at the ancient capital. Isolated garrisons of British were cut off; all who failed to reach a fortified post were slain; and at *Cawnpore*, Nana Sahib and Tantia Topi treacherously murdered a number of men, women, and children who had surrendered on promise of safety.

In spite of popular fury in England, the Governor-General earned the title of "Clemency Canning," by refusing to exact indiscriminate retribution for the massacres; but he hurried up all available troops, even securing the services of those on the way to China (see p. 529).

Luckily, most of central and all southern India remained quiet. The newly conquered Sikhs of the Punjab, admirably organised by *John*



Lawrence and Nicholson, welcomed the opportunity of attacking their hated neighbours of the Ganges valley. The Sikh cavalry, the Guides (frontiersmen), and the Ghoorkas did yeoman service for

Great Britain. The Mutiny was really crushed by turning the nations of India against one another.

For a time the situation was critical. *Henry Lawrence* died "trying to do his duty" by defending the Residency at *Lucknow*; but *Havelock* and *Outram*, "the Bayard of India," broke through to the aid of the garrison. *Lucknow* was finally relieved by *Sir Colin Campbell*, though *Havelock*, "the Indian Gordon," died soon after. Meanwhile *Barnard* and *Wilson* had been hanging on before Delhi. *Sir John Lawrence* went to their aid and thus struck at the heart of the Mutiny. The first assault failed at the cost of *Nicholson's* life. The second was successful, and the last of the Moguls fell.

The fall of Delhi and the relief of *Lucknow* turned the tide. Reinforcements came pouring in; a series of "drives" swept up the scattered rebel bands. *Nana Sahib* disappeared; *Tantia Topi* was shot, and finally the Mutiny was stamped out. But had the Mutiny been a rising of the whole native army, or had it been possible for all the various races of India to rise as one man, Great Britain could never have held her own. As it was, the Mutiny gave the final blow to John Company. The Derby administration in August 1858 set aside its political powers. On November 1 those powers were transferred to the Crown. *Canning* became the first *Viceroy of India* and governed on the lines laid down in the queen's proclamation. No extension of existing dominions was to be sought; the fullest religious toleration was to be secured; while as far as was deemed prudent no Indian was to be debarred on the ground of creed, caste, or colour from receiving "suitable employment in the public service of the Empire." Widely differing interpretations have been and still are placed upon that last clause, but it cannot be denied that the British Government, through its Military and Civil Services, has done a great work for India. The former has assured an unwonted peace from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin; the latter has laboured for the welfare of the many races under its protection.

(G) PALMERSTON'S ENGLAND (1855-1865).

With the exception of a short period when *Derby* was in power (1858-1859), *Palmerston* was Prime Minister for ten years.

His strong personality dominated the politics of the time, for though he himself was a Whig, he was supported by the Radicals to keep out the Tories, and was tolerated by the Tories for fear of the Radicals. During his life no great internal changes were made. Men, as it were, waited for his death.

Gladstone's Finance.—The period was notable chiefly for Gladstone's finance and the remarkable non-intervention of Great Britain in foreign affairs. The fact that *Gladstone* had joined a Whig ministry marked the end of the Peelites and a further step in his own career towards Liberalism. Like Walpole, Gladstone's *forte* was finance; but, unlike Walpole, Gladstone united figures of arithmetic with figures of rhetoric. Men listened to disquisitions on the soap and paper duties as to a romance of Golconda. And the Chancellor of the Exchequer had need of a Golconda to meet the growing expenses of government. Since the Crimean War and the rise of Prussia, a state whose army was her frontier, the nations of Europe had gone in for great armaments. Great Britain had to keep pace, and then, as now, her navy was her "all in all." Steam and new guns made the old wooden three-deckers useless. A new fleet of ironclads had to be built, of which the *Warrior* was a type. Gladstone found the money by following in Peel's footsteps (see p. 518). One by one duties on imports were repealed. The gap thus made in the revenue was filled by the proceeds of the Income Tax, which Peel had revived, Russell had retained, and Gladstone now increased by 4d. in the pound on incomes over £150 a year. Gladstone, however, looked forward to abolishing this tax, which he regarded as a "war tax," but was never able to reduce it below 4d. in the pound (1865). The one expedient to which he never had recourse, if he could help it, was borrowing. So reassuring were the results of his policy, that Napoleon III., as a result of a private interview with Cobden, agreed for a time to reduce import duties on British manufactures (1860).

Non-Intervention (1855-1874).—Apart from the second Chinese War, which closed in 1860 with the storming of the Taku Forts and the occupation of Peking by a joint Anglo-French army, Great Britain held aloof from foreign complications during a most critical period of European and American development.

United Italy.—Since the close of the fifteenth century Italy had

been the battle-ground of Europe. It was a country divided against itself, a mere geographical term. The burst of national spirit aroused by Napoleon in Lombardy had died with its author, and Italy had sunk back into apathy under the heel of the Austrians planted in Venice, Milan, and Tuscany. On the accession of "Pio Nono," a "liberal" Pope, the Italian reformers, hoping that he would act as the leader of a United Italy, raised revolutions in Milan, Naples, Padua, and Venice. Illusory constitutions were granted by the rulers; but the Pope, who had disappointed the "liberals," was driven from Rome, which with Tuscany formed itself into a Republic under that champion of liberty and unity, *Mazzini* (1849). But with the defeat of *Charles Albert*, King of Sardinia, who had come forward as the liberator of Italy, at *Custozza* (1848), and *Novara* (1849), the constitutions were withdrawn and the rebellions stamped out. *Garibaldi*, the Italian champion of South American liberty, made a desperate effort to defend the Roman Republic against the French troops sent by Louis Napoleon to assist the Pope. Rome fell, and *Garibaldi* fled to America. But the idea of a United Italy lived on. Austria was jealous of a Pope propped up on French bayonets. Meanwhile the young *Victor Emanuel* of Sardinia and his minister *Cavour* quietly prepared for the great day. They trained their army in the snows of the Crimea; they showed Italy what a well-governed state was. Austria demanded that Sardinia should disarm; but, strengthened by the treaty of *Plombières* made with Napoleon III., who had acted under pressure from the democrats of Paris, *Victor Emanuel* declared war (1859). The allies beat the Austrians at *Magenta* and *Solferino*, but Napoleon, fearing to go too far, compelled his ally to sign the *Treaty of Villafranca*, by which Sardinia secured Lombardy without beloved Venetia, at the price of ceding Nice and Savoy to France. Italian hope and indignation took the form of popular risings in Parma, Modena, and the miserably governed papal States. Help came from *Garibaldi*, who sailed with his immortal "Thousand" to secure Palermo, where a revolution had been organised by *Mazzini*. It was in vain that Napoleon urged Great Britain to send ships to stop him. *Palmerston*, *Russell*, and all England sympathised with the great adventurer. *Garibaldi* secured Sicily, landed in Naples, and overthrew the rotten Bourbon dynasty (1860). *Victor Emanuel*

marched to assist him, crushing the Papalists *en route*; and on his return to Turin was hailed as King of Italy (1861). But as yet it was Italy without its natural capital, Rome, and its natural port, Venice. The nationalists' chance came when Prussia went to war with Austria. Sadowa really gave Venice to Italy, for the Austrian troops were hurriedly withdrawn (1866). Rome remained, and Garibaldi made an ill-conceived dash at it, only to be beaten back by the French allies of the Pope at *Mentana* (1867). But Napoleon's time of trouble soon came, and when the French garrison was withdrawn to face the Prussians, the Italian troops occupied the Capitol (1870).

American War of Secession.—While one nation was forming in Italy, another threatened to break up in America. Quarrels as to the powers of the Federal Government over individual States, embittered by the existence of negro-slavery in the South and an anti-slave agitation in the North, led to the Secession of the Southern States from the Union¹ (1861). Under the rule of the dogged, high-minded *Abraham Lincoln*, the Federals (Northerners) hoped to crush the Confederates (Southerners) at a blow. But *Jefferson Davis* and his generals *Lee* and "*Stonewall*" *Jackson* surprised their enemies by their powers of resistance. At length the superior wealth and resources of the North told: *Grant* beat *Lee* at *Gettysburg* (1863), and secured *Vicksburg*, the key of the Mississippi. Though a ghastly drawn battle was fought in the *Wilderness* (1864), the Confederate general was forced to surrender at *Richmond* (1865). Slavery was abolished and the Union was maintained, for the United States were determined to remain one nation. Unfortunately *Lincoln* was murdered at the moment of success.

Europe's attitude towards the struggle had been doubtful. Opinion in Great Britain was especially divided. Many of the upper classes sympathised with the South. *Gladstone* even went so far as to say that *Jefferson Davis* had "created a nation." But the majority, still full of the anti-slavery fervour of 1833 (see p. 508), supported the North, in spite of the distress caused in Lancashire by the cessation of the cotton-supplies from America. The

¹ The Confederate States were:—Virginia, North and South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, Louisiana, and Texas.

Northerners were, however, annoyed that Great Britain should recognise the "rebels" as belligerents, and two unfortunate incidents did not tend to soothe the wounded spirits on either side. A Federal warship arrested two Southern commissioners, Mason and Slidell, on board the British mail-steamer *Trent*. Angry words passed, but the affair was tided over by the restraining influence which the Queen and Prince Consort exercised over Palmerston and Russell (1861). Next year, however, a new trouble arose. Owing to delays and misunderstandings, the British Government allowed the Southern cruiser *Alabama* to slip out of Birkenhead. The vessel did much damage to Northern merchant-men, and the dispute dragged on till 1872, when a Court of Arbitration at Geneva condemned Great Britain to pay £3,500,000 in compensation. That this was done marks a great step in the growth of the idea of arbitration between nations.

The Mexican Empire.—Great Britain narrowly escaped an international broil in Central America. Napoleon III. was still the unknown quantity in the political world, and fear of his designs had led to the formation of the Volunteer force in Great Britain (1859). Napoleon now interfered in *Mexico*. England, France, and Spain sent forces to extort from the distracted Republican Government repayment of loans. England and Spain soon withdrew; but Napoleon, anxious, like his uncle, to control Central America, since the Mississippi (Louisiana) was now out of the reach of France, determined to set up a Latin Empire in Mexico. Profiting by the War of Secession, he defied the "Monroe Doctrine" and placed the Austrian Archduke *Maximilian* on the throne. The new Emperor's authority ended with the range of the French guns, and, at last, in answer to the threats of the United States, Napoleon withdrew *Bazaine* and his forces. The unhappy Maximilian was shot, and the Mexican Republic restored (1867). The disastrous failure of the Mexican scheme was a deadly blow to the Second Empire, already staggering under the onslaughts of the Parisian Press, imprudently unmuzzled two years previously.

The Rise of Prussia.—As the power of France declined that of Prussia increased. She had championed the national German cause in the War of Liberation (1813–1815), but the hopes of the advocates of German unity had been dashed when Prussia joined the

Holy Alliance. A mere loose German Confederation had been formed, while, owing to the ill-judged violence of certain "liberals," the promised constitutions had been withheld. Worse still, the Austrian *Metternich* had been really head of the Confederation. Prussia had, however, formed a Zollverein (customs duties union) with many of the north German and Rhenish States (1831-1833). The "year of Revolutions" saw a renewed national movement, when a universally elected German Parliament met at Frankfort (1848). Its members theorised, drew up a paper constitution, and asked Frederick William iv. of Prussia to accept the German crown. The democratic Empire fell still-born, for the Prussian king refused to become "the Serf of the Revolution"; though he did grant a constitution to his own kingdom. The failure of the Frankfort scheme convinced the young Pomeranian "junker" (sporting squire), *Otto von Bismarck*, that there was no room for Austria and Prussia in a united German Empire. Clear-headed, calculating, inexorable, a passionate Prussian, Bismarck began to prepare for "the great day" when the question of supremacy should be settled.

Schleswig-Holstein (1864) and *Sadowa* (1866).—Already Bismarck had declared that great things could only be accomplished by "blood and iron." Blood and iron tore the much-disputed Duchies of Schleswig-Holstein from Denmark. Austria was persuaded to occupy the Duchies with Prussia; Austria was then bundled out, and the provinces absorbed by Prussia. Had Palmerston had his way, Great Britain would have gone to the aid of the father of Alexandra, the Danish wife of the Prince of Wales. But the Queen and his colleagues restrained him, and Palmerston merely protested. Protests never affected Bismarck. The "Iron Chancellor" had already made an alliance with Italy (1865), when the Italians went to war with Austria for the possession of Venice. He determined to crush Austria and her allies, Saxony, Hanover, and the South-West German States. The organising genius of *von Moltke* and *von Roon*, backed by the needle-guns of the Prussians, carried all before them at *Sadowa* (1866). The long duel between the Hapsburgs and the Hohenzollerns ended in the defeat of the former. Prussia secured Hanover, the Danish Duchies, Hesse and Frankfort, and Austria was at last driven from Germany. Bismarck had completed the work of Frederick the Great.

The German Empire.—At the close of the “seven weeks’ war,” the *North German Confederation* was formed under the leadership of Prussia. Bismarck meanwhile secretly concluded an understanding with the South German States, thus anticipating the designs of Napoleon III., who aimed at imitating his great uncle’s Confederation of the Rhine. While Germany was uniting Great Britain had prudently stood aside. Palmerston had died (1865); Russell soon resigned; Derby and Disraeli were fully occupied with Colonial, Irish, and Constitutional problems (see pp. 539, 553). The policy of non-intervention was maintained and was finally assured by the accession of Gladstone to office (1869). Bismarck all this time was preparing for the final step. The way was opened by the ambition of Napoleon III. The restless activity of the Emperor of the French boded no good to slowly uniting Germany. He had demanded “compensation” during the Sadowa campaign; he was known to be tampering with South Germany; he caused trouble over the Prussian occupation of Luxembourg. French, and especially Parisian, opinion was deeply stirred by the amazing Prussian victories; and the unbridled “gutter-press” inflamed the jealousies of both nations. The crash came when Napoleon, through his envoy *Benedetti*, demanded “a definite assurance” that the Hohenzollerns would never interfere in the Spanish succession. All Prussia, all Germany felt itself insulted; France screamed defiance, and, spurred on by the Empress, the French armies set out “to Berlin.” Ill-prepared, ill-disciplined, ill-officered, and out-numbered, the French soldiers fought and died with magnificent and unavailing bravery. With almost mathematical precision, *Moltke*, *von Roon*, and the *Crown Prince Frederick* cooped up *Bazaine* in *Metz* after three desperate battles; drove *MacMahon’s* army into *Sedan*, and then captured it and the Emperor (1870). The Second Empire fell before a revolution, and the new French Republic was ushered in amid the boom of the Prussian guns round *Paris*. It was as *Emperor of Germany* that *William of Prussia* entered the French capital (1871). Germany was now no longer a loose confederation of states; it was a close federation under the hereditary presidency of Prussia, whose king controlled German foreign policy and the all-important German army. Though considerable local powers were left to the various states, the great size and strength of Prussia ensured the unity of the

whole Empire, an Empire increased by the annexation of *Alsace-Lorraine*, torn from French control (1871). The new French Republic, riven within by the *Communists* of Paris, had lost its "natural frontier," the Rhine.

Italy had seized the opportunity offered by the withdrawal of the French troops from Rome to occupy the Eternal City. Russia took advantage of the general confusion to tear up the agreement of 1856, which forbade her to keep warships on the Black Sea. Great Britain merely protested, but maintained the policy of non-intervention which dominated her councils from 1856-1874, while the balance of power in Europe was shifting from Paris and Vienna to Berlin.

CHAPTER LIII.

QUEEN VICTORIA AND EDWARD VII.

PART II. (1865-1910).

THE death of Palmerston cleared the way for a (*A*) more complete Democracy under the rival leaderships of Gladstone and Disraeli. Democracy was ushered in by (*a*) the Reform Acts of 1867 and 1884-1885, and has since been strengthened by (*b*) the development of National Education and (*c*) many measures of Social Reform. Side by side with the growth of Democracy has gone on the growth of a more intelligent spirit of (*B*) Imperialism. After (*a*) the temporary settlement of the Eastern question, Disraeli worked for the consolidation of the Empire which was rapidly spreading in (*b*) India, (*c*) Egypt, (*d*) South Africa, and (*e*) Australia. That policy raised (*f*) new imperial problems, and (*g*) new relations with Foreign Powers. The problem of (*C*) Ireland was forced upon the attention of all statesmen during the latter part of the century and resulted in (*a*) the Disestablishment of the Irish Church and (*b*) two attempts to grant Ireland "Home Rule."

(*A*) DEMOCRACY.

IN Great Britain the balance of political power was shifting from the middle classes to the democracy. The movement for a more democratic franchise than that granted in 1832 had been growing, but so long as Palmerston lived no change took place. His death cleared the way for new men and new measures. From 1865-1880 British politics centred round the dominating personalities of *William Ewart Gladstone* and *Benjamin Disraeli*.¹

¹ Disraeli was created Earl of Beaconsfield in 1876.

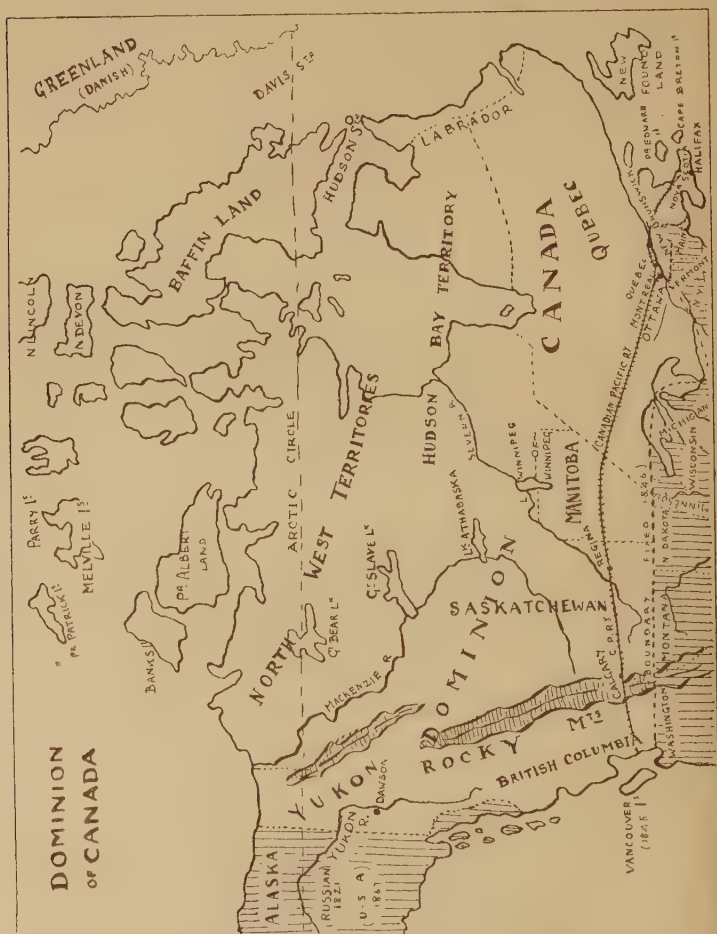
Gladstone had entered Parliament in 1832 as a Tory and High Churchman. A rigidly conscientious Churchman he remained, but step by step he found himself on the side of, and then at the head of, the Whigs or Liberals. His foreign policy was pacific to a fault; towards Ireland he was conciliatory, an attitude not always appreciated by the Irish; towards the nation at large he was confiding. He constantly appealed to the people and took a leading part in social reform. Above all, he did more than any one statesman to make men feel that politics after all should be based upon righteousness. Whatever may be thought of much of his policy, it cannot be denied that he was a great Parliamentary leader and an idealist.

Disraeli presented in many ways a striking contrast to his opponent. Dramatic even in his dress, bitterly sarcastic, cool, courageous, with great skill in debate, he alternately led and drove the Tory party, and at the same time won the admiration of half a nation. He was himself no ordinary Tory. In his youth he had led the "Young England" party against Peel. He was something of a Tory Democrat, to whom the rule of the middle classes was abhorrent. He had been the most strenuous opponent of the repeal of the Corn Laws (see p. 518) which he looked upon as the one safeguard of the all-important agricultural interest. Yet he did much for the town artisans, for he had a genuine sympathy for sufferers. It was his Government which passed the Artisans' Dwelling Act and Plimsoll's Merchant Shipping Act of 1875, to secure in one case better houses for the poor, in the other to prevent the criminal overloading of too often unseaworthy ships. Above all, it was he who passed the Reform Act of 1867, the measure which gave him that place in politics from which he was later able to direct his assertive Foreign Policy and his measures for the unity of the Empire.

Immediately on Palmerston's death Russell became Premier, and, assisted by Gladstone, introduced a Reform Bill. But, led by *Low*, many of the more moderate Liberals retired into what Bright called "the Cave of Adullam," voted with the opposition, and forced the ministry to make way for *Derby* and Disraeli (1866).

The Dominion of Canada.—The new ministers were called upon to ratify the union of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick. The *British North America Act* (1867) was based upon the excellent advice of the late Lord Durham (see p. 519), and gave the Dominion

a central elective assembly of a democratic nature. The executive was still appointed by the Crown, though, in practice, the ministry, as in England, depended on the support of the legislature. In the



same year the Dominion was drawn closer to Great Britain by the completion of the electric cable. The other British colonies in North America soon joined the Dominion with the exception of

Newfoundland. The bitter lesson learnt in the War of Secession by the United States that unity is strength had not been lost upon Canada or upon Disraeli. Since the success of *Lord Strathcona's* scheme for a Canadian-Pacific Railway the Dominion has progressed wonderfully, and with the rapid opening-up of the great wheat-fields of the West promises soon to become the granary of the Empire.

The one war during this ministry was directed against *Theodore*, Negus of Abyssinia. The ruler of that strange, half-civilised, Christian state was punished by *Napier* for violence to Englishmen, and was found dead on the fall of his capital, *Magdala* (1868).

(a) *The Reform Acts of 1867 and 1884*.—But Disraeli's attention was soon turned to domestic affairs. The mass of the nation, apparently indifferent when the late Government had held out hopes of an extended franchise, was furious now that the offer seemed to be withdrawn. The *Reform League* was founded; John Bright went round the country as in the days of the Anti-Corn Law League; petitions were sent into Westminster; stormy meetings passed resolutions in favour of "residential manhood suffrage." Disraeli promptly took up the discarded Liberal measure of 1866. His Bill was complicated at first by many "fancy franchises,"¹ but these were soon dropped, while *John Stuart Mill's* notion that women should be given the vote was promptly thrown out. The Act did, however, extend the franchise in the boroughs to all male ratepayers and to lodgers who occupied the same rooms, valued at £10 a year, for twelve months; and, in the counties, to all owners of land to the annual value of £5 a year and to tenants at £12. A few towns lost all or some of their members, who were given to larger towns, to counties, and to London University. Universal manhood suffrage was not granted; the awkward question as to what constituted a lodger was raised, but many of the artisans at length got the vote. As in the case of 1832, similar Acts were passed for Scotland and Ireland. Disraeli had substituted Democracy for the rule of the middle classes; Derby was content to have "dished the Whigs."

It may be convenient to note here the final step towards more

¹The franchise to be given to all certificated schoolmasters and holders of University degrees,—to depositors of £30 in the Savings Bank and of £50 in Consols, etc.

complete Democracy taken by Gladstone in 1884. By the Act of that year in all three Kingdoms some 2,000,000 voters were added to the list, nearly four times as many as in 1832. In the boroughs a uniform £10 ownership, tenant, or occupier franchise was set up for all three Kingdoms. In the counties the £50 owner's franchise was swept away and the £12 annual tenant franchise was reduced to £10, thus putting the occupation franchise for tenants and lodgers on the same footing as in the boroughs. By this means the agricultural labourer got his vote. *Lord Salisbury's* opposition centred round two points: first, the over-representation of Ireland, whose reduced population still returned the hundred and five members as in 1832 (see p. 505); secondly, Gladstone's refusal to divulge his scheme for the redistribution of seats till the Enfranchisement Bill had passed. At length a compromise was effected and the redistribution took place (1885). In England and Wales one hundred and thirty-two seats were taken away; six new seats were created, and all were allotted to divisions of the counties, to large towns, and, especially, to Greater London, whose representation was increased from twenty-two to fifty-nine. Twelve new seats were given to Scotland; while those in Ireland were rearranged but not reduced. Another motion for women's suffrage was decisively set aside by Gladstone. The principle embodied in the fact that all towns of under 15,000 inhabitants were merged in the counties, while, roughly speaking, all under 50,000 had to be content with one member, marked a final breach with the old idea that a Member of Parliament represented a definite community, such as a borough or county irrespective of size. A member now represents merely a number of men.

Gladstone's Ministry (1869-1874).—The Conservative Government, led first by Derby and then (1868) by Disraeli, made way for Gladstone. Just as Disraeli had formed the new Conservative party out of the drifting Tories and Peelites, so Gladstone rallied the scattered Whigs and Radicals round the Liberal standard. Two questions mainly interested the Liberals,—Ireland and Education. Gladstone succeeded in disestablishing the Irish Church (see p. 561), but his term of office is still more remarkable for the spread of *National Education*.

National Education.—The extension of the franchise in 1867 and afterwards in 1884 was justified by its advocates on the ground of

the mental and moral improvement of the labouring classes. That their condition ought to be improved if Democracy was to be safe, was recognised in 1867 by Robert Lowe, who said that "we must now set to work to educate our future masters." Education must needs be cheap, and if possible free.

The nineteenth century will certainly be remembered as the age of revived activity in schools and universities. In 1800 the universities had sunk into a state of apathy; the great schools were not what they should have been; while, apart from what could be picked up in "hedge-schools," the mass of the people had little or no "book-learning." *Raikes* had already started his Sunday schools (see p. 498). Early in the century, while the Napoleonic wars were still raging, some leading Dissenters founded what afterwards became in 1814 the *British and Foreign School Society*. A few years later the *National Society* for the education of the poor in the principles of the Church of England was started, and incorporated by Charter in 1817. By 1818 some 600,000 children were receiving education of a sort. Some 2,000,000 were receiving none at all.

As yet all this had been done by purely voluntary effort. *Lord Brougham*, however, in 1820, suggested a local rate-aid for the voluntary schools, but Nonconformists would not hear of subsidising institutions founded by the Church. It was not until 1833, that year when Parliament broke so many canons of strict Malthusian Political Economy, that a partial grant was made to both National (Church) and British (Nonconformist) schools. No code of regulations accompanied this more or less indiscriminate grant, though in 1839 a Committee of the Privy Council suggested the appointment of inspectors and the foundation of State normal schools for the training of teachers. But again religious differences wrecked the scheme, and, as a result, the training of teachers was left in private hands.

This system of elementary education continued to be very partial, and, on the whole, inefficient. It was felt that something must be done. The Duke of Newcastle's commission (1858-1862) adopted *Lowe's* suggestion of "payment by results." One-third of the government grant was to be given for attendance of children; two-thirds on the strength of the number of children who passed a given

standard of examination. No pass, no grant; for "whoever heard of a man being paid for his failures?" The well-known seven standards were set up, and many inefficient schools lost their grants; but the examination system lent itself to "cramming," and the last traces of it disappeared in 1893. And still only half the children in England were receiving any education whatever (1862-1869).

(b) *Education Act of 1870*.—At length in 1870, IV. E. Foster, the subsequent Irish Secretary (see p. 562), passed his famous Act setting up *Board Schools* to supplement the voluntary institutions. School districts were formed usually on the Borough or Parish basis. When Inspectors reported the failure of a voluntary school, a school was set up under the control of an elective *School Board*. Attendance at school was made compulsory for all up to the age of fourteen, and till 1891 a small fee was charged. The religious difficulty was tided over by allowing children, on the request of their parents, to withdraw from the voluntary schools during such hours as were devoted to special religious teaching. In the Board Schools, the *Cosper-Temple* clause ordered Bible-teaching without catechism or creed. At the same time the grant to all schools was more fully regulated.

Mr. Balfour's Act of 1902 transferred the Board Schools to the Borough and County Councils. Voluntary schools were brought into line with those of the State, and were supported mainly by local rates. Many Nonconformists objected to this as a means of unduly subsidising Church schools, alleging that the managers could keep rate-paid posts for teachers of their own communion. Rather than pay the rate many "Passive Resisters" suffered distraint of their goods, and in some cases imprisonment as well. But the Act of 1902 did much to increase the efficiency of both State and voluntary schools.

Secondary Education.—The same much-maligned Act was the first to encourage State secondary schools by making them a grant. There were in 1908 about eight hundred of these, largely filled by specially selected pupils from the primary schools, many of whom aimed at becoming pupil teachers themselves.

Voluntary and endowed grammar and public schools have also been subjected to a certain amount of government control. Previous to the *Public Schools Act* (1868), the curriculum in nearly all of these

was entirely classical—Greek and Latin prose varied by Greek and Latin verses. In 1868 new governing bodies were given to most of them, and since then more varied and modern subjects have been taught, on the whole with good results.

Universities.—Nor has University education remained unchanged. In 1800 Oxford and Cambridge were the only English universities. Small in numbers and in influence, they were hedged round by religious tests; their studies were practically confined to Classics, Theology, and some Mathematics. Individual colleges did much to put their own houses in order, a step which became more general after the Royal Commission of 1854. More modern studies were taken up; "idle" fellowships were gradually abolished, and, by the removal of the Church tests (1871), a flood of new and invigorating blood was introduced. Rivals had, however, grown up in the meantime. University College, founded in 1828, became the nucleus of the *University of London* (1834), free from tests, while *Durham University* received its charter in 1837. In many of the great cities university colleges were founded, seven of which have since become independent universities, notably *Liverpool and Manchester* in the North, *Bristol* and the *University of Wales* in the West.

Education of Women.—The education of girls and women also developed greatly, and yearly approximated to that given to boys and men. In the early part of the century women's education could only be characterised as absurd, consisting as it did mainly of "accomplishments." In 1849, however, *Bedford College* was opened for the training of schoolmistresses; five years later came *Cheltenham Ladies' College*, the first typical modern girls' school. By 1867 women were admitted to the London University degrees, and in 1881 and 1884 respectively they were admitted to the Cambridge and Oxford examinations, though degrees were withheld from them. Important women's Colleges were, however, founded at *Girton* (1873), and *Newnham* (1880), in Cambridge, and at *Somerville Hall* (1879), and *Lady Margaret Hall* (1879), in Oxford. As a result women have entered more and more into competition with men in all walks of life.

Although the mass of the nation leaves the elementary schools at the age of fourteen, and its education as far as books are concerned is naturally difficult, the spread of cheap publications, the

opening of *Public Libraries* and *Adult Schools*, *Mechanic, Technical* and *Co-operative* Institutes, and the system of *University Extension Lectures* (1873) have done much to keep men and women at any rate within reach of learning. Settlements such as *Toynbee Hall* and *Oxford House* have brought University men into contact with the labouring classes of the Metropolis, while in 1899 *Ruskin Hall* was founded at Oxford in memory of the great art critic and economist, John Ruskin, to bring, if possible, working men into touch with the thought and culture of England's oldest University.

(c) *Social Reform*.—Under these and other influences the condition of the mass of the nation on the whole improved. Their excellent conduct during the "cotton-famine" of 1862, due to the American War of Secession (see p. 531), showed that many were more sensible of the value of self-restraint than had been the case in the "hungry forties." Improvement was due partly to legislation, partly to individual effort. The *Factory Acts* (see p. 508), were the first of a series of measures dealing with the terms of labour, especially woman and child labour, dangerous trades, shipping, and work underground. An Act of 1891 enforced more complete sanitation of workshops, and fixed the minimum working age at eleven. Various other measures have brought local authorities more in touch with the *Local Government Board* at Westminster (1871); the duties of County (1888) and Borough Councils (1899) have been made to include the enforcement of *Lord Ashley's Lodging-House Act* (1852), the *Public Health Act* (1875), and many similar measures for the social improvement of the country. Recently a *Small Holdings Act* has made it more possible for small agriculturalists to acquire land (1907), while by the *Old Age Pension Act* of 1908, a maximum weekly pension of five shillings has been granted under certain limitations to all who reach the age of seventy. There has, perhaps, been a growing tendency towards a too great faith in the value of State control; though, as a fact, much of the improvement of the mass of the nation has been due to voluntary action.

Trades Unions.—Unlike the old Craft Guilds which regulated entire industries, Trades Unions primarily aimed at fighting Capital. They are a flat denial of the early nineteenth century idea that each man is fit to bargain by himself with his employer. Workmen were forced to unite when the "Domestic System" of industry began to

break up (see p. 495). The earliest unions aimed at compelling masters to observe the Act of Apprentices; but they were at once met by hostile legislation. Combinations for fixing wages or influencing terms of service were forbidden (1720). Under the stress of the French Revolution all combinations, whether of masters or men, were made illegal (1790). The men were liable to criminal punishment if they broke the law. The efforts of men like *Joseph Hume* and *Francis Place* secured the repeal of many of these measures (1825), but, owing to the violence of certain unions, some were re-enacted next year. Driven underground, Trades Unions took on a crude, Socialistic tone, often exercised what can only be termed a tyranny over non-union workmen, and finally threw in their lot with the Chartists. After the collapse of *Robert Owen's* "*Grand National Consolidated Trade Union*" in 1848, Trade Unions became more reasonable, and in spite of occasional violence, as at Sheffield (1866), workmen were rendered no longer liable to imprisonment for breach of contract (1867); and in 1871 Trade Unions received legal recognition from Gladstone. A year or two later Disraeli admitted that it was legal for a body of men to do what it was legal for one man to do, and that is the footing on which Unions have since stood. By no means all of the "strikes" organised by the Unions have been successful or beneficial to their own members, let alone to the unskilled and non-union labourers. The latter, however, have, as a result of the London Dock Labourers' strike (1889), imitated their more skilled fellows. In most cases the Unions carry on an insurance business for their members; and since 1890 the movement has spread rapidly, especially among the miners and engineers. A yearly Congress, a kind of "Labour Parliament," has met, and year by year it has taken up a more Socialistic attitude both as regards local and central government. A *Labour Party* also appeared at Westminster in 1892, when *John Burns* and *Keir Hardie* with two others took their seats as members independent of any of the great parties. The general election of 1906 saw a great increase in their numbers; while one of the original group, John Burns, throwing in his lot with the Liberals, has done excellent work as President of the Local Government Board. It is probable that much of the recent "social" legislation of late years—the Workmen's Compensation, Small Holdings, and Old Age Pension Acts—has been due to

the presence of the Labour Members in Parliament. They look forward to the day when they can "cross the floor of the House to form a Labour Government."

Co-operation.—The work of the Trade Unions has been accompanied by that of the *Co-operative Associations*. Robert Owen pointed the way in his model factory at New Lanark (see p. 509), where he opened a co-operative store and a school for the children of his employees. These two phases have been present in varying degrees in all systems of co-operation; especially since *Arnold Toynbee* (1884) urged upon them "the education of the citizen" by the reconciliation of "union with independence." Owen's effort had been that of a master. In 1844, however, twenty-eight Rochdale flannel-workers subscribed one pound apiece and opened a small store in Toad Lane. Their attempt to do without the middleman and retailer prospered; their capital increased rapidly, and the *Rochdale Pioneers* have had many imitators. Co-operative stores have been opened; land, houses, mills have been built and run at a profit. Co-operators are now among the biggest employers of labour in the country. Since 1846 they have conducted life insurance on the same lines as the *Friendly Societies*, which discharge one function at least of the old *Frith Gilds*; while the Government has appointed a Registrar to publish the annual financial position of such Societies as desire it.

In spite of these institutions of the workmen themselves, there is still a great floating mass of labour, much of which is out of employment. Various philanthropic agencies, such as the *Church* and *Salvation Armies*, have manfully faced the problem of poverty. The majority and minority reports of the Poor Law Commission (1909) have both urged more or less drastic measures upon the notice of the Government, for without doubt unemployment is among the most serious problems which confront statesmen of to-day. In 1910 a system of Labour Bureaux was established to attempt to bring together the unemployed workman and the employer in need of labour.

(B) IMPERIALISM (1874-1910).

The growth of Democracy has gone on steadily beside the rise and fall of Ministries and the expansion of the Empire. The two

great problems which faced ministers after 1874 especially, apart from Social Reform, were Ireland and Imperial Federation. Defeated on the *Irish University Bill*, Gladstone resigned his office and made way for *Disraeli* (1874). The re-organisation of the *Law Courts* (1873-1875), the *Artisans' Dwelling-House Act*, and *Plimsoll's Merchant Shipping Act* (1875) were the most notable steps taken at the time towards social reform; while, in spite of the newly developed "obstruction" of an independent Irish Party composed of fifty-eight "*Home Rulers*" (see p. 562) in the House, education in Ireland was stimulated by an *Elementary Education Act* (1876) and the creation of an examining body under the title of the *Irish University*. Ireland, however, called for more drastic measures than University Bills, for *Fenianism* had raised its head (see p. 561). Like his successor Lord Salisbury, Disraeli resorted to vigorous measures. But his real interest lay in Imperial and Foreign affairs.

(a) *The Eastern Question*.—Since the beginning of the eighteenth century, the *Turkish Empire*, whose armies had once been the terror of Europe, had gradually decayed before the advance of Russia. Bit by bit the Turks had been pushed back from the Crimea, from the mouths of the Dnieper, the Pruth, and finally to the very banks of the Danube (1829). Great Britain held the protectorate of the *Ionian Isles* from 1815 until 1862, when they were handed over to *Greece*, whose independence had been won in 1829. The Khedive of Egypt had more than once proved himself a match for his suzerain the Sultan. The Crimean War, really a round in the endless struggle between the great Orthodox Greek and Mohammedan Powers, had, on the intervention of France and Great Britain, ended with Russia's surrender of the mouths of the Danube; but Turkey had to recognise Moldavia and Wallachia as an independent *Roumania* (1861).

The Eastern question was by no means settled. At the end of the Crimean War, Turkey had promised equality before the law to men of all religions. Reforms on paper, however, meant nothing. The Christian peoples under Turkish rule aimed at two things—the recovery of their lands and the capital on the Bosphorus; and close union with their Greek and Slav kindred in other countries. Rebellions broke out in Bosnia, Montenegro, Bulgaria, and Servia. They were mercilessly repressed by *Bashi-Bazouks* (Turkish irregular

troops); while massacres of Christians also took place in Syria and Armenia. The Government at Constantinople fell into chaos; two Sultans were rapidly deposed, and when *Abdul Hamid* ascended the throne (1876) Russia determined to fish in troubled waters, and so declared war.

Russo-Turkish War.—Roumania willingly joined Russia, and the allies crossed the Danube. In Asia, Russia was successful and *Kars* fell. But in the Balkans honours were divided. The Russians obstinately held the *Shipka Pass*, but were checked by *Osman Pasha's* desperate defence of *Plevna*. Meanwhile English public opinion was deeply stirred by the "Bulgarian atrocities." Carlyle thundered against "the unspeakable Turk"; Gladstone, like Burke, demanded that the Sultan should be bundled out of Europe "bag and baggage." But Disraeli and Lord Salisbury, like Pitt, looked upon Turkey as a necessary bulwark against Russia's designs upon the Bosphorus. The British fleet was ordered to Besika Bay. Public opinion began to turn against Russia, and a spirit of "jingoism"¹ swept the country. Troops were ordered up from India, but this "policy of threats and surprises" was ended by the Treaty of *San Stephano*. A Congress of the Powers was summoned at *Berlin* (1878), and thither went Disraeli (now *Lord Beaconsfield*) and *Lord Salisbury*. *Bismarck* held the balance between Great Britain and Russia, and finally, by the *Treaty of Berlin*, Austria permanently occupied Bosnia and Herzegovina; Montenegro and Servia gained some territory; Roumania exchanged a valuable hold on the mouths of the Danube for a port on the Black Sea; while Bulgaria found its boundaries curtailed and itself divided in two by the creation of Eastern Rumelia, a province subject to Turkey. On condition of secretly guaranteeing the future integrity of Turkey, Great Britain occupied *Cyprus*. Such was the "peace with honour" of 1878. Since that date Greece has extended her borders by the inclusion of Thessaly, but was only saved from the results of a disastrous war with Turkey (1897) by the intervention of Great Britain, France, Russia, and Italy, who jointly occupied *Crete*. In 1909 Austria

¹ The word 'Jingo' owes its origin to a contemporary music-hall song, beginning:—

"We don't want to fight,
But, by Jingo, if we do!" etc.

definitely annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina; while Prince Charles declared himself Czar of Bulgaria. In Constantinople itself the "Young Turks" deposed Abdul Hamid, and a constitutional government was grafted on to the autocratic powers of the Commander of the Faithful. Of the Reforms promised by the Porte in 1878 and afterwards, most as yet remain on paper. The Eastern question is a difficult question still.

Imperial Consolidation.—Turning from the decadent Turkish Empire, Disraeli advocated the consolidation of that of Great Britain. He broke with the "cutting the cable" doctrine of the Manchester School, and awakened Great Britain to the fact that she was "no longer a mere European power" but "the metropolis of a great maritime Empire." He insisted that Russell's Act granting self-government to the larger Colonies should have been accompanied by an Imperial customs tariff to encourage trade within the Empire, and a universal military code to provide for mutual Imperial defence. Above all, there should be a permanent Council at Westminster including Colonial representatives, so that intercourse between Great and Greater Britain might be as close as possible. Consolidation was Disraeli's aim. The tie of blood was to be strengthened by ties of brains, of gold, and of steel.

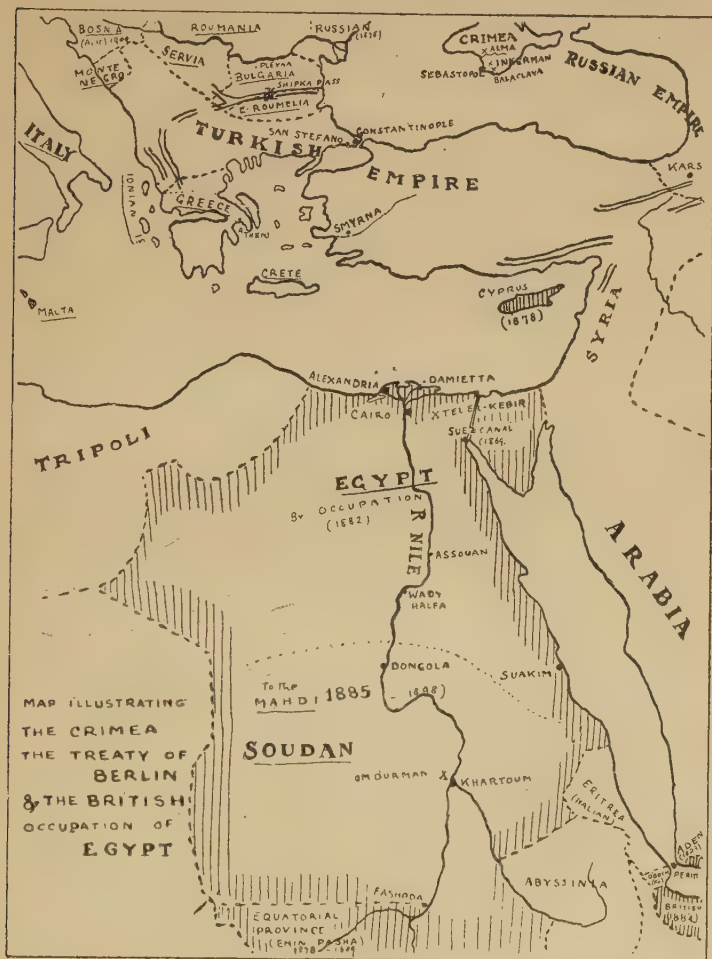
(b) *India.*—Disraeli replied to the assertions of certain politicians that Britain's rule in India was a costly and dangerous luxury, by assisting Queen Victoria to adopt the title of *Empress of India*. Since the fall of Napoleon III. the name of "Emperor" had an unpleasant sound in England. But Disraeli understood Indian public opinion, which was, after all, more important; and his action was justified by the enthusiasm with which the proclamation of the new Kaiser-i-Hind was welcomed at the Durbar in Delhi, the ancient capital of the Moguls (January 1877). The magnificence of the Delhi Durbar was somewhat dimmed by the outbreak of the second *Afghan War*. *Shere Ali*, the Amir, had placed himself under Russian protection. The Viceroy, *Lord Lytton*, novelist and politician, a man who rivalled Disraeli in theatricality but not in statesmanship, determined to coerce the Amir. He wanted to secure both ends of the Khyber Pass, the "scientific frontier of India." Troops entered Cabul, and in spite of warnings a resident was established to control *Yakub Khan*, the new ruler. The

dismal story of 1842 was repeated (see p. 525). The resident was slain and Yakub driven from his capital. General (now Lord) *Roberts*, however, seized *Candahar* and placed *Abdurrahman Khan* on the throne. The new Amir was determined to be the cat's-paw neither of Russia nor of Great Britain. His fears from the latter quarter were removed by the resignation of Lord Lytton (1880); and his successors *Lords Ripon* and *Dufferin* managed to win his confidence. War with Russia became imminent, when the Muscovites occupied part of northern Afghanistan. British troops and money were sent to Cabul, but matters settled down, and in 1887, the year of the Queen's Jubilee, a treaty was signed at St. Petersburg defining the south-eastern borders of Russia. Afghanistan has since remained a substantial "buffer-state" between the Russian and the Indian Empires.

(c) *Egypt* (1875-1909).—Disraeli really secured the road to India. Great Britain already held Gibraltar, Malta, Cyprus, and Aden; but Egypt was in a dangerous and miserable condition. The Khedive, the nominal vassal of the Sultan, was practically independent. But the oppressive Egyptian Government was inefficient; the soldiery was turbulent; while the Khedive, *Ismail Pasha*, a crowned prodigal son, was at the mercy of half the money-lenders of Europe, whose exorbitant interest was provided by taxes wrung from the wretched Fellaheen. Ismail was especially in debt to French financiers. The East, which had defied the great Napoleon, was falling a victim to the Paris Bourse. The most remarkable and expensive scheme was the cutting of the *Suez Canal* by *Ferdinand de Lesseps*. The Khedive held nine-twentieths of the shares (1875). He was anxious to raise money on the bonds, and Disraeli forestalled all possible buyers by securing them. Great Britain now had a large stake in Egypt, but poor Ismail sank deeper into the financial slough, and Egypt sank with him. At length Great Britain and France, armed with a decree from the Sultan, deposed him and set his son *Tewfik* on the throne. A system of *Dual Control* was established (1879) to liquidate the public debt, and to secure if possible, by means of "mixed" courts, justice for all.

Reforms by thinly veiled force and the presence of foreign officials stirred *Arabi Pasha*, the Khedive's general, to raise the cry of "Egypt for the Egyptians." A Holy War was preached, and

Arabi began to clear all foreign officers from the army. The troops and the rabble got out of hand, and at length the British fleet



bombarded *Alexandria* (1882). *Arabi* himself was crushed by Sir Garnet (afterwards Lord) *Wolseley* at *Tel-el-Kebir*. The system of Dual Control then came to an end. England did not annex Egypt,

but "restored the authority of the Khedive" and promised to withdraw the army of occupation when possible. At the same time the Civil Service, afterwards under the guidance of Sir Evelyn Baring (now *Lord Cromer*) began to do for Egypt what it had done for India; while *Sir Evelyn Wood* drilled the Egyptian army into shape.

There was every need for a strong government in Egypt, for away to the South the *Mahdi* ("Guide") had roused the fanatical Dervishes to a Holy War, overrun the Soudan, cut up two forces under *Hicks* and *Baker Pasha*, and isolated the scattered garrisons as well as *Emin Pasha*, Governor of Equatoria, who was not rescued till *Stanley* had marched right across Africa to his rescue (1886). The Khedive was determined to save the Soudan, but was impotent; Gladstone would not annex all Egypt and could not drop it. At length it was decided to send out the soldier-saint, *Charles George Gordon*, the hero of the Tai-Ping rebellion in China (1863), the man who had won the respect of the Soudanese in 1877-1879. His orders were vague. The British Government merely advised him to "rescue the garrisons and retire." The Khedive appointed him Governor of the Soudan. Gordon conceived it to be his duty to set up orderly government in the Province and to "smash the Prophet." He was cut off in *Khartoum*, while the Government at home wasted time. But Wolseley collected an unwieldy force; New South Wales sent a contingent; and two victories were won at *Abu Klea* and *Gubat*. Delays occurred, and when *Wilson* arrived he found *Khartoum* fallen and *Gordon* dead (1885). The Khedive only retained Egypt and Suakim. The Soudan remained in the hands of the Mahdi and his successor the *Khalifa* till 1898, when *Sir Herbert* (now Lord) *Kitchener* was sent by *Lord Cromer* to crush the Dervishes. Kitchener worked methodically up the Nile, and with a mixed British and Egyptian force broke the power of the Khalifa at *Omdurman* (1898). *Khartoum* was taken, and the Soudan and British prestige regained. Great Britain's very success almost led to war with France. *Major Marchand* had hoisted the French colours at *Fashoda* on the Upper Nile, thus cutting off the Soudan from British East Africa. On Kitchener's remonstrance, the French, after an anxious delay, withdrew. Since then Great Britain has remained in possession of the valley of the Nile, which, said the old Greek historian Herodotus, is Egypt. But the Egyptian national move-

ment is not dead. As in India, the champions of that indefinable quantity, the Egyptian nation, have urged, sometimes with violence, the removal of Great Britain's leading-strings.

(d) *South Africa* (1869-1909).—South African problems were no less pressing than those of the North. The Treaty of *Aliwal* (1869) had ratified that of 1852 (see p. 520), by which Great Britain agreed to leave the Dutch beyond the Orange River to their own devices. Hardly was the ink of the treaty dry than the "*Kimberley*" diamond mines were discovered on the indefinite western border of the Orange Free State. Thousands of men of all nationalities rushed to the mines, and set all laws, Boer, British, and native, at defiance. Profiting by this anarchy, and a dispute between the Dutch and a Griqua chief who claimed the lands on which the mines lay, Great Britain, in spite of the late treaty, annexed the territory. Cape Colony, which had been granted a Parliament in 1854, refused to accept the dangerous gift, and the Home Government had to manage the mutinous mining population itself. Meanwhile gangs of natives working in the mines spent their wages on rifles and ammunition. The Boer Republics were in danger of being ringed round with swarms of armed blacks. *Brand*, President of the Free State, vehemently protested, and at length Great Britain paid compensation for the Kimberley district and made an equivocal admission of wrong done.

Federation Scheme.—Amid such strained relations, *Lord Carnarvon*, Disraeli's Colonial Secretary, broached a scheme for the Federation of South Africa (1874). The Boers were naturally suspicious. In spite of the fact that their government was at times inefficient, in spite of their fear of the Zulus, they were proud of their independence—a pride increased by the recent decision of *MacMahon*, the French President, which had secured *Delagoa* to the Portuguese and had thus given the Boers access to a non-British port (1875). Cape Colony, where the Dutch understood the feelings of their kinsmen north of the Orange River, would have nothing to do with the Federation scheme. *Sir Bartle Frere* was, however, sent to Cape Town to do what he could; *Sir Theophilus Shepstone* went to Pretoria to test Boer opinion. He ended his mission by abruptly annexing the *Transvaal* (1877), and a deputation of Boers, led by *Paul Kruger*, were told by Carnarvon at Westminster that the annexation was final.

The promised constitution was not given, for the British were suddenly faced with a Zulu outbreak. *Cetewayo*, chief of these semi-civilised, well-disciplined warriors, invaded Natal, and early in 1879 *Lord Chelmsford* went to meet him. The British once more learnt the old lesson of "despise not your enemy" by the disaster of *Isandhlwana*. The gallant defence of *Rorke's Drift* on the Colonial frontier, however, stemmed the rush of the Zulu impis, and Cetewayo's power was broken at *Ulundi*. Various petty chieftains divided his kingdom and promptly fought among themselves; Cetewayo had to be restored, but was driven out by the Zulus to die in the bush, and *Dinizulu* his son reigned in his stead. He called in the Boers, who, in 1886, added the *New Republic* to the Transvaal, and at last the remainder of *Zululand* was put under the control of Natal (1887).

First Boer War.—The Boer Republic had meanwhile regained its independence. The Dutch had great hopes when the Liberals succeeded Lord Beaconsfield in office (1880). *Gladstone*, however, disappointed them, and the Boers silently armed. A provisional government—*Kruger*, *Pretorius*, and *Joubert*—declared the independence of the Transvaal at Heidelberg. The Home Government tried to negotiate and fight at the same time. *Sir George Colley*, the General on the spot, was badly supported; the garrison at Pretoria was cut off, and the relieving columns repulsed at *Laing's Nek* and finally cut up on *Majuba Hill* (1881). Great Britain made peace, recognising the independence of the Republic, though a shadowy suzerainty was retained; British prestige severely suffered, and the Federation of South Africa seemed farther off than ever.

Cecil Rhodes.—Most of the subsequent history of South Africa centres round Cecil Rhodes. He dreamt of a South Africa united under the British flag as far north as the Zambesi; a South Africa united by the Cape to Cairo Railway with the British sphere of influence in Egypt. Already *Bechuanaland* had been annexed (1885), when Rhodes, who had made his fortune in the newly discovered gold-mines of *Johannesburg* (1885–1886), formed the *British South Africa Company* (1889). It was a time of government by Chartered Companies in Borneo, on the Niger, in British East Africa. Rhodes determined to anticipate Bismarck and the Portuguese. By a treaty with *Lobengula*, he secured practical control of *Matabeleland*, to the north of the Transvaal. He then pushed on across the Zambesi and

opened up the great country now called *Rhodesia* as far north as Lake Nyassa. The Anglo-German frontier was settled in 1890; the Portuguese, after a show of force, in 1891; but it was not until 1894 that Lobengula's opposition ended with death, after he had cut up a force under Major Wilson.

Jameson's Raid.—Further trouble with the Boer Republics was imminent when Great Britain cut them off from the sea by annexing the coast between Zululand and Portuguese territory. It was made inevitable by the gold-rush to Johannesburg. The conservative Boer farmers were afraid of being swamped by the heterogeneous crowd of "Uitlanders" who came to the diggings. President Kruger refused to extend the franchise to foreigners of less than seven years' residence; and at the same time raised revenue on the necessary dynamite. The real and imaginary grievances of the Uitlanders prompted the *Reform Committee* to hatch a plot to seize Pretoria and Johannesburg, in the hope that Great Britain would then re-annex the Transvaal. Some of the Reformers, however, wanted a Dutch Republic without Kruger. Hesitation spoilt the scheme, when *Dr. Jameson* "upset the apple-cart" by dashing into the Transvaal to their assistance. Jameson was captured, handed over to the British, and imprisoned (1896).

The Great Boer War.—The Dutch were furious, and the British, being in a false position, were no less indignant. *Sir Alfred Milner* was sent out to the Cape to patch matters up, with the support of *Joseph Chamberlain*, the Colonial Secretary at Westminster. Milner demanded the reduction of the seven years' franchise to five; Kruger was willing, if British suzerainty was dropped, armed preparations ended, and all further disputes referred to arbitration. In October 1899, however, war broke out.

Great Britain once more underrated the strength of her enemy, and but few troops were in a position to check the Boers of the two Republics as they poured across the frontier. Garrisons were cut off in *Mafeking*, *Kimberley*, and *Ladysmith*, where *Sir George White's* gallant defence saved Natal. Troops were, however, hurried out. Colonial aid was abundantly forthcoming, and more than anything else showed the unity of the Empire. Above all, the Colonials could fight the Boers with their own guerrilla tactics. Yet the war was desperate. The country was huge and difficult; lines of communication were hard to maintain; the Boers were crack shots. *Sir Redvers*

Buller repeatedly dashed in vain against the barrier of the Tugela river, sustaining a terrible reverse at *Spion Kop* in his efforts to relieve



Ladysmith. At length *Lord Roberts* (see p. 550), with *Lord Kitchener* as chief of staff, struck at the root of the matter, captured *Cronje*, the victor of Majuba, at *Paardeberg*, entered *Bloemfontein*, and

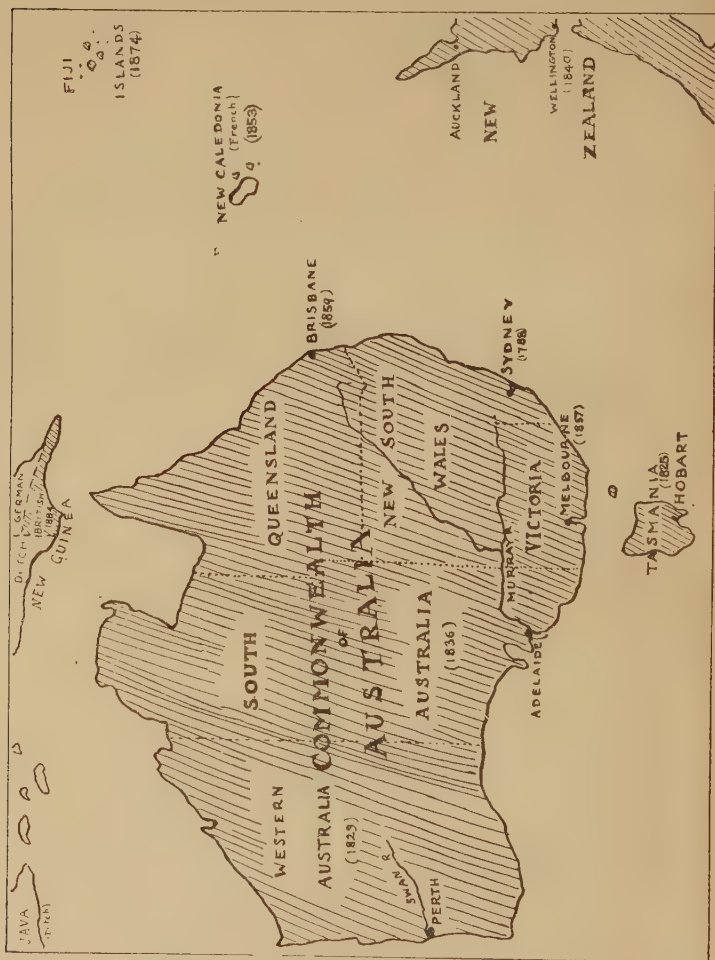
finally *Pretoria* (1900). The three beleaguered towns were relieved and the twin Republics annexed. But the guerrilla war was kept alive by the energy of *Christian de Wet*, *Louis Botha*, and *Delarey*; and it was not until Kitchener had drawn lines of blockhouses across the country that the Boer resistance was broken. At length, after much delay, largely owing to the hope of foreign intervention, the Boers made peace at *Vereeniging* (1902).

United South Africa.—The war had been a desperate one, and had thrown South Africa back in her advance to material prosperity. But it cleared the way for federation; especially when the Liberal Government, which, under *Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman*, succeeded *Mr. Balfour* in 1906, granted responsible government to the newly annexed Transvaal and Orange River Colony. The gradual removal of the Chinese coolies from the gold-mines—a system of obtaining labour begun on the close of the war—caused much criticism in England and South Africa. With the development of agriculture—the true wealth of the country—matters slowly but steadily improved to such an extent that Cape Colony, Natal, the Transvaal, and the Orange River Colony voted for a *confederation of South Africa* under the British flag (1909). Thus the dream of Disraeli and Rhodes at last came true.

(e) *Australian Federation*.—United South Africa was anticipated by United Australia. The gold-rush of 1851 led to a great increase of population. The “squatters” (see p. 521) gave way to small farmers, while many of the colonists settled in the rapidly growing towns. With responsible government a very complete democracy came into being, especially in New Zealand, where women got the vote. Indeed, Australia and New Zealand present valuable examples to those who have to deal with Labour and Democratic problems in Great Britain. For many years the island continent was divided into separate colonies. But fear of Russia, whose power till the Russo-Japanese War (1905) was growing in the Pacific; fear of Germany, which in 1884 secured part of New Guinea; fear of French aggression from the New Hebrides; and above all, common sense, impelled the Colonies, after three futile attempts, to form the *Commonwealth of Australia* (1901). The power of the central Government over the various states is limited, but the very existence of such a Government must be as great a source

of strength as it is to the United States or the Dominion of Canada.

(f). *New Imperial Problems.*—A few days after the birth of the



Australian Commonwealth, *Queen Victoria*, who had in 1897 celebrated her Diamond Jubilee, died. It is almost impossible to estimate the influence which her personality had on the history of the

Empire, which she handed on to her son, *Edward VII.*, "the Peacemaker." Statesmen have more and more realised the fact that Great Britain is the centre of an Empire. The latest development of modern "Imperialism" was brought forward by *Chamberlain* (1902) when, like Disraeli, he advocated the encouragement of trade within the Empire by means of customs duties laid on foreign goods, but non-existent for Colonial or British produce. Whether or no this scheme is right or possible remains to be seen. But the rapid development of steamships, electric cables, postal service, and railways; the opening of the Naval, Military, and Civil Services to Colonials; the frequent meetings of Imperial statesmen, journalists, and others; and the presence of many Colonials at British schools and universities—notably the Rhodes' Scholars maintained at Oxford under the will of the late Cecil Rhodes—cannot fail to draw tighter the bonds of Imperial unity. Men have begun to see that the great danger to the British Empire, as in the days before the American War of Independence, is mutual ignorance.

(g) *Foreign Relations*.—The scattered nature of Great Britain's Empire has brought her into touch with rival nations at the ends of the earth. As an Asiatic power she has been deeply interested in the fate of the unwieldy Chinese Empire. Her possession of the wealthy port of *Hong-Kong* (1842) enticed other nations to compete for the unknown wealth of China. Russia, by the end of the seventeenth century, had extended her power as far as Kamschatka; just after the Crimean War, she secured Amur and *Vladivostock*, a "warm-water" port; and though Alaska was sold to the U.S.A. (1867), Russia bade fair to be the dominant power on the Western Pacific. But a new power arose across her path. *Japan* had been visited by Catholic missionaries in the sixteenth century; but Christianity had been rooted out, foreign trade forbidden, and the country almost forgotten. Lord Elgin's (1858) description perhaps prompted the idea that Gilbert and Sullivan's *Mikado* was an approximately correct picture of the Land of the Rising Sun. The facts were far different. The real Mikado overthrew the feudal chiefs, opened his ports to foreign trade, his schools to Western education, and especially his arsenals to Western arts of war. The first lesson came in 1895, when Japan hopelessly beat China and annexed *Formosa*, but on the intervention of the European powers

Japan was forced to give up Port Arthur. Then began a race for "spheres of influence" in China. The Chinese Emperor, that unhappy "Son of Heaven," or rather his terrestrial mother, was forced to lease *Port Arthur* to Russia, *Wei-hai-wei* to Great Britain, *Kiau-chau* to Germany. But the Chinese, like the Spaniards of the eighteenth century, were intensely proud of their Empire and equally contemptuous of "barbarians." A movement arose, partly political, partly religious, and undoubtedly supported by the Chinese Government. The "Boxers" massacred all the "foreign devils" and Chinese Christians on whom they could lay hands and cooped up others in the consulates at *Pekin* till the arrival of a joint European, American, and Japanese force rescued the survivors (1900). Russia improved the opportunity by occupying *Manchuria* and throwing out feelers towards *Korea*. At the same time the *Trans-Siberian Railway* (1896-1901) linked up St. Petersburg with the Far East. Japan felt her commercial and political existence threatened, and went to war, blockaded *Port Arthur* by land and sea, and sank Russia's ill-equipped and worse-manned fleet. The Japanese fought with all the self-abandonment of Dervishes and the discipline of European troops; while the Russians were only united to their base by thousands of miles of single-line railway. At length, on the mediation of *Theodore Roosevelt*, twice President of the United States, peace was concluded at *Portsmouth*, U.S.A. Japan secured half the island of *Saghalien*, *Port Arthur*, and with it real control of *Manchuria* and *Korea*. Her position as a first-class power was recognised by the *Anglo-Japanese Alliance* (1905). Meanwhile China, spurred on by her energetic neighbour, opened her gates more readily to Western ideas, especially military ideas. As far as Great Britain is concerned, the renewed disturbances in India can mainly be attributed to the amazing victory of a purely Asiatic power over semi-European Russia. A new era in Far Eastern politics has begun.¹

(C) GLADSTONE AND IRELAND (1869-1895).

An Imperial problem nearer home exercised the skill of statesmen and divided popular opinion in Great Britain. Attempted revolution

¹ Japan has recently formally annexed *Korea* (1910).

had been worse than useless in Ireland in 1848, and the Government's subsequent policy of varied vigour and conciliation had merely aggravated Irish grievances. The truth of Grattan's prophecy was plain, that "whatever you trample upon in Europe will sting you from America." During the terrible days of famine (see p. 517), thousands of Irishmen had sailed for the United States, burning with resentment against England. There John O'Mahony formed the *Fenian Society* (1858). The "Clan-na-Gael" had its branches in Ireland, but its roots were in America. It aimed at sweeping the English out of Ireland to make room for a Catholic Republic. Outrages in Ireland and a futile attack upon Canada (1866) were answered by the suspension of *habeas corpus* and the enrolment of special constables. Next year saw Fenianism at its height. Armed men tried to seize Chester Castle; there were riots in Manchester; sixty yards of the wall of Clerkenwell Prison were blown up, and many unoffending persons injured. Something had to be done, and Gladstone rallied the Liberal Party on his Irish policy. "My mission," he declared, "is to pacify Ireland." He proposed to do it by disestablishing the Irish Church and by solving the land question.

(a) *Disestablishment of the Irish Church*.—In spite of his early book insisting upon the necessary union of Church and State (1838), and his resignation in 1845 rather than damage the Established Church even indirectly, Gladstone now saw that the Irish Church was an anachronism. Hardly one-twelfth of those who paid tithes belonged to the Church, and though it had done good work, it had not come up to the expectation of its supporters. In spite of the strong opposition of all who believed that disestablishment in Ireland foreshadowed disestablishment in England, Gladstone carried his measure (1869). The Church became the Episcopal Free Church of Ireland under the control of a Synod, electing its own Bishops and managing its own affairs. Its property was used to endow the new body and to pension existing clergymen, while the surplus was devoted to charities. The Irish Bishops, of course, lost their seats in the House of Lords.

Irish Land Act.—The land question was inflamed by class, racial, and religious passions. The peasantry, tenacious of the land, yet for the most part too ignorant or too poor to improve it, were mere

tenants-at-will, secured in their tenements by no contracts, too often paying heavy rents through middlemen to absentee landlords. Many of the peasantry took up farms which they knew they could never make pay, and as the rent-collectors had to find the money on strict competitive lines, evictions were common. Competition in Ireland was illusory. For the most part, the peasants had to be farmers or nothing. Such a system does much to explain, though it cannot excuse, Fenianism. Gladstone proposed to apply to all Ireland an Ulster custom, which secured a tenant in his holding so long as the rent was paid and ensured him compensation for reasonable improvements. The *Land Act* was passed (1870), but it did not secure the tenant from high rents and therefore from eviction.

Parnell.—Nor did it pacify Ireland. Another Daniel O'Connell came to judgment in the person of *Stewart Parnell*. A Protestant landowner and graduate of Cambridge, half English and half American, cold and haughty, he seemed to be the last person fit to lead an excitable Catholic peasantry. His hatred for England was perhaps greater than his love for Ireland; but he made himself champion of Irish interests at Westminster. Under his leadership the *Irish Party* definitely split with the Liberals and developed the well-known system of "obstruction." *Parnell* and *Davitt* then founded the *Land League* to secure the absolute ownership of the soil for the peasantry. Agrarian outrages redoubled; those who took up the farms of evicted tenants were "boycotted," that is, socially excommunicated. Gladstone's second *Land Act* (1881) allowing special Courts to fix "judicial rents" did not satisfy the Leaguers, who got into touch with the Clan-na-Gael. When Fenianism, armed this time with dynamite, raised its ugly head again, *W. E. Forster* (see p. 542), the Irish Secretary, had recourse to coercion. Parnell and others were lodged in Kilmainham Gaol; but on giving a doubtful promise to check their ally, "Captain Moonlight," they were released. Rather than abide by the "Kilmainham Treaty," Forster resigned; though not before he had declared the Land League an illegal institution (1882). A terrible crime, however, once more threw Ireland into an uproar. The new Irish Secretary, *Lord Frederick Cavendish*, and his secretary, *Mr. Burke*, were stabbed by a gang of Fenians in *Phanix Park* (1882). Coercion naturally followed; but the Irish Nationalists, though they no doubt honestly

repudiated the murder, had their revenge by defeating *Gladstone* on the Budget (1885). They then turned out *Lord Salisbury* for proposing to suppress the *National League*, which had, at Parnell's call, arisen from the ashes of the Land League. This time Home Rule was the main plank of the Irish platform.

(b) *First Home Rule Bill*.—*Gladstone*, who had united the Liberal Party with the cry of Church Disestablishment in Ireland, broke it upon the stumbling-block of *Home Rule*. His Midlothian speeches (1879-1880) had foreshadowed some change in England's relations to Ireland. He now proposed to revive the Irish Parliament at Dublin, with an Irish executive responsible to it, and to exclude the Irish from Westminster. Further, the Irish landlords were to be bought out at a high price in the interests of the peasantry. Excitement in both islands was intense. The Conservative Opposition, led by *Lord Salisbury* and *Randolph Churchill*, denounced the desertion of Protestant Ulster. "Ulster," cried Churchill, "will fight, and Ulster will be right." Riots in Belfast seemed to justify his words. Ardent Radicals like *John Bright* were against the scheme; and *Joseph Chamberlain*, hitherto Gladstone's right-hand man and leader of the advanced Radical wing, with *Goschen* and *Lord Hartington*, led some ninety *Liberal-Unionists* into the Opposition camp. Gladstone suffered defeat at the general election, and the queen summoned *Lord Salisbury* to her counsels (1886).

Salisbury and Ireland.—The new Premier declared that "politics meant Ireland and nothing else." Furious at the defeat of the Home Rule Bill, the Nationalists organised "the *Plan of Campaign*" to resist high rents. *Arthur Balfour*, Secretary for Ireland, dealt with the situation firmly under the *Crimes Act* (1887); while the extension of the *Land Act* of 1881 to leaseholders did something to weaken the "plan of campaign." Meanwhile Parnell had fallen. Though honourably acquitted of the charge brought against him in the *Times* of complicity in the Phoenix Park murders, his reputation was ruined by a scandal connected with his name (1890). The majority of the Irish Party followed *Justin M'Carthy* for a time, though a minority clung to their discredited chief till his death in 1891.

Salisbury's ministry, in spite of its belief in twenty years' rigorous government, had not solved the Irish question. Violence in Ireland and obstruction at Westminster still continued. At the general

election of 1892 Gladstone's *Newcastle Programme*, which laid down the main lines of future Liberal policy, secured him a majority. But the Nationalists were still strong enough to hold the balance between the two great parties.

Second Home Rule Bill.—Assisted by his Irish Secretary, *John* (now Lord) *Morley*, historian, essayist, and afterwards Secretary for India, Gladstone introduced his Second Home Rule Bill (1893). Ireland was to have its own Parliament; but eighty Irish members were to sit at Westminster and vote on Imperial questions. Gladstone, however, admitted that these latter “pass the wit of man” to define; so Irish members were to be allowed to vote on all questions. This time the Bill was not accompanied by any measure dealing with Irish land. After stormy debates in the Commons, the Bill was decisively thrown out by the Lords, who undoubtedly rightly interpreted the general feeling of the Electorate. Early in 1894 Gladstone resigned and lived in retirement until his death in 1898. But Home Rule had badly broken the Liberal Party, whose wrecks were led till 1895 by *Lord Rosebery*. That measure for the time was shelved, for the new Premier declared that “England would have to be convinced of its justice.” The matter was raised again, notably after the accession of a Liberal administration to power in 1906; but the majority of Englishmen were still apparently unconvinced. Various measures have since been passed dealing with Irish land and local government; *Mr. Birrell's Act* (1908) has reorganised the Irish University and the three Queen's Colleges (see p. 516). But the Nationalists are still unsatisfied, and, led by *John Redmond*, still agitate for Home Rule as the necessary preliminary of all Irish reforms.

Death of Edward VII.—In 1910 King Edward VII. died, after a reign of nine years. At the beginning of his reign he announced that he was fully determined to be a Constitutional Sovereign in the strictest sense of the word, and that as long as there was breath in his body he would work for the good and amelioration of his people. The king fulfilled his promises—indeed, he died in harness. His reign was marked by a spirit of humanity, which found expression in efforts by the individual and the State to soften the lot of the helpless sick and aged, and to prevent disease. Mechanical inventions, such as wireless telegraphy and aeroplanes, came into prominence. The Imperial

spirit grew stronger. Edward VII., at his coronation, took the additional title of King of the British Dominions beyond the Seas, and he saw the foundation of the Commonwealth of Australia, and the Union of South Africa. But perhaps the late king will be best remembered as the Peacemaker. He came to the throne while the war in South Africa was unfinished. It was brought to a close in 1902, and, during the rest of his reign, the king, without transgressing his position as an English Constitutional monarch, used his great influence in Europe for the maintenance of peace. His popularity among Frenchmen helped to bring about the *Entente Cordiale* between England and France. Under his rule England began to realise more fully her responsibilities as a leading European Power. The king made a round of visits to Continental rulers, and the relations between England and Russia became more friendly. But the reign was marked by bitter party conflicts at home. Mr. Balfour, the Conservative Prime Minister, resigned office in December 1905, and Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman became the head of a Liberal Government. Just before his death in 1908 Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman resigned, and his colleague, Mr. Asquith, took his place. Early in 1910 a general election was held, because the House of Lords refused to pass the Finance Bill prepared by Mr. Lloyd George, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, until it had been submitted to the judgment of the country. After the election Mr. Asquith remained in office and the Budget became law, but a constitutional problem of the gravest importance concerning the relations between the House of Lords and the House of Commons was still awaiting solution when King Edward died (May 6th, 1910).

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Printed by
MORRISON & GIBB LIMITED
Edinburgh

1815 - Congress of Vienna
The Holy Alliance.
The Quadruple Alliance. } An attempt to
establish a system of government
by Congress.
1818 - The Moral Pentarchy of Europe } Reactionary
undemocratic
ignorance
1818 - Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle - France
admitted into the "polite society" of Europe
& into the confederation of reactionary
governments [N.B. Gr. Britain was only a
lukewarm member of the "Moral Pentarchy"
and soon was altogether opposed to its
policy.]
1820. Revolutions (i.e. democratic risings) in
Spain, Portugal & Naples [Remember Shelley's
"Ode to Liberty" & "Ode to Naples"]
(in Bohemia)
1820 Congress of Troppau - The Moral Pentarchy
rather "The Holy Alliance" smothers the
risings in Spain, Portugal & Naples - Britain
remains neutral according to the policy of
Castlereagh; she is fully occupied in checking
the rise of democracy at home.
1821. The Greek Revolt [Remember Shelley's "Hellas"
later Byron's - "The Isles of Greece"]
1822 Brazil declares its independence -
this year Banning succeeded Castlereagh so
that Metternich and Co. found their dictatorship
in Europe was at an end. Banning soon

and North American colonies. (to the horrors of
the "polite society") and induced Russia
and France to work for the liberation of
Greece.

1823 the "Monroe doctrine". [America declared
that she would not tolerate any interference from
any powers, of her states (that is every country in
America)]

